

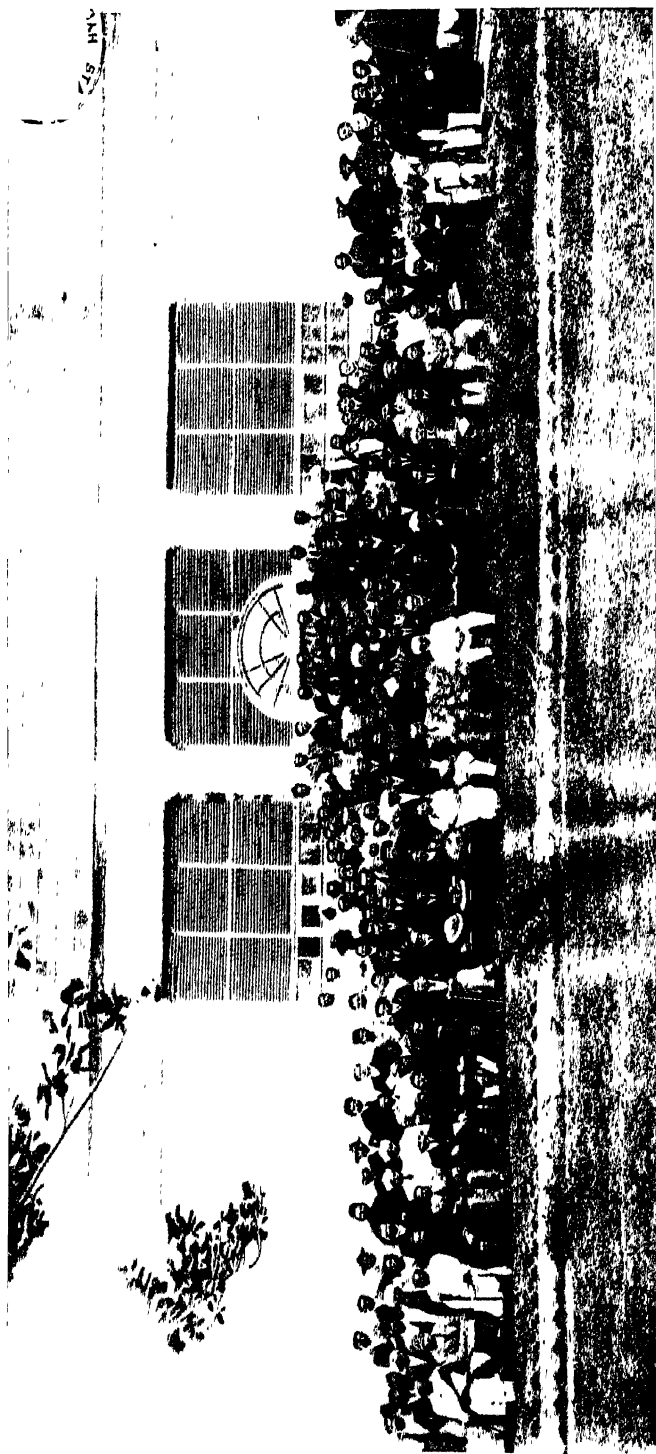
Proceedings and Transactions
of
The Sixth
All-India Oriental Conference
Patna
December, 1930

PATNA :
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1933

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A group of delegates to the VIth Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930 < with the President in the centre
to the right of Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi >

The Sixth All-India Oriental Conference.

Patna, December, 1930.

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Preface.

The Organisation of the Conference.

1. When the Fifth Oriental Conference was sitting at Lahore in the month of November, 1928, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Editor, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, on behalf of the Society, by a communication, invited the assembled orientalists to hold their sixth session in Patna. The invitation was placed before a general meeting of the Conference and was unanimously accepted.

2. The Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, at a meeting held on the 6th September, 1929, considered arrangements to be made in connection with the Oriental Conference to be held in Patna and resolved that the preparations for the holding of the Conference in Patna be set on foot at once and a copy of the resolution was sent to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Madras, General Secretary of the Conference.

3. A letter, dated the 19th September, 1929, received from Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, was read before a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on the 24th November, 1929, and a Committee consisting of the following staff was formed :—

<i>Hon. Secretary</i>	.. Dr. Hari Chand Shastri, Professor, Patna College, Patna.
<i>Hon. Treasurer</i>	.. Mr. D. N. Sen, Principal, B.N. College, Patna.
<i>Members</i>	.. Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad, Kt., Barrister-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University. Mr. G. E. Fawcous, M.A., O.B.E., C.I.E., Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa, Patna. Mr. E. A. Horne, M.A., Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh University. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Vice-President, B. and O. Research Society, Patna. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Editor, Journal, B. and O. Research Society, Patna. Mr. J. S. Armour, M.A., Honorary Secretary, B. and O. Research Society, Patna.

4. At a meeting of the Reception Committee, held on Tuesday, the 9th September, 1930.—

(1) Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., was elected as President of the Reception Committee.

(2) The following gentlemen were asked to join the Reception Committee.—

The Hon'ble Sir Saiyid Muhammad Fakhruddin, Khan Bahadur, Kt., Minister, Education and Development Department, Patna.

The Hon'ble Sir Ganesh Datta Singh, Kt., Minister, Local Self-Government, Patna.

The Hon'ble Mr Justice Khwaja Muhammad Nur, C.B.E., Khan Bahadur, Patna

Raja Kirtyanand Singh Bahadur, Banaili, Purnea.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, Patna City.

Mr H. Lambert, M.A., Principal, Patna College, Patna

Mr. S. Sinha, Barrister-at-Law, Patna

Mr. Reaz Hasan Khan, Patna.

(3) An Executive Committee consisting of the following gentlemen was formed :—

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Dr. Hari Chand Shastri.

(4) A resolution was passed to issue a financial appeal to the public.

An appeal was made for financial help to Governments, States, Institutions and gentlemen, and generous help came from far and near as per list below :—

	Rs.
The Bihar and Orissa Government	1,000
The Patna University	1,000
Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadevasram Prasad Shahi, Hatwa . .	1,000
The Manager, Ramgarh Wards Estate	1,000
The Manager, Bettia Raj	1,000
The Government of the United Provinces	1,000
The Osmania University	1,000
H.H. the Maharaja of Nepal	500
Maharajadhiraja Sir Kameshwar Singh, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga	500
Maharaja Bahadur Sir Keshav Prasad Singh, Kt., C.B.E., of Dumraon	500
The Maharaja of Sonpur State	500
The Maharaja of Kalahandi State	500
Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand Singh of Banaili	300
Maharaja Bahadur Chandra Mauleshwar Prasad Singh of Gidhaur	250
The Punjab University	250
Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh of Monghyr	125
The Hon'ble Sir Saiyid Muhammad Fakhruddin, Kt.	100
The Annamalai University	100

	Rs.
The Hon'ble Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanj Deo of Kanika .	50
P C Manuk, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Patna .	50
Syd Abdul Aziz, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Patna .	25
Mahant Darsan Das of Muzafferpur .	21
V. P. Vaidya, Esq., Bombay .	20

5. The General Executive Committee of the Conference intimated that Rai Bahadur Hira Lal was selected President of the Sixth Oriental Conference by the said Executive Committee.

6. Entertainment and Accommodation Committee consisted of the following gentlemen :—

Secretary .. Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Members .. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur R. K. Jalan

Dr Hari Chand

Mr. Ali Manzar

Mr. S. N. Sahai.

The Committee received much help and guidance from the Hon'ble Sir Ganesh Datta Singh.

The Secretary and the members tried their best to accommodate and look after the comforts of the Delegates and their friends. The Secretary, Mr. Ali Manzar, and Mr. S. N. Sahai, Mr. Rama Bahadur, and 25 volunteers from the local colleges spared no pains to look after the comforts of the guests. Guests of orthodox style were accommodated in R Block and M.L.C. quarters. The well-known confectioners Ram Bhandar of Benares were engaged to serve them. Guests living in European style were served by Cafe Doseteros. Patna Transport Company was employed to supply Motor Cars and Buses.

7. The President of the Reception Committee received great help and constant co-operation from Mr. G. E. Fawcus in every detail. The Government of Bihar and Orissa generously provided accommodation for the Delegates by lending the use of M.L.C. quarters. The Government House, the Hon'ble Mr. J. T. Whitty, the Hon'ble Sir Courtney Terrell, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice T. S. Macpherson (Vice-Chancellor), the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ross, the Hon'ble Sir Ganesh Datta Singh, Mr. G. E. Fawcus, and other members of the Reception Committee kindly put up distinguished guests with them.

Programme.

Wednesday, 17th December, 1930.—

- 11 A.M. .. Inaugural Meeting in the Wheeler Senate House.
- 1 to 2 P.M. .. Lunch.
- 3-45 P.M. .. Garden Party at the Government House.
Moshaerah in the Wheeler Senate House.
- 6 P.M. .. Linguistic Society Meeting in the Patna College.

Thursday, 18th December, 1930—

- 7-30 A.M. .. Pandita Sabhā.
- 10 A.M. to 1 P.M. Sectional business and the reading of Presidential addresses
and papers in the Patna College.
- 10 A.M. .. History and Archaeology ; Arabic and Persian.
- 11 A.M. .. Classical Sanskrit ; Fine Arts.
- 12 A.M. .. Philosophy.
- 1 to 2 P.M. .. Lunch.
- 2 to 3 P.M. .. Visit to the Oriental Public Library.
- 3-45 P.M. .. Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan's Garden Party at his
residence (Quila House) in Patna City (by special
invitation).
- 8 P.M. .. Sanskrit Drama ' *Mudrārāksasam* '.

Friday, 19th December, 1930—

- 7-30 A.M. .. Visit to the Kunhrar excavations.
- 10 A.M. to 1 P.M. Sectional business and the reading of Presidential addresses
and papers in the Patna College.
- 10 A.M. .. Vedic ; Urdu.
- 11 A.M. .. Philology ; Anthropology, Mythology, and Religion.
- 12 A.M. .. Hindi ; Bengali ; Uriya.
- 1 P.M. .. Lunch.
- 2 to 3-30 P.M. Visit to the Patna Museum and the Research Society.
- 3-45 P.M. .. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal at home to the members in the
Museum grounds.
- 6 to 8 P.M. .. General Meeting of the Conference.

Saturday, 20th December, 1930—

- 7 A.M. .. Trip to Rajgir (hot springs) and Nalanda.

Mr. B. L. Dharma at home to the members of the Conference in the
Inspection Bungalow at Nalanda at 3-30 P.M.

LIST OF PAPERS.

SECTION I

(VEDIC).

President :—VIDHUŚEKHARA ŚĀSTRĪ*Secretary* :—DR. TARAPADA CHAUDHURY.

The sectional business at 10 A.M. on the 18th and 19th December, 1930.

The Presidential address at 10 A.M. on the 19th

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|-----|---------------------------|----|---|
| 1. | Dr. A. C. Woolner, C.I.E. | .. | R̥gveda and the Punjab. |
| 2. | Prof. Ekendranath Ghosh | .. | Takman of the Atharvaveda. |
| 3. | Prof. S. V. Venkateshwar | .. | Trita. |
| 4. | Prof. Lakshmidhar Shastri | .. | The Home of the Āryas. |
| 5. | Dr. C. Kunhan Rajah | .. | The Valabhi School of Vedabhāṣyakaras. |
| 6. | Do | .. | The Madhava Problem in the Vedabhāṣya. |
| 7. | Do. | .. | The Anukramaṇī Literature. |
| 8. | H. C. Chakladar .. | .. | Contribution of Bihar to Vedic Culture |
| 9. | Dr. Siddheswar Varma | .. | Studies in the Accentuation of the Sāma Veda. |
| 10. | . | .. | Nidānasūtra of the Sāma Veda. |
| 11. | Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya | .. | The Cradle of the Indra-Vṛtra Myth. |

SECTION II

(CLASSICAL SANSKRIT).

President :—PANDIT VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA CHAKRAVARTI.*Secretary* :—PANDIT ISHWARIDATTA DAURGADATTI.

The sectional business at 10 A.M. on the 18th and the 19th December, 1930.

The Presidential address at 11 A.M. on the 18th.

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|----|--------------------------|----|---|
| 1. | Mr. P. V. Kane .. | .. | Fragments of Kohala. |
| 2. | Prof. D. C. Bhattacharya | .. | Mandana, Sureśvara, and Bhavabhūti:
the problem of their identity. |
| 3. | Miss Godavari V. Ketkar | .. | The Similes in the Rāmāyana. |
| 4. | Prof. C. Kunhan Rajah | .. | A New Drama of Bhāsa. |
| 5. | Dr. Mangal Deo Shastri | .. | Hariśvāmi, Commentator of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the date of
Skandaśvāmi, Commentator of the
R̥gveda. |
| 6. | Prof. S. K. Das .. | .. | The Education of the Prince in Ancient
India. |
| 7. | Pt. K. L. V. Shastri | .. | Śrīharsa's Place in Sanskrit Literature. |
| 8. | Mr. R. M. Joshi .. | .. | Critical Fallacies as regards Uttararāma-
carita. |
| 9. | Dr. H. R. Divekar | .. | Some Readings in Bhāmaha's Kāvya-
lankāra. |

10. Dr. Ishwar Dutta . . . The place of Science in Sanskrit Literature.
11. Pt. Dayananda Jha . . . Some Researches in Hindu Astronomy.
12. Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya . . . The Dhvanyāloka and the text of the Dhvanyāloka.
13. Do. . . The Vr̥ndāvana Kāvya and its Author.
14. Dr. Haradatta Sharma . . . Kuntaka's Conception of the Gunas.
15. Pt. S. S. Suryanarayan Shastri . . . Haradatta Mīśra and Haradatta Śivācārya.
16. Prof. S. P. Caturvedi . . . Bhṛṅgadūta, a new Khandakāvya.
17. Dr. Amareśwar Thakur . . . Laws of Ownership with special reference to treasure-trove as under the Smṛtis.
18. Prof. Chintaharana Chakravarti . . . Characteristic features of the Satṭaka form of drama.
19. Vidyabhusan Dinanath Shastri . . . Suparnaciti method of measurement of time.

SECTION III

(INDIAN PHILOSOPHY).

President.—DR S. K. BELVALKAR.

Secretary.—PROF. S. N. BHATTACHARYA.

The sectional business at 10 A.M. on the 18th and the 19th December, 1930.

The Presidential address at 12 A.M. on the 18th.

1. Rai Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe . . . Is Bhagavadgītā post-Buddhist?
2. Pt. Ram Swarup Shastri . . . Prācīna Nyāya and Navya Nyāya (in Sanskrit).
3. Pt. Devikanta Sūbhanta Shastri . . . Tantratattvam.
4. Prof. D. Srinivasachar . . . A Critical Review of Sattarka Dīpāvalī—a Prācīna Tīkā recently unearthed.
5. Prof. Umesh Chandra Bhattacharya . . . The Concept of Svadharma in the Gītā.
6. Prof. Dakshinaranjan Sastri . . . The Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas.
7. Prof. Umesh Misra . . . Gaudapāda Bhāṣya and Mādhava Vṛtti.
8. Prof. Asutosh Shastri . . . Vedāntic Intuition and Mysticism.
9. Prof. Hirendralal Sengupta . . . Exponents of the Mādhyamika Philosophy.
10. Pt. N. Ayyasvami Shastri . . . The Madhyamārtha-Samgraha of Bhāva-Viveka (Restoration from the Tibetan Version).
11. Mr. R. Nagaraj Sharma . . . New light on Śrīvijayendraśiṛṭha's works. Renaissance of Realism in Indian Philosophy.
12. Mr. Ramakantacharya . . . Was Śrī Saṅkara a Vaiṣṇavite?
13. Mr. Dharmendra Brahmachari . . . A Note on the Adhyāsa of Saṅkara.
14. Dr. D. M. Datta . . . Theory of Pakṣatā.
15. R. Chandra . . . The Doctrine of Transmigration of Soul, Indian and Greek.
16. Mr. Krishnamoorthi Sharma . . . The Māṇḍūkya Kārikās of Gaudapāda.
17. Mr. H. R. Rangaswami Aiyangar . . . Madhava—an old Sāṅkhya teacher.
18. Prof. T. R. Chintamani . . . Prakāsa, Śrīkāra, and Kṣīrasāgarāmīśra—three old Mīmāṃsakas.
19. Mr. K. Gopal Krishnamma.

SECTION IV

(PHILOLOGY).

President :—DR. I. J. S. TARAPOREVALA.*Secretary* :—DR. D. M. DATTA.

The sectional business at 10 A.M. on the 18th and 19th December, 1930.

The Presidential address at 11 A.M. on the 19th.

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|---------------------------|----|---|
| 1. Prof. S. K. Chatterji | .. | The Tertiary Stage of Indo-Aryan |
| 2. Dr. C. Narayan Rao | .. | A Study of Telugu Roots. |
| 3. Prof. Babu Ram Saksena | .. | The Whispered Vowels in Indo-Aryan. |
| 4. Prof. S. K. Chatterji | .. | Two Phonetic Transcriptions from Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. |
| 5. Prof. Siddheswar Varma | .. | The Dialects of the Khasali Group. |
| 6. Mr. R. N. Saha .. | .. | The Origin of Prefixes, Suffixes, and Verbal Roots. |
| 7. D. R. Mankad .. | .. | Some Peculiarities of the Sorathi Dialect. |
| 8. Prof. S. K. Chatterji | .. | Some Philological Notes. |
| 9. Dr. D. M. Datta .. | .. | The Development of Palatal Sounds in Sanskritic Vernaculars |

SECTION V

(ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND RELIGION)

President :—RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY.*Secretary* :—RAI SAHIB MANORANJAN GHOSH.

The sectional business at 10 A.M. on the 18th and 19th December, 1930.

The Presidential address at 11 A.M. on the 19th.

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|--|--|
| 1. Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi | A Parsi High Priest (Dastur), Azar Kaiwan, with his Zoroastrian Disciples at Patna in the 16th-17th Centuries A.C. |
| 2. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya | .. The Cult of Bhūtadāmarā. |
| 3. Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti | .. The Origin of Ornaments—(Being a study of Kerala Ornaments). |
| 4. Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantha-krishna Iyer. | Thammadi (a tribe in Mysore). |
| 5. Dr. P. C. Bagchi | .. Foreign Element in the Tantras. |
| 6. Prof. Kalpada Mitra | .. Ahivātārōga. |
| 7. Do. .. | .. The Svastika. |
| 8. Mr. Prakash Kumar Shastri | .. The Problem of Religious Consciousness as solved in Sikhism. |
| 9. Prof. N. M. Acharya | .. Traces of Śakti worship at Puri. |
| 10. Prof. P. I. Raman .. | .. Snake lore in Kerala. |
| 11. Prof. Kshitimohan Sen | .. Ānandaghana, the Jain mystic. |
| 12. Prof. Priyaranjan Sen | .. Basali worship in Orissa. |
| 13. Rai Sahib Monaranjan Ghosh.. | The origin of the name of Pataliputra and the cult of tree worship. |

14. Rai Sahib Monaranjan Ghosh.. Terracotta figurines in the Patna Museum and their relation to Ethnological races of India.
15. R. Subba Rao .. The Yenadis
16. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis .. A Revision of Risley's Anthropometrical Data relating to Indian Castes and Tribes, Part I, Bengal
17. Prof. Kalpada Mitra Ceremony of Rikhran.
18. Do. The Magic of Names
19. Prof. D. N. Majumdar . The Darlung Kukis of the Lushai Hills.
20. Do. .. Sorcery and Divination in primitive Society.
21. Do. .. The Economic Life of the Hos.
22. Major M. L. Bhargava . Are the Gotras and Pravaras of Kshatriyas the same as those of Brāhmanas ?
23. Pt. R. M. Shastri .. The Kayasthas.
24. Mr. D. N. Majumdar .. The Class and Fusion of Culture in Pergannah Dushi, District Mirzapur.
25. Do. .. The position of women in Ho Society.
26. Pandit Yamuna Prasad Tripathi Dharma and its importance.

SECTION VI

(HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY)

President :—DR. HIRANAND SHASTRI.

Secretary :—PROF. Y. J. TARAPOREWALA.

The sectional business at 10 A.M. on the 18th and 19th December, 1930.

The Presidential address at 10 A.M. on the 18th.

1. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerjee Asokan Chronology.
2. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar .. Arab Invasions of India.
3. Prof. A. S. Altekar .. The Home and Nationality of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed.
4. Dr. H. M. Krishna.. .. Excavations in Mysore—Some interesting finds.
5. Prof. P. K. Acharya .. Materials for Sculpture in the Ābhāsa
6. Prof. A. F. M. Abdul Qadir .. Early Muslim Visitors of Europe from India.
7. Prof. R. Subba Rao . Gangā Era and the fixing of the Initial Era.
8. Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti .. The Kulasekharas of Kerala.
9. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal .. New light on Nahapana.
10. Mr. H. K. Deva .. Affinities of the Kushana.
11. Mr. C. D. Chatterji .. Some Numismatic data in Pali literature.
12. Prof. Nilkantha Shastri .. Malakūta of Yuan Chwang.
13. Mr. U. N. Ghosal .. New light on the Gupta Administration.
14. Mr. Y. K. Doshpande .. The Yadavas of Devagiri.
15. Prof. D. C. Bhattacharya .. The Lost Kingdom of Harikela.
16. Prof. V. V. Mirashi .. Further light on Rama Gupta.
17. Mr. Syed Mohammed .. An inscription of Allauddin Hussain Shah, King of Bengal, at Nawadah near Barh in Patna District.
18. Prof. S. V. Venkateswar Aiyar Expansion of the Sātavahanas.
19. Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri .. Viśvāmitra in Bihar.
20. Mr. M. R. Mazumdar .. Pre-British Education in Guzrat

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|-----|-------------------------------|----|--|
| 21. | Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar | .. | The Kosars—their place in South Indian History. |
| 22. | Mr. K. C. Sarkar | . | The Capital of the Pāla Empire. |
| 23. | Prof. S. C. Chakravarty | .. | Some points regarding the origin of the Licchavis of Vaisali. |
| 24. | Mr. Y. K. Deshpande | . | A gold coin of an early Gupta King. |
| 25. | Prof. K. K. Datta | .. | Social, Economical, and Political effects of the Maratha invasions between 1740 and 1765 on Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. |
| 26. | Mr. Md Ghaus | .. | The share of the Anwar family in the early struggle of the English and the French in India. |
| 27. | Dr. Lakshman Sarup | . | Status of Women in Ancient India |
| 28. | Dr. C. Narain Rao | .. | New Asokan Edicts discovered at Yerragudi. |
| 29. | Pt. Jaychandra Vidyālaṅkāra | . | Raghu's Line of conquest along India's Northern Border. |
| 30. | Prof. Hafiz Shamsuddin Ahmad | . | Maner and its historical remains. |
| 31. | Prof. S. V. Venkateswar | . | Eclecticism before Akbar. |
| 32. | Prof. A. S. Ramakantacharya | .. | 'Senguttuvan', a Tamilian king of the 4th Century A.D. and his North Indian Expedition. |
| 33. | Prof. S. N. Ray | . | Some traditions of Asuras in Orissa. |
| 34. | Prof. K. K. Basu | .. | Somnath in Brahmanical and Foreign writings. |
| 35. | Prof. A. S. Altekar | . | The Theory and Practice of Reconversion in Ancient India. |
| 36. | Mr. R. N. Saha | .. | Two French Historical Documents before and after the battle of Plassey. |
| 37. | Mr. Bisheshwarnath Reu | .. | Rao Chandrasena, the forgotten hero of Rajputana. |
| 38. | Mr. L. K. Pandeya Kavyavinoda | . | The Chauhan King Bajjala Deva II of Patna State. |
| 39. | Mr. Puran Chandra Nahar | . | The Jain Tradition of the origin of Pataliputra. |
| 40. | Mr. S. Maqbul Ahmad | . | Khusru in Urdu. |
| 41. | Mr. R. N. Saha | .. | The discovery of a Georgian inscription near the Isvara Gangi Siva Temple at Benares. |
| 42. | Dr. S. K. Chatterji | .. | Historical and Cultural Research in Bali. |
| 43. | Dr. Md. Shahidullah | .. | Gopala I of Bengal. |
| 44. | Mr. Ram Rao | .. | The Anurmakswa Inscription of Kakati Rudra. |

SECTION VII

(FINE ARTS).

President :—MR. AJIT GHOSH.*Secretary* :—RAI SAHIB MANORANJAN GHOSH.

The sectional business at 10 A.M. on the 18th and 19th December, 1930.

The Presidential address at 11 A.M. on the 18th.

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|----|----------------------------|----|---|
| 1. | Dr. Stella Kramrsich | . | Pre-Gupta and Early Gupta Sculptures. |
| 2. | Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji | .. | Some Problem in the origin of Culture and Art in India. |

3. Pt. N. Chandalvarayan .. Music and Musical Instruments of the Ancient Tamils.
4. Mr. Muhammad Abdulla Chughtai. Hindu-Miniature Painters of the 18th and 19th Centuries.
5. Mr. M. Mahfuz-ul Haq .. A New and Authentic Signature of Bihzad.
6. Do. .. Some original materials for the study of Persian painting and calligraphy in the 16th Century A.D.
7. Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.. Archaeological evidence in support of the origin and development of Indian Painting and Musical Instruments from ancient times.
8. Prof. Kshitish Chandra Sarkar A new Specimen of Sūrya from Varendra.

SECTION VIII

(ARABIC AND PERSIAN).

President —MOULVI HIDAYAT HUSSAIN

Secretary :—MOULVI A. MAJID.

The sectional business at 10 A.M. on the 18th and 19th December, 1930.

The Presidential address at 11 A.M. on the 18th.

1. Sayid Sulaiman Nadvi .. Omar Khayam.
2. Mr. Abdul Azim Maiman .. The two Traditional Mistakes.
3. A Subhan .. The History of Arabic Poetry from the 1st Century B.C. to the 6th Century A.D. Its gradual Development.
4. Dr. Julius Germanees .. The Darvishes of the Janissaries.
5. Do. .. Arabic and Latin Script in Turkey.
6. Sayid Sulaiman Nadvi .. Arab and America.
7. Mr. S. M. Badruddin Alavi .. Arabic, the mother of Semitic Tongues.
8. Mr. Abud Ahmad Ali .. Characteristic features of the Poetry of Nabigha Dhubyani.
9. Mr. Wahid Mirza .. Urwa, the Beggar minstrel of Arabia.
10. Mr. R. N. Saha .. The Affinity of Persian, Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali with Arabic.
11. Mr. S. A. Maqbul Ahmad .. Hazrat Shahr Banu.
12. Prof. A. Latif .. Unique Beauty of the Arabic Language.
13. Prof. M. Mozafferuddin .. Rationalism in Islam.
14. Dr. M. Nizamuddin .. Early Persian Poetry.
15. Principal A. H. Harley .. A Biographical Sketch of Chalabi Begh Farigh.
16. Mr. S. M. Eushaw .. Hafiz of Shiraz according to his own view.
17. Prof. M. Mahfuzul Haque .. A note on the Autograph Copies of Saib's Diwan.
18. Prof. M. Ibnuddin Salik .. Nal-Daman.
19. Prof. Andalib Shadani .. A Forgotten Persian Poet and His Works.
20. Mr. M. Z. Siddiqui .. Al Beruni and His Works.
21. Mr. A. Haq .. Abu Tamam's Poetry.
22. Dr. S. M. Hussain .. An unknown ancient Arabic Ode, an-Nazz'ar b. Hāshim al-Asadi.

Sixth Oriental Conference

SECTION IX

(HINDI).

President :—B SHYAM SUNDAR DASS.*Secretary* :—PANDIT JANARAM MISHRA.

The sectional business at 10 A.M. on the 18th and 19th December, 1930.

The Presidential address at 12 A.M. on the 19th.

1. Pandya Ramavatar Sharma .. Kabira ka Kavya (Hindi).
2. Prof. Guari Shanker . The Mahābhārata in Hindi translations.

SECTION X

(URDU).

President :—MR. SALAHUDDIN KHUDABAKSH
Joint Secretaries :—{ PROF S. S. AHMED.
 { MR. SYED MOHAMMAD.

The sectional business at 10 A.M. on the 18th and 19th December, 1930.

The Presidential address at 10 A.M. on the 19th.

1. S. Masood Hasan Razvi . An Ancient Poet of Urdu
2. Mr. S. M. Aatur Rahman .. Rasikh, the Great Rekhta Writer of Patna.
3. Mr. Syed Yusufuddin Ahmad The Origin and Growth of Romance in Classical Urdu Literature and its Balkhi. influence on Modern Urdu Fiction.
4. Prof. Mohan Singh . The Nature of Hindu Contribution to Modern Urdu Poetry.
5. Mr. Samul Haque .. Modern Tendencies in Urdu Literature.

SECTION XI

(ORIYA).

President :—MR. G. C PRAHARAJ.*Secretary* :—PROF. ARTAVALLABH MAHANTI.

The sectional business at 10 A.M. on the 18th and 19th December, 1930.

The Presidential address at 12 A.M. on the 18th.

1. Raja Bahadur of Tekkali .. History of the Oriya Literature.
2. Prof. Priyaranjan Sen .. Western Influence in Oriya Literature.
3. Binayak Misra .. Ancient rhetorical composition in Orissa.

SECTION XII

(BENGALI).

President :—RAI SAHIB NAGENDRA NATH BASU.

Secretary :—MR. R. HALDAR.

The sectional business at 10 A.M. on the 18th and 19th December, 1930.

The Presidential address at 12 A.M. on the 19th.

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|-----------------------|----|----|---|
| 1. Mr. G. C. Saha | .. | .. | The Origin of Onomatopoetic words in Bengali. |
| 2. Prof. Gopal Haldar | | .. | Legend of Raja Gopichand. |

His Excellency the Patron, the President, and the Members of the Reception Committee with some distinguished guests at Mr. Jayaswal's 'At Home'.



1st Row—His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson (centre), Mr. Hira Lal (to the right) and Sir Jivanji Modi (to the left),
2nd Row—Mr. Justice Macpherson, Sir Md Fakhruddin, Mr Justice James, Mr K P. Jayaswal, Sir Courtney Terrell
3rd Row—Mr H. Lambert, Mr. H. E. Stapleton, Mr G. E. Fawcus, Mr M. Seth, Mr P. C. Manuk, Rai Br R. K. Jalan,
Moulvi Md. Feyaz Hassan Khan, Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth Oriental Conference.

Wednesday, 17th December, 1930.

INAUGURAL MEETINGS.

10-45 A.M. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, President of the Oriental Conference, was received at the entrance of the Senate House by the President and Members of the Reception Committee.

11 A.M. His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Patron of the Conference, arrived and was received by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, President of the Reception Committee, who presented Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, the Members of the Reception Committee, and the Executive Council of the Conference to His Excellency.

Lady Stephenson was conducted to her seat while the presentation took place.

A procession was then formed and entered the Hall in the following order :—

Dr. Hari Chand.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.	Mr. Reaz Hasan Khan.
Mr. J. S. Armour.	Mr. D. N. Sen.
The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur R. K. Jalan.	Mr. H. Lambert.
Mr. S. Sinha.	Raja Krityananda Singh Bahadur.
Mr. P. C. Manuk.	Mr. G. E. Fawcus.
The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor.	The Hon'ble Mr. Justice James.
The Hon'ble Sir M. Fakhruddin	The Hon'ble Sir G. Dutta Singh.
Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.	Rai Bahadur Hira Lal.

The Staff of H.E. the Governor.

His Excellency the Patron.

Sir Jivanji Modi.	Dr. A. C. Woolner.
Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.	Dr. R. C. Mazumdar.
Dr. A. Siddiqui.	Professor Md. Shafi.
Dr. S. K. De.	Dr. Lakshman Sarup.
Prof. S. V. Venkatesvara.	Mr. K. S. Aiyar.

Dr. S. K. Krishna Swami Aiyangar.

As the procession entered the Hall, all present rose from their seats, and remained standing till His Excellency the Patron took his seat on the dais. His Excellency the Patron, Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal took their seats on the dais. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal was seated to the right of His Excellency the Patron and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal to his left. The members of the Reception Committee and the Executive Council of the Oriental Conference sat to the right of the dais. The delegates and members of the Conference were seated in the front rows on the left-hand side facing the dais.

His Excellency **Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson** opened the Conference with the following speech:—

GENTLEMEN,

It gave me great pleasure to be asked to open the Sixth Oriental Conference and I gladly take the opportunity to offer you all a most sincere and hearty welcome on behalf of Patna and the whole Province. As President of the Research Society I tender you our gratitude for your acceptance of our invitation, and in my capacity as Chancellor, I should like to express to you the intense interest that the University is taking in this Conference. I could wish that the opportunity had fallen to my predecessor Sir Edward Gait, to whose enthusiastic interest our Research Society, and all our provincial efforts in the exploration of the vast field of history and anthropology owe so much; he would have risen to the occasion in a way that I cannot hope to. Had I read the opening speeches of the last five Conferences before I rashly undertook this task, I should have shrunk from the temerity of following in the trail blazed by Lord Ronaldshay, Lord Goschen and others learned in the lore of the past. But I take courage from the fact that the attractions that have brought you to Patna do not depend for their interest on my description and interpretation of them, and I am as proud as any one in the Province not only of our past glories but of the contribution that the investigation of them has made and will make to our knowledge of the history of India as a whole. We have in this Province an almost inexhaustible mine for historical research; I will only refer to two seams which we have been attempting to work. I have camped at Nalanda long before the first excavations were started when it consisted only of tanks and mounds which there was nothing save tradition and the knowledge of the experts to connect with the most famous seat of learning in the middle period of Indian History. Dr. Spooner started the excavations in 1916 and thanks to the Archaeological Department, we can now visualise this ancient Oxford; we can in imagination restore these monasteries and can see how the most famous scholars and divines of their age lived with those that came from all parts of the civilised world to listen to their

wisdom. We can trace in the brick work and the foundations the history of that ebb and flow of the culture of which this place was the centre. The various stages of desertion or destruction followed by rebuilding up to the final destruction are plainly revealed; and, perhaps as important as anything, we can link Nalanda on to other parts of Indian History already reconstructed. You will see all this for yourselves together with the statues and other fruits of digging housed in the Museum, which will be the envy of less-favoured places.

The other results of excavations which I referred are the discoveries at Pataliputra and in the Patna College grounds. Here close to the site of the glories of Magadha, evidence of a prehistoric civilisation has been found and the terra-cottas unearthed suggest the fascinating theory that this civilisation was linked to the Sindh civilisation and I understand that the date of the Sindh civilisation in its turn may entirely upset the accepted chronology of the Vedic and Avestic civilisations.

In the early years of antiquarian research in India the work was mainly undertaken by European scholars though more than 60 years ago Dr. Bhau Daji won a reputation for himself in this field. But in the last 20 years or so there has been a most hopeful widening of interest and Indians have themselves taken up, I will not say the burden, but the honour of research into Indology. This Conference is a notable proof of that and here in Patna, we are proud of our fellows, who have won a wide recognition in these studies. There are not yet in India the facilities for research which the student finds ready to his hand in Europe: but this will come and the Universities led by Calcutta are striving their best to advance such research. The wider public too have their duties and responsibilities to which they are perhaps only slowly awakening; it is their heritage that is being investigated and they cannot stand by indifferent. The Maharajahdiraja of Darbhanga has recently endowed a Maithili Chair at Patna. I would like to appeal to others to go and do likewise: enlightened patronage of the Universities in this shape is one of the surest means of advancing research: and personal interest and assistance in the learned societies who have taken up the labour of love is another way of helping. The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has fully justified itself and I gratefully acknowledge the help it has received from Maharajas, Rajas and other gentlemen not only in the Province, but also in the Orissa States, where the material for historical research is also great. Everyone I have approached for assistance in holding this Conference has responded to my appeal.

I will not detain you longer from the intellectual feast which is before you under the Presidency of Rai Bahadur Hira Lal. It would be presumptuous in me before such a gathering of scholars to dilate upon the services to philology, epigraphy, ethnology and every other branch of Indology that Rai Bahadur Hira Lal has rendered. I will only say that by general agreement you could have had no fitter President.

Mr. Jayaswal, President of the Reception Committee, welcomed the Conference to Patna on behalf of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and the Patna University with the following speech :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS, REPRESENTATIVES OF EUROPEAN AND INDIAN UNIVERSITIES AND OF LEARNED SOCIETIES,

I welcome you all as fellow citizens of a common empire of letters.

Our first duty is to offer our thanks to His Excellency the Patron, for the honour he has done to us by inaugurating our proceedings, for the personal interest he has taken in bringing about this gathering of learned India, and for his sympathy in general to the cause you represent. It is literally correct when I acknowledge that without his help it would not have been possible for the Research Society, who invited you, and the Reception Committee to make good their commitments to you.

Our Province—Bihar and Orissa—is a new unit created the other day, our Research Society was founded only in 1915, our University is still younger; our contributions, therefore, are yet too humble: we had no real claim to attract you to our Province. But we did venture to invite you to Patna—we did so to derive inspiration from a personal touch with you. When once more—we thought—the heirs of Pāṇini and Patañjali. Āśvaghoṣa and Āryabhata would meet here in this Capital and discuss here once more the problems of language and linguistics, literature and science, the traditions of our old city might revive. If not in our own right, certainly in the right of our eternal town—the Rome of Hindu India—to which all roads for arts, philosophies, law and sciences led for no less than ten centuries—in the right of that Pāṭaliputra, we might claim to be your host. We thought, even if we failed in other forms of hospitality, we would entertain you by recalling to you that to-day you are in the very land and on the very site, where lived, wrote, and left to you an undying heritage your Pāṇini, the first and still the foremost philologist of the world; your Kauṭilya, the Hindu Aristotle; your Aśoka who chiselled on the page of history the greatest royal truth: '*Real conquest is Duty*'; your Patañjali, the grammarian, who has ruled over the Sanskrit language for the last two thousand years; your Umāsvāti (62 A.D.) who still leads in Jaina philosophy; and your Āryabhata, the astronomer and mathematician, who at the age of 23 in 498 A.D. formulated the theory of the earth's gravitation and whose science, as he himself has recorded, was honoured by the citizens of this town. Most of the best Sanskrit dramas were composed and staged at Pāṭaliputra. In the fourth century women wrote plays here in Sanskrit with ease and elegance, and the Emperor Samudragupta, the greatest general of his time, struck his coins here with his picture in the

pose of a musician, and took care to note, on stone, his literary powers along with his Alexander-like career. Full fifty per cent., if you make an appraisalment of your national achievement, centres in and round this city. And if there be any property in the soil of His Excellency's Capital, to quicken literature and science, it will be to-day at your service.

Now, Fellow Members, identifying myself with you, I welcome our President Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, whom the Executive Council of our Conference under the guidance of our doyen Mahamahopādhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri have elected to preside over our deliberations. Their choice is eminently judicious. It has given satisfaction to all, including our foremost Indologist, Sir George Grierson. Mr. Hira Lal has been one of those workers whose results must go down to future generations. As to-day we cannot do without quoting Cunningham and Buhler, Kielhorn and Fleet, Bhagwan Lal and Bhandarkar, Rajendra Lal and Haraprasad Sastri, so, in future, scholars of Indian History must cite Mr. Rakhaladas Banerji and Mr. Hira Lal. These two names stand out in the generation following that of Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and Dr. Haraprasad Sastri. Mr. R. D. Banerji, who had been connected with the Bihar and Orissa Research Society by ties of most cordial friendship, has unfortunately been taken away from us, and we are poorer to-day in a measure beyond calculation. He and Mr. Hira Lal have filled up chapters of Indian History of which we knew mere outlines when we inherited Indology after Fleet and Kielhorn. There is not a single branch of Indology which Rai Bahadur Hira Lal has not enriched. Volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* extending over 22 years bear testimony to his labour as an epigraphist. He is the highest authority on the Kalachuri period which he has illuminated with his historical, geographical, and antiquarian researches. He has, along with Mr. Russell, given us a standard ethnological work on the castes and tribes of the Central Provinces, the like of which few Provinces yet possess. He has studied all the dialects current in his Province. He has surveyed the manuscript literature of that Province and made one of the greatest discoveries in Indian Philology, the discovery of a stage between the advanced Prakrit and the modern vernacular, which had been a missing link and which may be called the Mother of Hindi. Of this he found a connected literature from 900 A.D. to 1400 A.D. With all his accomplishments, Mr. Hira Lal does not know one thing: he has not learnt the art of self-advertisement. He had concealed his personality in the jungles of the Central Provinces and in the volumes of learned publications which publish no one to the lay eye. But our Executive Council would not allow Mr. Hira Lal to remain secluded any longer.

May I now, Ladies and Gentlemen, introduce to you my modern province and the work which is being done there? Thanks to the generosity of the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, one of our Vice-Patrons, we have now provision

for a chair in Maithil in the University, this brings us in line with Calcutta and Benares which have undertaken respectively to give scientific training in Bengali and Hindi. Patna College has been a centre since the time of McCrindle, and a tradition for original work has been kept up by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Mahamahopādhyaya Ramavatara Sarma and his successor Dr Harichand Sastri. Thanks to the public spirit of another donor, Mr. Nurul Huda, we have a first rate Madrasa at Patna since 1918, the Madrasa Islamia Shamsul Huda. His Excellency's Government maintain at Muzaffarpur (Tirhut) and Puri (Orissa) two Sanskrit Colleges as against one at Calcutta in Bengal and one at Benares in the U.P., and one first class Madrasa, the Madrasa Islamia Shamsul Huda, which all impart Oriental education up to the highest standard. They cost annually about Rs. 62,000. Government also support more than 300 Madrasas and Sanskrit Tols at a cost to public funds of about Rs. 1½ lakhs a year. In addition, they have established an Ayurvedic College and a Tibbi College, a Sanskrit Convocation, and two Superintendentships of Oriental Studies, which cost over Rs. 1 lakh annually. They keep up the Patna Museum, the Khudabaksh Oriental Library, the Research Society, a search for Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts, and an Ethnological Research, again at an aggregate cost of about Rs. 1 lakh a year. If I may be permitted to repeat here, what I said in the first volume of the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, these are good deeds which will never be lost. With the limited resources of the Province, the Government of His Excellency and his Minister for Education spend funds on the cause of Oriental learning, quite in keeping with the ancient traditions of Magadha and Mithila. We are on the verge of a constitutional change, on the eve of a new Government of India Act. May we Orientalists not hope that the Government of the future will follow up the policy of preserving our culture so liberally initiated?

May we look back and see what has been officially achieved in the search for historical truth in the general official scheme? The Department, organised at the instance of General Cunningham, has collected 26,000 inscriptions which, if placed side by side, will cover several miles in length. They have been patiently unearthed, and they are systematically being deciphered and published with an accuracy and scientific ability hardly equalled elsewhere, with the result that a gap of 1,500 years caused for want of written history—500 B.C. to 1000 A.D.—has been bridged. Nothing has contributed so much to the self-respect of the country as the fruits of the official labour of that Department. Without that, who knew the extent of the All-India empire of Chandragupta and Asoka, bordering on the eastern confines of Persia? Who knew of the kingdom and the empire of the Satavahanas covering four centuries? Who knew of the golden age of art and literature, architecture and sculpture, law and mathematics under the Gupta Emperors? That Department is entitled to look back with pride on its work

of 70 years which has been carried on purely in search for the truth of the past, and which has accomplished a result unparalleled in any other country or age—an unparalleled restoration of a lost history. Let us hope that the future administration will be a worthy successor in this respect, worthy of a similar review at an Oriental Conference of the future

May I, Ladies and Gentlemen, take the liberty of pointing out some weak spots in our studies which deserve your notice? Numismatics, Vedic, Hindu Sciences, and Persian are the subjects which call for new vigour. Fortunately the Numismatic Society of India is holding its annual sitting this year along with ours. Mr. Hodivala, Mr. Stapleton, Lt. Martin, and Mr. Prayag Dayal are keeping the torch burning. Of late, some veteran numismatists, for instance Sir Richard Burn and Mr. Nevill, have left this country. Our greatest authority, Mr. R. D. Banerji, who was familiar with Indian coins of every age, has passed away. We should not forget that some chapters of Indian History are exclusively contributed by coins. It is our duty not to let this branch of study become feeble. Nor have we any right to fall behind in respect of the Vedas in the land where they were first sung, where from birth up to cremation they still sanctify our life. In the West, Professors Whitney and Macdonell have carried on the work of Pāṇini in Vedic philology; in India we have not yet equipped ourselves to step in and take over the Pāṇini-Macdonell line. Persian calls for a serious band of workers; there we have not done anything of note lately. Similarly Avestic studies should find worthy followers of Sir Jivanji Modi. Our progress in scientific study of history, epigraphy, classical philology, literature, medicine, Hindu Politics, and in philosophy—at present so ably led by Professor Radhakrishnan—is gratifying. Hindu Sciences call for exponents, as a branch of theirs—the theory of sound—has got one in Sir C. V. Raman. Again, the spade has added a new material, a new problem. We have an unexecuted task in the tablets and seals of Mohen-jo-Daro. When they are read, then we shall know, to quote the words of an eminent English Orientalist writing to me, what Indian History is. Their solution is a trust left to us by the discoverer of Mohen-jo-Daro, Mr. R. D. Banerji.

While here, Ladies and Gentlemen, you will certainly like to see the oldest and the most sacred place in Eastern India, namely, Gaya, which was a famous place before the time of the Buddha, and which was known, before the Vedic scholar Yaska of the Seventh Century B.C., to have been identified as bearing the foot-print of Vishnu. The monument known to Yaska has come down to our time, now canopied over by a beautiful temple built by Rani Ahalya Bai. As Vishnu-pada is sacred to the orthodox Hindus, Mahabodhi, now called Bodh-Gaya, where the Buddha evolved his philosophy of right knowledge and right conduct, is a place which is sacred to the whole of the Buddhist world, one-third of the human race. Mahabodhi

occupies the site visited by the Emperor Aśoka, and there is now a structure thereon which Aśoka would have been pleased to see. It is one of the noblest religious buildings. It stands as a memorial to the first discovery of the truth of the equality of man and of his soul; it stands to-day equally as a monument of toleration and preservation of culture under the British Raj, which has dug out and repaired, restored, re-erected, and re-established the ancient Temple of Bodh-Gaya at a considerable cost.

The excavations at Nalanda, the Oxford of Hindu India, will arrest your attention as disclosing to you buildings described by the Chinese pilgrims. The excavations settle many debated points in the history of Indian architecture. We have there two arched rooms of pre-Muhammadan times, which prove that the construction of true arch was known in India before the Muhammadan period. The rooms are copies, in brick, of the rock-cut rooms in the Barabar Hills. This and the actual polished arch-stone, found by me at the Patna Dargah and now deposited in the Patna Museum, carry back the history of the arch in India to pre-Christian centuries. Similarly, the concrete plaster on the inner walls of Nalanda monastery No. 1 and the concrete floors prove the use of a cement composed of lime and brick-powder in Hindu times, traces of which were found in the Piprawah stupa built by the clansmen of the Buddha over his ashes. The brick work has a finish which gives you an impression of a modern building, and the conservation attempted in bricks of the same style by Mr. Page, is unique in the whole of India. The excavation was undertaken at the instance of and with a contribution by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and when you visit the spot you will have admiration for their judgment and generosity, and for the skill of the Archaeological Department. Standing there on the remains of the buildings, beginning from the time of the Gupta Empire and coming down to that of the kingdom of the Palas, you will be reminded of the most remarkable copper-plate inscription discovered and read by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, telling us that the Pala King of Bengal and Bihar had diplomatic relations with the King of Java.

At Patna itself, no doubt, you will examine the finds of the Pāṭaliputra Excavations, now housed in the Patna Museum, and inspect the sites of the excavations. You will find pieces of creepers in gold which Megasthenes saw in the palace of Chandragupta and described. You will see that remnants of the polished umbrella in stone which was fixed on the throne of the Mauryas, the chariot-wheel, steel implements of war, cast-iron, sawed granite stone, a gold-signet ring, pieces of the wooden palisades described by Megasthenes, seals cast in glass with Maurya letters and numerous articles of the Mauryan age. Even more engrossing than these, you will notice the pre-historic non-Hindu, non-Aryan culture depicted in the terra-cotta figures, discovered by chance in the grounds of Patna College and on the banks of the Ganges at Buxar.

I am certain, the Patna Museum and the home of the Research Society will please your artistic taste. When you have seen it, you will pronounce it to be the most beautiful museum building in British India and will congratulate His Excellency on having erected such a successful piece of architecture, which would have done credit to Modern Delhi. Fittingly presiding over the entrance hall, you will meet there the likeness of Sir Edward Gait, the scholar, in permanent marble—Sir Edward Gait, the founder of the Research Society, Patna University, the Patna Museum, the Bihar and Orissa Sanskrit Association, and of almost every institution of research or culture in Bihar and Orissa. Though in England, he still feels the same interest, as when he was here, in all those objects and causes which he planted and fostered or sowed for the future. To the Research Society he was more a fellow-worker than a founder. It is impossible for the Research Society not to remember to-day that gem of a scholar and that gem of an English gentleman, or for me not to remember him without some sentiment. Sir George Grierson, the greatest linguist, Sir Edward Gait, the greatest Indian Ethnologist, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, and Mr. Oldham whom every one of you now knows as one of the learned Editors of the *Indian Antiquary*, though at present outside Bihar, are our Bihar scholars, and we point them out to you as we point out our other learned possessions.

The Patna Museum possesses one of the richest collections of Indian coins, numbering about 11,000 ; and I invite you to pay a visit, the day after to-morrow, to that Institution and examine our possessions, along with the members of the Numismatic Society. Our punch-marked series alone numbers about 3,000, the majority of which belong to one single hoard found in the Province, at Purneah. The Museum also possesses the best known sculpture of the Maurya times—the Didarganj life-size, female image—which has been pronounced to be the finest piece of Hindu plastic art of the pre-Christian centuries. It was discovered in Patna City on the Ganges by a Muhammadan student of Patna College, and in my opinion is one of the figures which decorated the Nanda Palace called Sugaṅga. The description of a royal palace in the Uggama Jataka gives us the information that the corridors of a palace contained realistic female figures. You will see for yourselves how realistic the Didarganj image is. The Didarganj site, next to the Fort, would mark the position of the famous Ganges Palace of the Nandas and the Mauryas.

Before Patna became a capital once more, Khan Bahadur Khudabaksh, father of Mr. Khudabaksh, the Calcutta scholar and one of our Sectional Presidents, marked Patna as the site for his Oriental Library, the Bodleian of India. A Muhammadan scholar who was on his Haj pilgrimage reaching a library forgot, to quote his words, his 'Islam and pilgrimage'. When you visit that priceless library in this town you also may forget

your Islam and your Conference and your engagements thereto ; you will be engrossed in the most beautiful calligraphy, the most beautiful book-paintings, and rare texts in Arabic and Persian. You will have the pleasure of seeing a manuscript which bears the autographs of five Emperors of India . Jahangir, Shahjahan, Aurangzeb, Edward VII, and His Majesty King George V. With that intense love which makes great undertakings successful, Khan Bahadur Khudabaksh chose to be buried in the library he built and dedicated to the public. You will undoubtedly visit his tomb and pay your scholarly homage to it.

As one of our citizens collected Islamic manuscripts . similarly, another citizen has collected Moghul paintings. The latter is my esteemed friend, Mr. P. C. Manuk. Thirty years back when no connoisseur of art in Europe knew or valued Indian paintings, the critical eye of Mr. Manuk saw the excellence of this branch of the art-treasure of Modern India. During his residence at Patna he has gathered a collection of the Moghul and allied schools, which, as a representative collection, is one of the finest, if not the finest, in the world.

Pāṭaliputra is already known to you : in fact it is as much your heritage as mine. I have not therefore taken much time over Pāṭaliputra. But I have taken some time in introducing our modern Patna to you, as it is essentially ours. Now it is a British Capital, but it had been marked out as a seat of culture before the State gave it that official position. Here lived the Scotch scholar McCrindle, who left to us classical descriptions of India rendered into English in a complete form, which are being used everyday by historians and students of Indian history and will continue to be so used for years to come. Here Sir George Grierson, O.M., another Scotch savant, laid the foundation of his studies. He has always identified himself with Patna and Bihar. Here Ramavatara Sarma, lived and wrote his seventh Darsana in Sanskrit, a most severe philosophical denial of a universal author. Here Sir Jadunath Sarkar made full use of the Khudabaksh Library and gave us a classical work on the grand, tragic figure of Moghul history. Dr. Harichand, in whom we have the foremost authority on Kalidasa, not only keeps up the torch lit by Ramavatara Sarma, but is establishing a new tradition in philology and poetics.

With your advent, the life which is almost inherent in the soil of this place will receive a fresh impetus. May your own deliberations be crowned here with success like those of your predecessors—Varsha and Upavarsha, Pāṇini, Vyadi, and Katyayana, Patañjali and Pingala. Asvaghosha and Aryabhata !

We mark with gratitude the co-operation offered by the State of Norway, the University of Cambridge, the University of Paris, the University of Bonn, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Philological Society of London, the India Society of Art and Letters, London, the East India Association of London, Deutsches Morgenlandische Gesellschaft—

HYDERABAD. A.P.



RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A.
President of the Sixth Oriental Conference.

Germany, Société de Linguistique of Paris, and other bodies, by sending out their delegates to us. We also thank the Government of Angora, the Government of Morocco, Universities of Munich, Liège, Warsaw, Leiden, Zurich, Göttingen, Egypt, Jena, and Ohio who have sent greetings and good wishes to us.

I am afraid, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have taken too much of your time, and now I will not stand any more between you and your President. I welcome you once more most cordially on behalf of the Reception Committee and the Research Society of Bihar and Orissa and assure you of a similar welcome on behalf of Patna University, which the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor authorises me to extend to you.

Rai Bahadur Hira Lal then delivered his Presidential Address as follows :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is still a mystery to me how and why I have been brought here from the centre of primeval forest to the cradle of civilisation, and asked to preside over a gathering of the pick of intellects of this great Indian Empire, including lands of gold and diamonds, as Burma and Ceylon were once designated. It reminds me of an episode about two thousand years old, when a man from the same jungles was brought to this glorious land, and was admitted into an institution replete with men of greatest enlightenment. I mean Nalanda, that great seat of learning, of which not only Magadha, but the whole of Buddhist India, nay the Buddhist world, was rightly proud. This nameless person was, however, capable of being trained. He used his opportunities to the best advantage and developed such a remarkable genius that he finally became the head of that institution. But Nāgārjuna, as he is known from his works, was only 7 when he entered this province. I am exactly nine times that figure and am obviously too old for a training now, to be of any use even in the future, what to say of the present. The only reason, that I can think of for this course of action, is perhaps to present a contrast between the development of the Magadha civilisation and the primordial condition in which the main population of the Central Provinces has even up to this day remained. May be, a necessity arose for placing something sufficiently dark between the continuous flow of brilliant light that has emanated from this chair during the past decade and the dazzling splendour of the future stream, bound to issue forth in the next decennial period. But for this, there were hundreds of distinguished scholars, who could have been asked to fill the place far more fittingly than a denizen of Vindhya-chala. Whatever may have been the reasons which prompted you in making your choice, I have my own reasons to be grateful. I regard it as a great honour to the Central Provinces, known to the latter day history as the country of Gonds, who managed

to destroy all vestiges of progress, whenever they found an opportunity to dominate it. It is true that the country included parts of Cedi, Mahākośala and Vidarbha, which at the height of their prosperity got closely connected with Magadha at whose historic capital, we meet to-day. About a thousand years ago that famous King Karna Daharia of Tripuri in the Jubbulpore District, who wished to bring the whole of India under one umbrella, established his authority as far as Tirhut. His name is still remembered and calls forth almost unconsciously the oft-repeated doggerel '*Karna Daharia, Karna juhhar, Karna hāṅ jānai sansār*' 'Karna of Dahala, the great warrior, who does not know his battle cry?' The son of a 'Viśva vijayin' or universal conqueror—a title conceded to him even by his enemies, Karna augmented what his father had acquired and closely associated himself with this country. It was unfortunate that the link did not last very long. Despite that, it cannot but be regarded as magnanimous on the part of Magadha to revive the old associations. That grand old man whose sphere of activity was closely associated with this land a third of a century ago and whose name is affectionately remembered, particularly in Bihar, while wishing success to our Conference, echoes analogous sentiment. I particularly mention this as Sir George Grierson intimated to me, that he had in this city many old friends to whom he wished me to communicate his greetings. As these friends must necessarily belong to the Sarasvatī Gotra, to which the whole Conference has been rightly relegated by that French Rsi, Professor Sylvain Lévi, the compliments are necessarily meant for all the members. I therefore communicate them publicly. But when he wrote to say 'the Bihar scholars could not have done a more graceful act than to ask you to preside at Patna', I would only take the liberty of changing his phrase 'graceful act' to an 'act of grace' and to assure you that the grace so extended to me is cordially appreciated in my province.

Before we proceed we have to bemoan the loss of a great antiquarian, whose discoveries have stirred up the scholars of the world and taken back India's historic antiquity to about five thousand years. You have all heard about Mohen-jo-daro, which was first brought to light by Professor R. D. Banerji, when serving in the Archæological Department. With his singular knowledge of exploratory work, combined with epigraphical and historical learning, evidenced by his being called upon to contribute to the Cambridge History of India, Mr. Banerji rendered conspicuous service by unfolding what had remained an unknown past. He endeavoured to bring to the doors of even vernacular-knowing people a lot of ancient historical data, weeded from the traditional accretions of ages, by writing excellent books in his mother tongue, Bengali, the value of which was at once perceived, as is evident from the translations which were almost immediately made in other vernacular languages. He even went so far as to depict the society in ancient times

by delectable contributions in the form of charming novels, which were also translated in other vernaculars. Mr. Banerji passed away at a comparatively young age, with a lot of contemplated work yet unexecuted which, if he had had time to finish, would have been of tremendous value.

I now turn to the most pleasant duty of offering hearty congratulations on behalf of the Indian Oriental Conference and myself to that great scholar, the fourth President of this Conference, Shamshul-ulama Dr Jivanji Modi, who has been recently knighted. All will agree that he is a true successor to his adopted Guru, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. May Sir Jivanji enjoy for long the high honour which His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to bestow on him, as a recognition of his high scholarship and his great literary services.

It has been customary in presidential addresses to review the progressive advancement of Oriental learning and to offer suggestions for further progress, but my five predecessors have done that work so exhaustively, that hardly anything remains worth mentioning now. The First President with his profound learning in Sanskrit and allied literature, accompanied with a life-long experience of teaching-work, gave most valuable advice in regard to the study of Sanskrit, including Grammar, Nyaya, Vedas, Vedanta, and Artha Sastra. He also pointed out the spirit in which inscriptions should be interpreted and used and he emphasised two points, viz. to avoid undue artificiality and to maintain judicial outlook, in discussing controversial matters.

The Second President, Professor Sylvain Lévi, reminded his audience that great civilisations did not grow in the narrow frames of a local culture. It was necessary that with that infallibility, which only instinct can confer, the nation or rather the men of genius who made out a nation knew how to draw out of accidental features what was the permanent, out of local features what was general, out of particulars what was universal. He pointed out that this was the inspiration under which the Aryan genius made the greatness of India. But this has somehow disappeared, though attempts to revive it are being made.

Mahāmahopādhyaya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha laid special stress on Oriental research work within the country. A feeling had gained ground that research could only be done outside India, but happily this is being dissipated. Nevertheless, Europe has certain facilities for a study, which India does not possess. For instance, there are hardly any good libraries in this country, which may be said to smooth the way for reference, as they do in Europe. The Imperial Library of Calcutta is perhaps the biggest in the country, but it contains only 2½ lakhs of volumes, while the British Museum Library owns more than 30 lakhs. Even if compared with other Asiatic Libraries our Imperial Library is much smaller than that of Tokyo, which has nearly 4 lakhs of volumes. An author working in the British Museum

Library gets his reference books within a few minutes, but one cannot be sure of that in Calcutta, much less elsewhere in India. To authors living in the mofassil it takes months to secure the references they want. In my own experience I have sometimes received books so late that I had actually forgotten, what they were sent for. What are sometimes apt to be regarded as trifles prove of great benefit in the long run. To mention an example, the paper-cutting agencies in Europe keep the knowledge of scholars up-to-date with the least trouble. Immediately anything of any value in a particular subject appears in any journal, it reaches the hand of the interested person without delay, so that the latter knows exactly where he stands with up-to-date knowledge in his subject, but in India one might not know what progress had been made even during the course of a year. If any new discovery or theory is published in any journals, there is no means to ensure that it would reach the hands of all the persons interested in it. One cannot afford to subscribe for every paper, not even for selected ones of the best type, but in Europe half a crown may bring in about 2 dozen cuttings from a variety of papers, containing all relevant information on the subject of one's pursuit, without his moving out of his seat. These, as I have said are small things, but of great utility to the practical worker. What a tremendous amount of time these devices save ! I am aware of the fact that certain journals do supply short summaries of important articles, but summaries are summaries. I have heard complaints from scholars of merit in connection with the summaries of papers read in our Oriental Conferences as giving insufficient information to prepare one for a discussion. When this is the case with summaries prepared with special care, what can we expect from summary-giving journals, which try to squeeze as much as they can to save space ? The clues given by them may be useful to residents of cities, but in this vast country we have only 33 cities, as if to allot one to each crore of Hindu gods and their equal number of clients. With all the unremitting watchfulness on the part of these heavenly guardians not more than half a dozen of cities can claim even ordinary facilities for references to books and journals we have been talking about. Again these, at the most, may furnish something fairly adequate about India, but a broader outlook necessitates going out of the limited area and secure timely knowledge of the results of labours which fellow-scholars carry on in other parts of the world.

Another point on which Dr. Jha laid stress was the search of old manuscripts, their preservation, cataloguing and publication. It was a Pandita of Lahore, who first drew attention to these points more than 60 years ago with a salutary result, of which a critical summary was given by Mahāmahopādhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri in his presidential address at the Lahore Session of this Conference, in a most interesting manner, embellished as it was with anecdotes of personal experiences, as he himself had played a prominent part in that affair. In spite of

the 'loot of manuscripts' which followed the Mutiny, whereby thousands of them left this country to adorn the shelves of foreign libraries, coupled with the destruction of those that remained in the houses of Panditas, whose descendants were incapable of appreciating their value, several large collections have been made in various centres of learning, for instance, at Poona, Madras, Calcutta, Benares, etc. The Poona collection now housed in the Bhandarkar Research Institute possesses 20,000 Sanskrit manuscripts including the collections made by Drs. Bühler, Kielhorn, Bhandarkar, and others. The Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library has about 23,000 Sanskrit manuscripts with about half that number in Telugu and Tamil. The Calcutta Asiatic Society, owns 20,000 manuscripts of which 14,000 are in Sanskrit and the rest in Arabic and Persian. A good collection also exists in the Sanskrit College Library at Benares. It will be noticed that in all these collections Sanskrit predominates, and that it is the Asiatic Society of Bengal alone that has stored about 6,000 Persian and Arabic volumes, some of which were received from Tipu Sultan's Library at Serangapatam. Patna, however, owns a collection which once belonged to Kings and Emperors in and out of India. In fact it is considered to be one of the finest in the world. It also contains 6,000 manuscripts, but they include some of the rarest texts of which no second copies exist anywhere. 'Here there are records which were owned by generations of Emperors with their seals and autographs, with superb paintings and illustrations of calligraphy, which render them simply invaluable. The *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriah* or History of the Timurid family to which the great Moghuls belonged, has a note stating that its cost was Rs. 8,000. Indeed as many thousand pounds would not purchase it to-day.' It is embellished with no less than 133 illuminated folio pages painted by the most notable painters of Akbar's time, including Khwaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz, whose skill of eye and hand was so marvellous that he is recorded to have written on a poppy seed a chapter of Koran—an art which seems to have been still preserved in Delhi. There are artists in the Museum Darulfalah, who even now write more than 150 letters on a grain of rice. In fact they recently sent me one bearing 125 legible English characters, flawless in their formation, which can be seen in the Patna Museum, to which I have presented that wonderful rice. The wonders of the Khudabaksh Library can similarly be seen and realised by walking over a furlong from this place. The cataloguing of its manuscripts commenced in 1904, and 19 volumes have been published, yet about 10 volumes more must issue before the work is completed. The Khudabaksh Library, as it is called after its founder, was a private library and is an example of what even a private individual can do if he wills it. Khan Bahadur Khudabaksh managed to collect manuscripts not only from India, but from Cairo, Damascus, Arabia, Egypt, and Persia, with a passion, which ignored even penal laws. He succeeded in making his

library what he wished it to be, viz. one of the unique institutions in India. Inspired with a similar spirit a Mahant of Etawah devoted his energies towards making a grand collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, but the latter does not seem to have been used to the best advantage as yet. Thus it would appear that there has been a very laudable effort for searching our manuscripts and preserving them in certain centres under suitable supervision and also cataloguing a lot of what has been obtained, but the rate of progress has been somewhat slow.

A thorough exploration of Bhandaras, which the foresight and excellent arrangements of the Jainas have so carefully preserved, has yet to be made. Regarding Pattan Jaina Bhandaras, Professor Peterson said: 'I know of no town in India and only a few in the world, which can boast of so great a store of documents of such venerable antiquity. They would be the pride and jealously guarded treasure of any University Library in Europe.' There are 13,000 manuscripts in Pattan, a descriptive and annotated catalogue of which is in course of preparation. It may be mentioned by the way that Pattan is included in the Baroda State, which has taken the lead in India in instituting an up-to-date organisation for the dissemination of knowledge, through libraries, the like of which does not seem to exist in any other part of this country. The City Library of Baroda owns about a lakh of books, besides 17,000 volumes reserved for travelling libraries. The Oriental Department is separate, and contains as many manuscripts as there are in the Pattan Bhandaras. But what is most satisfactory about this institution is that it does not merely store and preserve valuable records, but brings out critical editions in what is called the Gaekwad Series. Seventy of them edited by most distinguished scholars are ready. Among the recent publications of this series the *Tattva Saṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita, an alumnus of the Nalanda University in the 8th century A.D., may be mentioned as the most important work. It aims at the refutation of all the philosophical schools then current from the standpoint of a Mahayanist and throws a side-light on many authors and their views, which were unknown as yet, while it solves many a knotty problem connected with Buddhism. This Bengali Buddhist was invited to Tibet by its King, and he inaugurated there the first monastic order, which finally developed into modern Lamaism.

Another notable work *Nyāyapraveśa* on Buddhist logic recalls the interest of Yuan Chwang in that subject. If it was really written by Dinnāga, it could not have failed to attract his attention, when we find that he did not hesitate to prolong his tour, when an opportunity for increasing his knowledge presented itself, as he actually did in Mahākośala (in the Central Provinces), where a Brahmana's mastery over logic induced him to study it at his feet before he left the place. Work of the same class has been and is being done in Mysore, Travancore, Kashmir, Benares, and elsewhere, but the organisation at Baroda appears to lead. In mentioning by way of example a few of

these stores, it must not be understood that I underrate the value of other collections or efforts made in that direction. In fact there are collections, which are even of greater importance than any I have referred to. The Sarasvati Mahal of the Bhonsla Maharaja Sarfoji at Tanjore contains, in the words of Dr. Bühler, 'a great many useful and a number of very rare and unique books, many of which are quite unknown or procurable only with great trouble and expense'. Dr. Burnell who made out the first catalogue of the library recorded that the Tanjore Library was 'perhaps the largest and most important in the world'. A descriptive catalogue is now in course of preparation and the editor calculates that the total number of manuscripts now in this library is likely to exceed 30,000. In the Hyderabad State a most extraordinary collection of both Iranian and Sanskritic manuscripts is said to be owned by Dr. Syed Muhammad Kasim in Patharghati, but I have not been able to trace whether anybody has ever tried to catalogue them. However, there is an awakening all round in this matter and the Government, recognising that 'it is a debt of scholarship due to the world to publish catalogues *raisonnés* of such manuscripts', has endeavoured to render financial aid, but so much remains to be done that it is felt that the present efforts need quickening.

Sir Jivanji Modi in his presidential address gave us a very interesting history of the origin of research work in India. He told us how Anquetil and Jones not only drew attention to it, leading to critical studies of oriental literature in Europe, both in the Iranian and Sanskritic fields, but they themselves took a prominent part in it. The study of Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature, as also that of Avestan, Arabic, and Persian poured a flood of light on problems of life, which are most vital, not to speak of other aspects which are otherwise pleasing.

The discoveries of Aśokan edicts stimulated a thorough study of Buddhistic literature, the pride of Magadha, at whose capital we are to-day throwing a glance on its past glories, glories and greatness, foretold by no less a prophet than Buddha. It was here, the old Pāṭaliputra, where a solemn Buddhist council was held and it was here that the latest book on the three Piṭakas was composed. The Jainas in those days were similarly wide awake, and did not fail to hold their own council. Somehow or other, their literature did not catch the attention of scholars. This may be due to the reticence of the old Jainas, who did not like to show their *granthas* to others and were till recently very much opposed to print and publish them. Anyhow it is now well known, as it was to a few scholars formerly, that the Jaina literature is very voluminous and important from several points of views. Written as it is in Prakrit, the spoken language of the ordinary people in ancient days, it opens out a most extensive field for a philologist. It has come in contact with almost all the Indian languages. Even the Dravidian languages have been influenced by it. Curiously the contact was brought about by a twelve years' famine, which supervened in the reign of

Chandra Gupta Maurya. It devastated the country and compelled a section of the Jainas to migrate to the South, and to establish themselves at Śrāvaṇa Belgola in Mysore, which became the centre of their proselytizing activities. The oldest Kanarese literature is of Jaina authorship, and the same can almost be said of Tamil, at any rate there is not a single branch of Tamil literature known to the early Dravidians, the authorship of which the Jainas did not share. The result of this widespread contact with local languages has been not only to impregnate them with new forms and expressions, but to enrich with new ideals and even literature. A Tamilian scholar has shown how Jaina scholars and teachers endowed the Tamil language by importing into it Prakrit and Sanskrit words in a Tamil garb, when writing books for the use of Tamil people, especially in the domain of philosophy, religion, and morality. It is thus that many Sanskrit words have found their way into Tamil either directly or indirectly through the Prakrit. In such contacts, however, there is reciprocity and if the subject is thoroughly studied the mysteries hanging about the origin of certain words, now thoroughly assimilated with Sanskrit, may some day be unveiled. In one of the best, if not the best dictionary of Prakrit entitled *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, which traces the origin of each word very minutely, we find certain words put down as *Deśī*, whose origin the author failed to find out. In the light of remarks just made an industrious linguist may here find suitable material for concentrating his researches on.

Again Jaina literature presents such a connecting link between old and modern languages that when thoroughly studied it may lead us to trace the true origin of a number of modern languages and fix the approximate dates thereof. The recent examination of certain extracts from Jaina works of different periods has led our President of the Reception Committee, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, to formulate a theory carrying back the origin of Hindi to about the 5th century A.D. That a *Deśa bhāṣā* apart from Prakrit existed in the Gupta period of Indian History has been noted in the *Narada Smṛti* and its continuance up to the seventh century is indicated by a casual reference in *Bāṇa's Harṣa-carita*, where it is stated that a poet of *Deśa bhāṣā* besides one of Prakrit accompanied the author of that historical romance, when he went on tour. Dr. Hertel a few years ago remarked, 'my researches on the history of Pāñcatantra have given a result, which neither I nor any European or Indian scholar could have expected. They have shown me how enormously the literature of the Jainas and especially that of the Śvetambaris of Gujarat, has influenced the Sanskrit as well as the vernacular literature of India'. How well the Jainas studied Sanskrit besides Prakrit in which all their religious texts are composed, will be apparent from the fact that they wrote commentaries in Sanskrit on all their religious *granthas*. It was in the 1st century A.D., that Umāsvāti, the composer of the Jaina Bible '*Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra*', inaugurated the

era of Sanskrit writing, and those who followed him produced many original works in that language, which remain unsurpassed by even Brahmanical scholars, who looked on them with anything but a friendly eye. Despite their hatred of everything Jaina, the Brahmanical people used some of their works with avidity. We are living in an age when the antipathy has disappeared, offering a great opportunity to make use of that great store of knowledge in various branches of literature, to wit, metaphysics, ethics, logic, history, and mythology, which Jaina scholars have left behind and which has been saved from vandalism by keeping it safe in Bhandaras in underground cells or encased in masonry work, which the incessant vigil of their custodians devised. Thousands of manuscripts have in this way been preserved, many in little-known out-of-the-way places, for instance, who could have dreamt of the fine collection of Digambara works at Karañja, a small village in Berar, until a happy idea of sending a Jaina graduate to inspect the temples there suddenly flashed up. The Karañja Bhandaras brought to light more than a dozen works in *Āpabhraṃśa*, in which only one complete work *Bhaviṣya-yatta Kāhā* had been published first in Germany in 1918 and later on in the Gaekwad Series in 1923. These works are of various sizes varying from Puranas of as many as 122 chapters to *Charitas* of 2 or 3 chapters. They are not as yet published. Their language shows unmistakable tendencies towards vernacular in declensional and conjugational forms as also towards rhyme in vernacular verses. These records are likely to furnish a complete refutation of the theory that rhyme came in Indian poetry from Arabic and Persian sources. In the words of Dr. Barnett, some day when the whole of these scriptures will have been critically edited and their contents lexically tabulated together with their ancient glosses, they will throw light on many dark places of ancient and modern Indian languages and literature. The Jaina community is a rich community in India. They have the means and capacity to bring their valuable works to light very expeditiously. In my view, they have not taken sufficiently vigorous action in this matter. Sporadic efforts have been certainly made by societies like the Jaina Mahāmaṇḍala and Sāmantabhadra Āśrama of Delhi, the All-India Digambara Paṛiṣad of Bijnor, the Bhavanagar Society and some enthusiastic individuals here and there, but a great deal more than this is required.

In this connection the example of Bengal for the resuscitation and advancement of the Bengali language and literature is worthy of imitation. Comparatively speaking they have made a great advance, not only in the departments of belles-lettres, in which epoch-making contributions by poets and novelists like Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Babu Dwijendra Lal Roy, Kazi Nazrul Islam, Babu Sarat Chandra Chatterji, and others stand out prominently, but also in history, philology, and philosophy some excellent books have been prepared, which have raised the Bengali literature. This has given an impetus to other verna-

culars including even Dravidian languages like Telugu, which have absorbed a good deal of it by translation, adaptation or otherwise. The literary Bengali being replete with Sanskrit words in their pure original form has afforded an excellent source for Hindi authors, since a turn was given to it by the great poet and writer Haris Chandra of Benares, about half a century ago. It is noteworthy that this poet at the tender age of 15 happened to pass through Bengal on his way to the sacred Jagannath, Puri, and had thus an opportunity of seeing Bengali dramatic performances. This made a great impression on his mind and led him to study Bengali with the result that 3 years later the first drama that he produced was *Vidyā-Sundara*, a translation of a Bengali drama. Once the start was given by a really great man, it was followed by lesser genius with great eagerness. Thus not only were many dramas and novels translated from Bengali into Hindi, but its puristic style moulded the Hindi diction to some extent. The Marathi language is considered to possess the largest number of Sanskrit words in its vocabulary, but its idioms and forms of expression are somewhat involved and do not afford such facilities for assimilation as do Bengali and Oriya, the latter being the youngest sister of Aryan languages. The cause of the current style in Hindi was much furthered by the *Nāgari Prachārini Sabhā* of Benares, which for a third of a century has done yeoman's service to the Hindi literature. The great work that it produced is a comprehensive dictionary of Hindi language through the unselfish efforts of a band of workers headed by one of our Sectional Presidents, Rai Sahib Syama Sundar Das, its founder President.

There has been almost a synchronous activity in nearly all languages for the preparation of comprehensive lexicons and encyclopædias during the past two decades. In the Marathi language Dr. Ketkar has prepared an encyclopædia in 20 volumes, which he has named as *Jñāna-Koṣa*. It is so excellent that it is now being translated or adapted in Gujarati, Kanarese, and Hindi. Bengal conceived the idea much earlier but has not yet completed it. It started its *Visva-Koṣa* in Bengali with a translation in Hindi, which has reached several volumes and yet a great deal remains to be done. In such enterprises a large amount of money is wanted, as also a good deal of time, labour, and ability. If any of these fail, the result is calamitous. For instance, the death of its chief editor has greatly retarded the progress of the *Andhra Encyclopædia* in Telugu. However, it is very satisfactory to find that a comprehensive dictionary in that language under the patronage of the Raja of Pithapuram, will soon supply one of the wants, which come in the way of an effort to study a language. Telugu is a very important language of the South, spoken as it is by about 20 million people. Tamil was the first Dravidian language to develop a literature of its own. Indeed apprehensions have been entertained in certain quarters that it might replace Sanskrit at least in Southern India. It is well furnished with dictionaries, vocabularies, and grammars.

Close to the Tamil country lies Hyderabad, which has given a great impetus to Urdu by making it a medium of instruction in the Osmania University. This step postulates an organisation for preparation of books in a variety of subjects taught in the University, together with a number of reference books, such as lexicons, commentaries, etc., which automatically augment the cause of the dialect. This is done by the Bureau of Translation, which has furnished text-books for Intermediate, B.A., and LL.B. examinations covering studies in History, Philosophy, Economics, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, Law, Medicine, and Engineering. The Bureau is now busy in preparing books for post-graduate studies in Arts and Science. In no other Indian University have matters gone so far, although vernaculars are now acknowledged as a suitable subject of study for University examinations, the lead having been given by Sir Asutosh Mookerji some years ago by admitting Bengali and other vernaculars for the M.A. and other degrees in the Calcutta University. It gave a great momentum to the philological and literary study of at least Bengali, on whose origin and development Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has made a most valuable contribution.

Along with these efforts to furnish sufficient help to a student, a number of literary societies have been started in connection with almost all important vernacular languages. They all afford an opportunity for a great deal of research work, especially with the aid of that monumental work, which Sir George Grierson, with his wonderful knowledge of over 500 languages and dialects, has recently finished. It is an indispensable guide notably in the matter of a 'broader outlook' bringing as it does side-lights from all directions, a point on which Sir Jivanji Modi laid special stress in his learned address. The recognition of vernaculars is a recent development and will take sometime to interest cultured men, in view of the fact that spoken languages have been generally regarded as unsuitable for serious work. When the great poet Tulsidasa selected spoken Hindi for his poem, he was vehemently discouraged on the ground that a living language was not a suitable vehicle for such a theme. He could not, however, be deterred from his purpose and produced a book which now ranks as one of the best ever produced in India or elsewhere. Merit cannot be marred by the language in which it is conveyed. Despite all this, the old prejudice has however persisted even in our Conference. The latter admits the vernaculars in its programme on equal terms, but the Allahabad Session presented a sad spectacle in this connection, where only a single person out of millions in U.P., sent up papers in Hindi. This neglect of what is to be the future *lingua franca* of India was so accentuated at Lahore, that it became a problem for serious consideration whether the Hindi section should be abolished altogether. To prevent this catastrophe frantic efforts were made at the last moment, which saved it from what appeared to be inevitable

at first sight. The scope of the address prevents me from entering into further details, but the fact is patent that there is enough of material, rather a super-abundance of it available to any person willing to devote his energies in the field of modern languages and philology.

At present the interest of our scholars chiefly centres in Archæology and History. It is a happy coincidence that during the period the Oriental Conference has been in existence, the Archæological Department has made some epoch-making discoveries. It was in the year 1922 that Mr. R. D. Banerji undertook the exploration of a Buddhist stupa at a locality known as Mohen-jo-daro or Mohan's mound in Sindh, and found that it was built on some other earlier remains. They were finally found to contain a great variety of antiquities including stone seals inscribed with legends in an unknown pictographic script, quite different from anything of the kind hitherto met in Indian art. Some of the latter when compared with those found at Susa in Mesopotamia exhibited such a close resemblance as to lead to the conclusion that they were from the same land. At any rate they showed the existence of very early relations of about 3000 B.C. between India and Mesopotamia. This led to the concentration of excavation on the spot with a number of superintendents from other circles, who finally dug up an extensive city with well-built houses furnished with their own wells and bath-rooms with brick flooring and covered drains, betokening a social condition of the people much in advance of what was then prevailing in Mesopotamia or Egypt. Gold ornaments and other objects found in these ruins exhibited marked artistic ability as well as technical skill pointing to a very high development in civilisation. In this way the finds of Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa revealed an amazing vista of prehistory, which is now being written upon by Sir John Marshall, whose *régime* as Director-General of Archæology has initiated a scientific study of the subject in all its branches and has brought to light data which promise to change the whole aspect of Indian History. It is under his guidance that Nalanda, Taxila, Sanchi, and our Patna, together with a number of other important mounds and ruins have been excavated and interpreted in a more rational manner than before. We shall be able to see some of the excavations in this city, which may not impress us much at first sight, but when their significance is explained their importance would be at once recognised. Some years ago when the diggings were going on, a European gentleman happened to visit the site by himself and was so disappointed that he advised his American fellow lodger in the Dak Bungalow not to waste his time in visiting useless pits, but when Dr. Spooner took the latter round and explained what they indicated, the Professor, as he was of a University, remarked how the whole aspect of the pits was changed in Dr. Spooner's company. There has been much controversy over the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Spooner, but there can be no question of his having located

a vast pillared hall of Mauryan time. The remains of the timber wall of Pāṭaliputra, seen and described by Megasthenes, were also later on discovered. These are royal remains of a royal city, but members will have opportunity of seeing the remains of a University with concomitant monasteries in a better state of preservation. These have been excavated at Nalanda, where some of the buildings were 4 or 5 stories high. Here a number of sculptures and inscriptions of great value have been found. One of the latter recovered by Dr Hirananda Sastri one of our sectional Presidents, is of very great importance, referring as it does to a monastery founded by a monarch of Suvarnadvipa or Sumatra and a convent by a king of Yavabhumi or Java. It is this and some other finds which have animated some forward scholars to form a Greater India Society, which is doing very useful work in bringing to prominent notice the influence of Indian civilisation in the Far East. Dr. Kalidas Nag has been so enthusiastic as to visit and re-visit some of these islands, one of which, Bali, still follows the Hindu religion. Dr R. C Majumdar has taken up one of the remotest Indian colonies, viz. Annam, on which he has contributed a volume under its old name Champa. These colonies even reproduced Ayodhya, Kausambi, Śrīkṣetra, Dvārāvati, Mathura, Kamboja, Kalinga, Malava, Daśārṇa, Saryu, and Sumera, thousands of miles away from their old namesakes. 'The numerous stone and brick temples, which in their dilapidated condition still excite our admiration, owe their existence to a mighty wave of civilisation carried across the ocean from the Indian mainland. They belong to Indian creeds and were raised to the same gods, who are worshipped in India proper up to the present day.' The religious movements, says Dr. Vogel, of the Hindu-Javanese period subsist as the greatest that the national genius of Java inspired by Indian ideals has been able to produce. The stories of Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa still form the themes of their literary works. The credit of original research in this connection is certainly due to French and Dutch scholars, but it is not less creditable to the Greater India Society, which is widely disseminating the knowledge of what was totally forgotten. Sir Aurel Stein has been long doing the same sort of work in an opposite quarter, but the amount of information yielded by his finds in the most inaccessible places, which his intrepidity enabled him to conquer, is simply enormous. His recent researches include the identification of Aornos, the capture of which by the Greeks formed the culminating feat of Alexander the Great's Indian campaign. The perusal of his account of the Central Asian expedition published at the end of 1928 alone would show what exploration requires and what it really means.

To return to our old Universities once more, Taxila, another great seat of learning, has disclosed a wonderful spectacle in spite of its devastation by the Huns and their predecessors of that ilk. Despite the devastation, the excavations of ruins have exposed numerous marks of its greatness yielding a lot

of historical data and enough of valuable articles to fill a local museum. The people of this once renowned and prosperous city were independent and apparently they bravely faced political troubles to maintain their position. To the Greeks they, however, submitted without opposition, but perhaps that was a diplomatic move to secure their help for humiliating their enemies. However, they had finally to accept the supremacy of the Mauryas, against whom they had once rebelled during the times of Bindusāra, whose son the Crown-Prince Aśoka, completely brought them to submission, and afterwards ruled at Taxila as the Viceroy of his father. It was from there that Aśoka went to Ujjain and married a lady, whose name is connected with Sanchi, which possesses perhaps the finest of all Buddhistic monuments in India. They seem to have been neglected from early times, as no notable pilgrims visited them. This may perhaps be due to the fact that Sanchi was not connected with any episode of Buddha's life. Whatever their importance in Aśoka's times, they became in local parlance in due course merely *Bithas* or domed heaps of cowdung cakes transformed into stones. The interpretations of these beautiful structures as put forth by the earlier generation of scholars were equally wild. Some formulated the theory that the gateway reliefs of the stupas were illustrations of the primitive Tree and Serpent worship, others said that the ruins proved that Buddhism in India was co-eval with Christianity. It was left to Sir John Marshall to give the correct interpretation and to expose the monasteries and temples which were buried under several layers of *debris*. His monograph, which will throw light on all what has been found there, is to be published very soon.

In Southern India the discovery of a number of inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, a hillock on the right bank of the Krishna in Guntur District, has led to a systematic exploration, which seems to have yielded a very important result. They indicate the existence of a southern line of Ikṣvāku kings who were Buddhist in religion and had built stupas and monasteries, one of which was dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks, who had converted Kashmir, Gandhara, Cina, Kerala, Tosali, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Tāmraparṇi, etc. There is also a mention of Siripavvata, where according to a Tibetan tradition, the great Nāgārjuna had spent his last days. This invests the present name of the hillock with a definite meaning and as such is of great importance to the antiquarian.

These successes and numerous others of the Archæological Department have infused an admirable spirit in private bodies and individuals, which has led to the establishment of a number of research societies in various Provinces, most of which have given a very good account of their output. For instance, the Varendra Research Society under the leadership of Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatia, with Mr. (now Rai Bahadur) Ramprasad Chanda as his second, has within a score of years shown wonderful progress even in the field of exploration of ancient sites

and collection of antiquities, which have been stored in the Rajshahi Museum. The excavations at Paharpur were first started by the Kumar and finally made over to Government along with an annual contribution of Rs. 2,000 in order to safeguard the interest of his museum. Here at Patna itself the high standard which the editor of the *Journal of the Research Society* has established has been recognised both in India and Europe. Indeed I know of no body in India, who can make the oldest sculptures and scripts tell their tales so well as Mr. Jayaswal. The knowledge that he brings to bear on the subject of his investigations can only be fully appreciated by men of deep learning in the same field, like, for instance, Dr. Luders, who not very long ago was so deeply impressed with the tenacity and skill with which Mr. Jayaswal had handled the Kharavela inscription, that he could not help bringing it to the notice of his German confrères. His wonderful capacity to marshal relevant facts from the vast field of Hindu literature as exemplified in his masterpiece, 'Hindu Polity,' is now a matter of common knowledge. Even the Puranas, which were relegated to the limbo of myths and legends so long, have been made by him to yield historical data of much importance and value. It is this discriminating element, shared by its contributors, which has set a seal of authority on the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. The fact, that there is not a single standard book published of late, including Professor Rapson's *Cambridge History of India*, which has not drawn upon or referred to it, must be a source of great satisfaction and pride to the members of this serene Society and to the province of its birth. The excavations at Patna were also carried out, helped by private enterprise, the expenses being borne by Sir Ratan Tata. The ruling chiefs have also taken the cue and have established their own Archæological Departments. In fact, some of the most important antiquities are included in Indian States, for instance, the famous Ellora and Ajanta caves belong to Hyderabad, the Bagh caves to Gwalior, the stupas of Sanchi to Bhopal, the colossal Jina of Śrāvaṇa Belgola to Mysore and the prehistoric rock paintings of Singhanpura to Raigarh. Everywhere excellent work is being done in this line. In some quarters a religious fervour has been aroused, as at Sarnath, where the Mahabodhi Society is now engaged in constructing a magnificent temple in keeping with the ancient edifices which once adorned the Isipatana Migadaya, where Buddha delivered his first sermon. The programme is an ambitious one aiming, as it does, to establish a Buddhist Cultural Institute, similar to that of Nalanda or the great seats of learning in Burma, Ceylon, and Siam.

A very satisfactory progress has been made in another branch of Archæology, viz. Epigraphy, the principal source of historical data in this country. In the *Epigraphia Indica* started by Government in 1888, no less than 650 articles on Indian inscriptions have been yet published. Germans have been most prominent in this field, and they remain unsurpassed both in

quality and quantity of their contributions. The late Dr Kielhorn, besides showing the way how epigraphs are to be dealt with, himself published as many as 119 articles, a figure which even the editors of that journal could not reach. Dr. Hultzsch, who occupied the Government Epigraphist's post for over 12 years contributed only 111 articles, the second biggest figure and he was also a German. Dr Buhler was another German who contributed a lot. Dr. Sten Konow though a Scandinavian with his extraordinary knowledge of languages raised the standard to the highest pitch, which is happily being maintained by the present editor. Several English and Indian scholars have interested themselves in it and have thereby solved a number of problems, which have put the history of India on a much sounder and reliable basis. I do not, however, consider that full use of these epigraphs has been made. They can tell much more than the names of kings, dates, and places. They contain a variety of information, social, economical, legal, philological, administrative, etc., which yet remains to be studied. For instance, the idea that a Dvivedi's son is necessarily a Dvivedi and that a direct descendant of an Agnihotri must bear the same family name, which is firmly fixed in the mind of the present generation, as it was in that of previous generations, is at once dispelled by a perusal of the Mandhata plates of Devapāladeva, which give 32 names of Brāhmaṇa donees, their fathers and grandfathers along with every individual's distinguishing epithet. An analysis would show that in some cases the three generations carry the same epithet, in others the epithet of the donee differs from that of his father and the latter's from that of the donee's grandfather. For instance, Lahuda Śarmā Dikshita was a son of Jasadeva Agnihotri and grandson of Nārāyaṇa Upādhyāya. Narsinha Śarmā Āvasthi was a son of Purshottama Dikshita, who was a son of Katuka Agnihotri. Another Āvasthi was a son of an Upādhyāya and a grandson of an Agnihotri and so on. This state of things prevailed in the 13th century A.D., indicating that the Brahmanical epithets given after certain qualifications had not crystallised into permanent family names till then. I regard this as important from an ethnographical point of view. Almost every record furnishes materials for different points of views, the importance of which varies according to the interest of the person using that material. I may perhaps be excused for quoting an example from personal experience. In my earlier days, when I took up deciphering of inscriptions, I wrote an article on an epigraph, which revealed a new dynasty unknown to Indian history. I thought it was very important from that point of view alone and therefore circulated it to a number of scholars for their opinions, which when they came astonished me. A great linguist wrote to say that what appeared to him most important in that record was the spelling of *Tāmra* as *Tāmvra* and *Kamala* as *Kamvala*, to which he referred in his note published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal of 1907. An American Professor said that he

was much interested in the legal aspect of pouring water to confirm a grant. In his 'Study in the economic condition of ancient India,' the author has collected a good deal of material on economic questions from Southern Indian inscriptions. It is not necessary to quote here all the points of views. Suffice it to say that an intensive study of these valuable records is necessary, as they are bound to unfold many valuable matters belonging to various departments of knowledge. With a wideawake scholar like Dr. Hirananda Shastri as the Editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, there is no danger of this being lost sight of. Here it may be mentioned that the *Indian Antiquary*, of which the *Epigraphia Indica* was once a supplement, has given a great stimulus to the study of epigraphy, as have the *Journals of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal and Bombay*. It is satisfactory to find their efforts being supplemented by new journals and research Societies. Bengal stands foremost in this respect with its numerous research and historical Societies, the pace having been much accelerated by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerji. There the beginning was made in 1784 A.D., with a very wide scope for enquiries extending to 'whatever is performed by man or produced by nature', within the limits of Asia. The former included history, antiquities, ethnology, religions, and languages and the latter all the sciences. The Asiatic Society has fostered both, encouraging in the end the formation of the Indian Science Congress. It also inspired Bombay to organise something on the same lines 20 years later, when an association was formed under the name of Literary Society of Bombay. This society in 1827 A.D. became a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, though it still remained closed to the Indians till 1840. Some thirty years later Dr. Bhandarkar became a prominent member, through whom our Oriental Conference may be connected with Bombay.

I have already mentioned in another connection the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, which has now taken the lead in epigraphical research. Though yet in its teens, it has done work which others have taken scores of years to finish.

The same causes have impelled cultured Indians to start some vernacular Societies, the principal one being *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* mentioned before, whose original object was the cultivation and improvement of Bengali language and literature, but it was subsequently extended to historical, archæological, and other scientific studies. Exactly the same happened with the *Nāgari Prachārini Sabhā* of Benares. In Bombay a similar society under the name of *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala* followed, restricting its field of action to historical researches. It is a matter of gratification that similar Societies now exist in almost all the Provinces, those in Madras, Punjab, Bihar, Mysore, Baroda, Hyderabad, Burma, and Ceylon being most prominent. Most of them have added museums of antiquities as the older societies did. The addition of a *Kalā*

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Bhavana to the Nāgari Prachārini Sabhā of Benares is the most recent example of the tendency in that direction.

With the birth of historical and critical sense, an altogether novel department of knowledge is endeavouring to take its proper place both on the Oriental and Scientific side. Nearly 30 years ago, the late Sir Herbert Risley launched a scheme for the ethnographical survey of the major Provinces in India, which produced most valuable results in the shape of voluminous descriptions of tribes and castes found in different parts of this country. It gave an impetus to the scientific study of the subject, leading to the founding of chairs for Anthropology in some of the Indian Universities. Prior to the initiation of his scheme, Risley had himself written a book on the tribes and castes of Bengal, in the wake of Sir Denzil Ibbetson's *Ethnography of the Punjab*, which really formed a chapter of that civilian's Census Report for 1881. Crooke followed Risley in writing similar volumes for N.W.P., now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Risley's scheme gave birth to an enormous collection of materials now embodied into several provincial volumes, for instance, six volumes for Madras, four volumes for the Central Provinces, and a number of others for Bombay, Punjab, Cochin, Mysore, etc. Although no volumes have been separately prepared for Bihar tribes and castes collectively, the Province has the proud distinction of owning in the words of Sir James Frazer, an anthropologist of a very high order, whose contributions in the shape of monographs of the most important aboriginal tribes have attracted the attention of workers in the same field throughout the world. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, one of our Sectional Presidents, has rendered most valuable service to the cause of the subject of his choice with an ardent devotion which has rightly won for him the first place in this country, and yet a good deal remains to be done. With all the collections made during the past 30 years assisted by thousands of co-operators, there still remains a lot of even field-work to be done. In some places these vast collections have not even seen the light. For instance, those made by the late Mr. Nanjundaiya of the Mysore State Council could not be put together in his lifetime and now this is being done by Rai Bahadur Ananta Krishna Iyer, who has just issued a volume with a notice of 15 castes covering about 500 pages. Mysore contains hundreds of castes and one can easily imagine the size of the whole collection when it is finally published. Anthropology is in its infancy, yet what a store lies before the future ethnologist for critical examination and interpretation. We find that even the home of the Aryas has not as yet been located. What an amazing array of arguments has been put forward in support of theories, some of which appear wide asunder as poles. One theory finds an arctic home for them, another in Lithuania or South Russia and others in the Highlands of Central Asia, in Babylonia, in Iraq, in Bactria in the Pamirs. Pandita Lachhmīdhār of the Delhi University has recently tried to refute all these and has endeavoured to establish

Kashmir as the real cradle of the Aryan race. He is right in remarking that the question bristles with enormous difficulties and still awaits a right solution.

In conclusion there is an enormous amount of spade work done, especially in Archæology and Anthropology which awaits intensive study. This is not an easy task to accomplish and requires an international collaboration before justice can be done to it. Even a scholar of encyclopædic knowledge and stupendous productivity, like Sir Aurel Stein, had to be assisted by scholars from Austria, Denmark, England, France, Germany, and Hungary before he could publish his latest book, 'Innermost Asia'. The Indian scholars can do a good deal in putting materials through sieve and make them ready for scientific use. Obviously the various University centres in this country are most suitable for this kind of work. If the officers of the Archæological Department undertook to deliver lectures in the series of what are known as University extension lectures with a view to train up young men in the methods of research, I am sanguine they could be relieved of much of the literary portion of their work at least. An examination of the contributions made to the *Epigraphia Indica* would show that most of the work there is done by scholars outside the Archæological Department. Some work might well be made over to capable societies, which have lately come into existence.

The present wants appear to be the settlement of many long pending controversies, an instance of which I have casually quoted, viz. the location of Aryan Home. Some other questions of the same type are the home of Kālidāsa and his date, Bhāsa's dramas, and localisation of Laṅkā. In matters of research work no such thing as a final decision of every disputable point exists. Each fresh attempt that promises to bring us a step nearer the truth therefore deserves encouragement. The present day scholars have imbibed this spirit, and it is their continuous activity which renders historical works, specially on ancient India, obsolete very rapidly, as some new find upsets the old theory. There is, however, a great desideratum which is now keenly felt and that is the absence of a history written from an Indian point of view. Active steps were taken in this matter more than two decades ago by the late Rai Bahadur Manmohan Chakravarti, but they did not fructify. The idea was however caught on by some writers of provincial histories and so far as I know, R. D. Banerji was the first to come in the field with a book of that type in Bengali. While reviewing that book a hope was expressed that other capable historians would do their bit for their Provinces, thereby facilitating the preparation of the History of India on the basis of materials furnished by those whose history it would be. In that review I mentioned even names of some prominent writers, whose contributions would be welcomed all over, and it is a pleasure to note that one of them, the modern Tod of Rajputana, has fulfilled the expectations that were then entertained of him. Mahāmahopādhyāya Rai

Bahadur Gauri Śaṅkara Ojha has recently written a comprehensive history of Rajputana in Hindi, which has been declared as a masterpiece both by European and Indian reviewers, based as it is upon a foundation of local knowledge, industry, and sobriety of judgment. The sweeping remarks which Dr. Vincent Smith passed in regard to the origin of Rajputs in his well-known history of Ancient India have been combated with an erudition, which has removed the injustice to that great martial race. If competent historians of other Provinces or at least linguistic unitary areas produce similar books, they would be rendering a great service to the cause of Indian History. It is indeed gratifying to learn that the Bombay Historical Society is taking the lead on the lines conceived by the late Chakravarti. There are many books written by capable Indians on certain periods of Indian history or on some particular kings. For instance, Mr. C. V. Vaidya has written three volumes on Mediæval India, but he has now embarked on another theme of writing a history of Sanskrit literature, impelled by the same thought.

In every department of oriental learning, there is a scope for work and improvement, but mere enumeration of the wants would produce no effects, nor would it do to prepare schemes, which are impracticable at the present moment, surcharged, as it is, with political propagandas. I would not therefore make an endeavour in that direction. But I would mention a simple want. There is a growing feeling that this Conference should at least undertake the issue of an annual bulletin or year book, something like the German *Minerva*, giving information about all important institutions, including learned societies and journals and important books issued during the year with notices as given in the Annual Bibliography of the Kern Institute. Its scope may be limited to India for the present. In 1916 efforts on a smaller scale were made by a Professor of an Allahabad College, who issued for three or four years a 'Literary year book', but it finally stopped. It however left a gap, which requires to be filled up through the agency of an institution like that of ours.

And now, Gentlemen, before I resume my seat may I remind you of a tradition which Patna has established, viz. whoever returns home from Patna with a resolution, he attains success and excellence. Some 32 years ago, it was from Patna that Sir George Grierson went to Simla and thence Home to undertake the linguistic survey of India and you all know the sequel. If we made a similar resolution and proceeded home, will not the tradition equally help us ?

Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Ex-President of the Oriental Conference, made a speech in which he made a reference to the work of Indological Research carried from Patna which was so largely associated with the name of Mr. Jayaswal that the two names had become almost identical. He thanked the Reception Committee on

behalf of the Delegates and moved a vote of thanks to His Excellency for extending Government patronage to the Conference

He invited special attention of Government to scholars and their work.

The vote to His Excellency was carried by acclamation.

The meeting was declared adjourned for the day by His Excellency.

At the conclusion, the procession left the Hall in the order in which it entered. The President and the members of the Reception Committee took leave of His Excellency the Patron.

1-2 P.M. Lunch was served on behalf of the Reception Committee.

INVITATION TO GOVERNMENT HOUSE

3-45 P.M. The Delegates were invited to the Government House to a Tea Party by His Excellency and Lady Stephenson in the afternoon. The party was largely attended by the Delegates and gentlemen and ladies of the Province.

MOSHAERAH.

6 P.M. There was a Moshærah in the Wheeler Senate House and Linguistic Society Meeting in the Patna College. The Moshærah was very popular and so the gathering was very large.

Thursday, the 18th December, 1930.

7-30 A.M. There was a Paṇḍita Sabha in which many Paṇḍits of repute from Benares and other Paṇḍits of the Province, who were specially invited, and Delegate Paṇḍits took part. Śāstrārtha in the traditional style and lectures in modern fashion engaged the attention of the audience which included some European gentlemen and ladies.

10 A.M. to 1 P.M. Sectional business and the reading of Presidential addresses and papers of the following sections were carried on in the Patna College :—

1. History and Archæology.
2. Classical Sanskrit.
3. Arabic and Persian.
4. Fine Arts
5. Philosophy.

1-2 P.M. Lunch was served on behalf of the Reception Committee.

2-3 P.M. The Delegates visited the Patna Oriental Public Library. Every facility was given by the Honorary Librarian to

the Delegates to see the manuscripts of which there is a unique and large collection in the Library.

RAI BAHADUR RADHA KRISHNA JALAN'S GARDEN PARTY.

3-45 P.M. Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan invited the delegates to a Garden Party. Many of the Delegates enjoyed the river trip to Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan's Quila House on a steamer engaged by the Rai Bahadur for the purpose. On the way they saw the old sites of historic buildings on the riverside. Some of the Delegates went to the Quila House by motor service supplied by the Reception Committee. The Quila House occupies the old site of Sher Shah's fort. The Delegates were pleased to see the Fine Art collection of the Rai Bahadur including some manuscripts.

8 P.M. The *Mudrārāksasa* was staged by the members of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta, who were specially invited for the purpose. The performance was quite successful and the gathering was large.

Friday, the 19th December, 1930.

7-30 A.M. Delegates visited the site of the Kumhrar Excavation

10 A.M. to 1 P.M. Sectional business and the reading of Presidential addresses and papers of the following sections were carried on in the Patna College :—

1. Vedic.
2. Philology.
3. Hindi.
4. Urdu.
5. Anthropology, Mythology, and Religion.
6. Bengali.
7. Oriya.

1 P.M. Lunch was served on behalf of the Reception Committee.

2 to 3-30 P.M. Delegates visited the Patna Museum and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

MR. JAYASWAL'S AT HOME TO MEET THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE.

3-45 P.M. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal invited His Excellency, Lady Stephenson, ladies and gentlemen of the Province and the Delegates to meet Mr. Hira Lal, President of the Conference, in the fine grounds of the Patna Museum. The party was largely attended and was a very successful function. A photograph of a group containing

the Patron, the President of the Conference, the President of the Reception Committee, Members of the Reception Committee, Sir Jivanji Modi, Mr. Justice Macpherson, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, and others was taken.

6 to 8 P.M. A general meeting of the Conference was held in the Council room of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Saturday, the 20th December, 1930

7 A.M. Delegates went by motors and motor buses to Rajgir hot springs and visited Nalanda Excavations and the Museum.

Mr B. L. Dhama was at home to the members of the Conference in the Inspection Bungalow at Nalanda at 3-30 P.M. and the Reception Committee entertained the Delegates at Rajgir

Proceedings of the Section of History and Archæology.

The meetings of this Section were held in the English Lecture Theatre of Patna College on the 18th and 19th December, 1930. Dr. Hiranand Shastri delivered his learned presidential address on the first day, surveying the manifold contributions made by archæology to the study and elucidation of ancient Indian history. The number of papers listed under the History Section was very large, being as many as forty-four in number; so the President wisely decided to limit the amount of time to be devoted to each reader. This necessitated merely the reading of the papers and no discussion on them was possible. In several cases the writers had to content themselves with giving a brief summary of the salient points of their contributions.

The following is a list of the papers read :—

1. Dr. Radha Kumud Asokan chronology.
Mukerjee.
2. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar .. Arab Invasions of India.
3. Prof. A. S. Altekar .. The Home and Nationality of
the Rāṣṭrukūṭas of Malkhed.
4. Dr. H. M. Krishna .. Excavations in Mysore—some
interesting guides.
5. Prof. A. F. M. Abdul Early Muslim Visitors of Europe
Qadir. from India.
6. Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti The Kulasekharas of Kerala.
7. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal .. New light on Nahapana.

8. Mr. H. K. Dev .. Affinities of the Kushans.
9. Mr C. D. Chatterji .. Some numismatic data in Pali literature.
10. Prof. Nilkantha Sastri .. Malkūta of Yuan Chwang.
11. Prof. U. N. Ghosal .. New light on the Gupta Administration.
12. Mr K. C. Sarkar .. The Capital of the Pala Empire.
13. Prof. K. K. Dutta .. Social, economical, and political effects of the Maratha invasions between 1740 and 1765 on Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa
14. Dr. Lakshman Sarup .. Status of women in Ancient India.
15. Mr. R. N. Saha .. Two French historical documents before and after the battle of Plassey.
16. Mr. Bisheshwarnath .. Rao Chandrasena, a forgotten hero of Rajputana.
17. Dr. S. K. Chatterji .. Historical and cultural research in Balli
18. Dr. Md. Shahedullah .. Gopala I of Bengal
19. Mr. R. N. Saha .. The discovery of a Georgian inscription near the Iswara Gangāśiva Temple at Benares.

Other papers could not be read as their writers either did not attend the Conference or were engaged in the work of other sections.

Proceedings of the Classical Sanskrit Section.

The meetings of this Section were held on the 18th and 19th December. Pandit Vanamali Chakravarti Vedāntatīrtha was in the chair.

The following gentlemen read the papers mentioned against their names on the 18th December, 1930 :—

1. Dr. Haradatta Sharma .. Kuntaka's conception of the Guṇas.
2. Pt. S. S. Suryanarayan .. Haradatta Mīśra and Haradatta Śivācārya.
3. Miss Godavari Ketkar .. The Similes in the Ramayan.
4. Mr. P. V. Kane .. Fragments of Kohala.
5. Dr. Amareshwar Thakur .. Laws of ownership.
6. Mr. H. R. Davekar .. Some readings in Bhāmaha's Kāvyaśāṅkāra
7. Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi .. Bhrīgadūta, a new Khaṇḍa-kāvya

There was no discussion on any of the aforesaid papers.

At the request of some members of the Section the President agreed to deliver his speech at the close of the meeting on the second day, and not at 11 A.M. this day as shown in the programme.

The second meeting of the Section was held on the 19th and the following gentlemen read the papers mentioned against their names :—

1. Pandit Dayanand Jha .. Some researches in Hindu Astronomy.
2. Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti. Characteristic features of Saṭṭaka form of drama.
3. Prof. Kunhan Raja .. A new drama of Bhāsa.
4. Pt. Dinanatha Shastri .. Suparnachiti Method of measurement of time.
5. Dr. Mangaldeva Shastri Harisvāmi, Commentator of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the date of Skandasvāmi, Commentator of the Ṛgveda.

No discussion was held on any of the papers read.

The gentlemen noted below were absent and their papers mentioned against their names could therefore not be read :—

1. Prof. D. C. Bhattacharya Mandana, Sureśvara, and Bhavabhūti: the problem of their identity.
2. Prof. S. K. Das .. The Education of the Prince in Ancient India.
3. Pt. K. L. V. Shastri .. Śrī Harṣa's place in Sanskrit Literature.
4. Dr. Ishwar Datta .. The place of science in Sanskrit Literature.
5. Prof. Siya Prasad Bhattacharya. .. (1) The Dhvanyāloka and the text of the Dhvanikārikās ;
and
(2) The Vṛndāvana Kāvya and its author.

Mr. R. M. Joshi, who was present, did not bring his paper. It could not therefore be read.

The meeting terminated with a brief presidential speech, which embodied the purport of the President's written speech, which, he said, was not completely ready for delivery. Sanskrit grammar was the main theme of his speech. He pointed out that, in spite of the restraints imposed by grammarians like Pāṇini, the language had considerably changed and would not cease to do so, as long as it continued to be written. He therefore emphasised the need of an

up-to-date Sanskrit grammar, which should contain all that is correct and reasonable both in Western scholars like Whitney and ancient Indian scholars like Pāṇini. He also laid stress on the necessity of a complete Sanskrit dictionary compiled from an Indian point of view. Finally he deprecated the slow progress that research work has hitherto made in India and exhorted the scholars present to carry on with redoubled vigour.

Proceedings of the Arabic and Persian Section.

The meetings of this Section were held on the 18th and 19th with Shamsul-Ulama Dr. Hedayat Hussain, Ph.D., in the chair.

On the 18th December, 1930, the proceedings began at 10 A.M. The room (History Department, Patna College) was full to overflowing. The following papers were read :—

1. Ali bin Rabban and his works by Dr. Zobair Siddiqui.
There was some discussion as to the correct word Mazeyar.
2. Omar Khayam by Maulana Syed Solaiman Nadvi. The paper deals with the sources of information about Khayam's birth and death, part of the paper was read.
3. The Dervishes of the Janissaries by Dr. Julius Germanus
4. Arabic and Latin Script in Turkey by Dr. Julius Germanus.
The paper was discussed by the author in a very interesting way.
5. The presidential address by Shamsul-Ulama Dr. Hedayat Hussain. In this learned address the development of education and erudition in early Medieval India under the Muhammadan monarchs was portrayed. The dissertation started with the reign of Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Ghori in the 12th Century A.D. and traced the progress of culture and learning through the reigns of subsequent Muhammadan Monarchs. The general interest and zeal for learning shown by the Islamic rulers, their plentiful munificences towards the cause of education, the flourishing scholarly authors, the erudite works published and the educational systems under the Muhammadan rulers in pre-Mughal period were all dealt with. Among the Monarchs Nasir-ud-din 'the Ascetic Emperor', Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, Jalal-ud-din, Ala-ud-din Khalji, Firoz Shah Tughlaq, and Sikandar Lodi showed considerable interest in scholarship and munificently patronised education, although every monarch has received due treatment of the individual part he played in the propagation of learning. The scholarly authors and their works, though too numerous to be enumerated, were mentioned and received a just treatment in the dissertation. Every subject

of medieval interest, such as—History, Jurisprudence, Logic, Astronomy, Politics, and Literature—was properly dealt with. Every authority of importance, such as—Firishta, Badauni, Raverty, Barani, and Ma'arif—had been consulted and were quoted frequently. Moreover every available document of original interest had been perused. Besides tracing the development of education the political and social backgrounds of the times were incidentally portrayed.

6. Early Persian Poetry by Dr. M. Nizamuddin. There was some discussion on Bahram Gore's connection with Arabia.

The meeting was adjourned at about 2 P.M.

On 19th December, 1930, the proceedings began at 11 A.M. The attendance was as usual. The following papers were read—

1. The two traditional mistakes by Maulana Abdul Aziz Maiman.
2. An unknown Arabic Ode (by An Nazzar) by Dr. S. M. Hossain.
3. Rationalism in Islam by Professor M. Mozaffaruddin
4. A forgotten Persian poet by Professor Andalib Shadani.
5. Abu Tammam's poetry by Dr. A. Haque.
6. Urua, the beggar minstrel by Professor S. M. Badruddin.

The following papers were not read on account of the absence of their authors or for want of time:—

1. History of Arabic poetry by Maulana Abdus Subhan, Madrasa Islamia Shamsul Huda, Patna.
2. Arabic, the mother of semetic languages by Syed Muhammad Badruddin Al Alavi, Muslim University.
3. Characteristic features of Arabic poetry by Professor Abid Ahmad Ali, Muslim University.
4. The affinity of the Persian, Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali with the Arabic by the law of interchange by R. N. Saha, M.R.A.S., Benares.
5. Hazrat Shahr Banu by Mr. S. Maqbul Ahmad, Allahabad.
6. Unique beauty of Arabic language by Professor A. Latif, Chittagong College.
7. Hafiz of Shiraz according to his own view by Mr. S. M. Eushau, B.A., Madras.
8. A note on the autograph copies of Saeb's diwan by Professor M. Mahfuzul Haque, M.A., Presidency College.
9. Letters of Rashiduddin relating to India by Professor Muhammad Shafi, Lahore College.

Proceedings of the Section of Fine Arts.

Meetings of this Section were held on the 18th and the 19th December, 1930. Mr. Ajit Ghosh was in the chair and the meeting of the first day was graced by the presence of the General President,

Dr Hira Lal, and other distinguished people. The following papers were read :—

1. Pandit N Chandalvarayan read his paper ' Music and musical instruments of the Tamils '.
2. Prof. Muhammad Abdulla Chughtai read his paper on Hindu miniature painters of the 18th and 19th centuries.
President made a brief observation on the paper
3. Presidential address by Mr. Ajit Ghosh, M.A., B.L.
4. Dr. Andreas Nell from Colombo asked for information on certain points, which was supplied.

On the 19th December, 1930, amongst the members were present : Miss Katherine Ball, Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda, Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy, Mr Nirod Bandhu Sanyal, M.A., B.L., Prof. Kshitish Chandra Sarkar, M.A., B.L., Mr. Tarapada Bhattacharyya, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Ph.D., Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, and others.

1. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee read his paper—' Some problem in the origin of Culture and Art in India '. Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda dwelt on the question of contact between Mesopotamia and Indus Valley Culture
2. Prof. Kshitish Chandra Sarkar read his paper—' A new specimen of Sūrya from Varendra ' which was illustrated by a plate.
3. Mr Nirod Bandhu Sanyal, M.A., B.L., read his paper—' Aghora-Rudra ', which was illustrated by a plate.
4. Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh read his paper—' Archæological evidences in support of the origin and development of Indian painting and musical instruments in ancient times ', which was illustrated.
5. Prof. Tarapada Bhattacharyya, M.A., read his paper ' The Mānasāra and other treatises on Indian Architecture '.

The rest of the papers (numbering two) were taken as read. President remarked that papers numbered 2, 3, and 5 ought to have been included in the Archæological Section.

Note.—Dr. Stella Kramrish did neither come nor did she submit her paper. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee promised to send his full paper later on.

Proceedings of the Section of Indian Philosophy.

The meetings of this Section were held on the 18th and 19th December with Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in the chair. After the presidential

address was delivered the following papers were read in the two meetings :—

1. Rai Bahadur Sardar M. V. Is Bhagavadgītā post-Buddhist ?
Kibe.
2. Pt. Ram Swarup Sastri .. Prācina Nyāya and Navya
Nyāya (in Sanskrit).
3. Pt. Devikanta Sidhanta Shastri Tantratattvam.
4. Prof. D. Srinivasachar .. A Critical Review of Sattarka
Dipavali—a Prācina Tīkā
recently unearthed.
5. Prof. Umesh Chandra Bhatta- The Concept of Svadharma in
charya the Gītā.
6. Prof. Dakshinaranjana Sastri The Lokāyatikas and the
Kāpālikas.
7. Prof. Umesha Misra .. Gaudapāda Bhāṣya and Māṭhara
Vṛtti.
8. Prof. Asutosh Shastri .. Vedantic Intuition and Mysti-
cism.
9. Prof. Hirendralal Sengupta . Exponents of the Mādhyamika
Philosophy
10. Pt. N. Ayyasvami Sastri .. The Madhyamārtha-Saṅgraha
of Bhāva-Viveka (Restoration
from the Tibetan Version).
11. Mr. R. Nagaraj Sharma .. New light on Srivijayendra-
tirtha's works.
Renaissance of Realism in
Indian Philosophy.
12. Mr. Ramakantacharya .. Was Sri Śaṅkara a Vaiṣṇavite?
13. Mr. Dharmendra Brahmachari A Note on the Adhyāsa of
Śaṅkara.
14. Dr. D. M. Datta .. Theory of Pakṣatā.
15. Mr. R. Chand .. The Doctrine of Transmigration
of Soul, Indian and Greek.
16. Mr. Krishnamoorthi Sarma .. The Māṇḍukya Kārikās of
Gaudapāda.
17. Mr. H. R. Rangaswami Mādhava—an old Sāṅkhya
Aiyangar. teacher.
18. Prof. T. R. Chintamani .. Prakāśa, Śrīkara, and Kṣīrasā-
garamisra—three old Mimāṃ-

Proceedings of the Vedic Section.

On the first day (i.e. the 18th December, 1930), the proceedings began at 10-30 A.M. The President declared at the outset that, as a rule, he could allow only ten minutes for the reading of a paper and five for any discussion that might ensue. First of all,

Dr. Woolner was asked to read his paper entitled, 'R̥gveda and the Punjab'. No discussion followed. Prof. Lachhmīdhār Śāstrī then read a summary of his paper on 'The Home of the Āryas'. A lively discussion followed in which Dr. Woolner, Mr. R. Chand, Dr. Mangaldev Śāstrī, and others took part. The third paper read and discussed was that of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja entitled 'The Valabhi School of Vedabhāṣyakāras'. The paper took nearly an hour and appeared to be highly appreciated by the audience. In the discussion that followed Mr. R. Chand, Dr. Laksman Sarup, Dr. Mangaldeo Śāstrī, and several others took part. With the reading of Mr. H. C. Chakladar's 'Contribution of Bihar to Vedic Culture' the proceedings of the first day came to a close.

The sectional business began next day at 10-15 A.M. with the reading of the presidential address on 'Vedic Interpretation and Tradition'. It took nearly an hour, after which Prof. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya was asked to read his paper on 'The Cradle of the Indra-Vrtra Myth'. In the ensuing discussion Mr. H. C. Chakladar, Dr. Sukthankar, and several other scholars took part, but the difficulty of discussing on the merits of an original paper, of which nothing beyond the name had been previously known to the audience, was most keenly felt here. Dr. Siddheswar Varma was next asked to read his 'Studies in the Accentuation of Sāma Veda'. A lively discussion, led by Dr. Taraporewala, Mr. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, the President, and others, went on simultaneously with the reading and illustration of the main points in the paper.

With the reading of the last-mentioned paper the proceedings came to a close, the papers of Prof. Ekendranath Ghosh, Prof. S. V. Venkateshwar and the writer of 'Nidānasūtra of the Sāma Veda', who were absent, having been taken as read.

Proceedings of the Philology Section.

There were two sittings, one on the 18th and another on the 19th of December, 1930.

On the first day, selections from the long paper of Dr. S. Varma were read. There was running discussion right through and the paper was of great interest.

On the second day, the President delivered his address on the home of Indo-Europeans.

Then Dr. Shahidulla read his paper on the Munda affinities of Bengali. Rev Dr Bodding, who was present, offered some interesting remarks on Santali.

The other papers were taken as read.

The following is the list of papers accepted by the Section in addition to the address of the President, viz. 'The home of the Indo-Europeans' :—

- (1) The whispered vowels in Indo-Aryan by Baburam Saksena, Esq., Allahabad.
- (2) Some linguistic technical terms and their rendering into Sanskrit and Arabic by Prof S. K. Chatterji, Calcutta
- (3) Munda affinities of Bengali by Dr. Shahidulla.
- (4) Culikā Paisāci by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Calcutta.
- (5) Dialects of the Khāsālī group by Dr. S. Varma.
- (6) The tertiary stage of Indo-Aryan by Prof. S. K. Chatterji, Calcutta.
- (7) Some peculiarities of the Sorathi Dialect by D. R. Mankad.
- (8) The Study of Telugu roots by Dr. C. Narayana Rao.
- (9) A phonetic transcript from Toda by Prof. S. K. Chatterji.
- (10) Chinese transcriptions of foreign words by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Calcutta.
- (11) The development of the palatal sounds in some Sanskrit vernaculars by Dr. D. M. Datta, Patna.
- (12) Home of the Aryans by Lakshmidhar Kalle, M.A., Delhi.

Proceedings of the Urdu Section.

There were two sittings, with Mr. S. Khudabaksh, Bar.-at-Law, in the chair, on the 17th December at 6 P.M. There was a Moshaerah.

The proceedings began at 6 P.M. The hall (Wheeler Senate House) was fully packed; and a large number of distinguished scholars and visitors also were present. In the absence of the President, the chair was taken by Qazi A. Wadood, Esq., Bar.-at-Law. A large number of poets recited their poems. Among those the following were most prominent and their poems were much appreciated :—

- Prof. A. Mannan, 'Bedil', of Patna College.
 Prof. 'Andalib Shadani', of Dacca University.
 Munshi Sukhdeo Prasad Verma, 'Bismil', of Allahabad.
 M. Reyaz Hasan Khan, 'Khayal', Patna.
 Mr. Nasiruddin Husain, 'Nasir', Bar.-at-Law, Patna.
 Dr. 'Mubarak', Patna.
 Dr. 'Majnun', Patna.

The Moshærah was a grand success in every sense. It was closed in thunders of applause at about 10 P.M.

The proceedings recommenced at 10 A.M. on the 19th December. Almost all the distinguished Urdu, Persian, and Arabic scholars that had come from different places to attend the Oriental Conference were present.

The presidential address was a very interesting but brief survey of the whole field of Urdu Literature in general, and of the part Bihar had played in the development of Urdu in particular. It evoked much enthusiasm and was finished in great acclamation.

Papers read.

1. *Mushafi and his Circle*, by Q. A. Wadood, B.A., Bar.-at-Law, This paper is very illuminating and throws much new light on the subject. Part of the paper was read.
2. *Rasikh as a Rekhta-Writer of Patna*, by S. M. Ataur Rahman, M.A. This paper shows real research work in a field little explored before. It is very interesting and instructive. Part of the paper was read.
3. *The Origin and Growth of Romance in Classical Urdu Literature, and its Influence on Modern Urdu Fiction*, by Yusufuddin Balkhi, B.A. This paper also evinces genuine merit. Part of the paper was read.
4. *Modern tendencies in Urdu literature*, by Saidul Haq. Part of this paper also was read and was much appreciated.
5. *An Ancient Poet of Urdu*, by Prof. Masood Hasan Razvi, M.A. The paper was not read in the absence of the writer.
6. *The nature of Hindu contribution to modern Urdu Poetry*, by Prof. Moham Singh, M.A. The paper was not read in the absence of the writer.

The meeting terminated after 12 A.M. It was one of the most successful sectional meetings of the Conference, as testified in the 'Maarif' by the Director of Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, who himself graced the meeting by his presence.

Proceedings of the Anthropological Section.

There were two meetings of this Section, with Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy in the chair.

In the first meeting, held on the 18th December, the following papers were read :—

1. Prof. K. P. Mitra—*Ahivātaroga* (No. 6). (Full discussion by Rev. P. O. Bodding.)

2. Prof. K. R. Pisharoti—The origin of ornaments (being a study of Karala Ornaments) Discussion by the President, Prof. K. P. Mitra, Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.
3. Prof. Kshiti Mohan Sen—Ānandaghana, the Jain mystic (No. 11). Discussion by Dr. Bagchi, Prabhudutt Shastri.
4. Mr. P. K. Shastri—The Problem of Religious Consciousness as solved in Sikhism (No. 8). Read for him by Dr. P. D. Shastri.
5. Dr. P. C. Bagchi—Foreign Element in the Tantras (No. 5).
6. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis—A Revision of Risley's Anthropometrical Data relating to Indian Castes and Tribes (No. 16). Discussion by the President and Dr. Boddling.

Put from the chair and unanimously carried the following resolution :—

Resolved that the Anthropological Section of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference recommend to and request Government that early steps be taken for making provision for taking more exhaustive anthropometric measurements of all the tribes and castes of India.

7. Prof. N. M. Acharyya—Traces of Śakti Worship at Puri (No. 9).

Dr. J. J. Modi read his paper on a Parsi High Priest (Dastur) Azar Kaiwan with his Zoroastrian Disciples at Patna in the 16th-17th centuries A.C.

The second meeting was held on the 19th December, 1930, and the following papers were read :—

1. Prof. K. P. Mitra—The Svastika (No. 7).
2. Presidential Address.
3. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya—The cult of Bhūtaḍāmara (No. 2).
4. Pt. R. M. Shastri—The Kayasthas (No. 23).
5. Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh—Terra-cotta figurines in the Patna Museum and their relation to ethnological races of India (No. 14), with plates. (Plates with the author.)
6. Pandit Jamuna Prasad—Dharmastadāvaśyakatā ca (in Sanskrit) (No. 26).
7. Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti—The cult of Jayadūrgā. (Paper not given.)

Other papers on the printed list were taken as read.

Proceedings of the Hindi and Oriya Sections.

Both these sections had each two sittings on the 18th and 19th December. Mr. B. Shyam Sundar Das, the President of the Hindi,

delivered a learned speech in Hindi, and two papers were read in the meetings of the Section presided over by him :—

1. Pandeya Ramavatar Sharma—*Kabir kā Kāvya*.
2. Prof. Gauri Shanker—The Mahābhārata in Hindi translations.

The Oriya Section was presided over by Mr. G. C. Praharaj. Besides his learned address, two papers were read in the meetings of the Section presided over by him :—

1. Raja Bahadur of Tekkah—History of the Oriya Literature.
2. Prof. Priyaranjan Sen—Western Influence in Oriya Literature.

Proceedings of the Bengali Section.

This Section had two sittings, one on the 18th and the other on the 19th December. The President, Rai Sahib Nagendra Nath Vasu, was absent and Professor Kshitimohan Sen Sastri, M.A., of Viswa Bharati, Santiniketan, was selected by the General Secretary to act as the President.

The paper of Mr. G. C. Saha 'the Origin of Onomatopoeic words in Bengali' was rejected by the Acting President

The Presidential Address of Rai Sahib Nagendra Nath Vasu was read.

In the second sitting on the 19th December, Professor Gopal Haldar, M.A., B.L., read his paper 'Legend of Raja Gopi Chand' which was very much appreciated by scholars and others present. A discussion followed in which Dr. Mohammad Shahidullah of Dacca University and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of Calcutta University and the Acting President took part.

Dr. Shahidullah of the Dacca University in congratulating the writer of the paper referred to the date of the Nāthas who on an examination of the Nepalese sources, he concluded following M. Sylvain Lévi, must have flourished in the 7th-8th centuries A.D.

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji of Calcutta University said that he could not add anything of more interest to the foregoing. The writer was working under him and he had suggested to him the subject of the discussion as one raising certain important problems. He was inclined to believe that until they had more lucky finds, perhaps from Tibet or Nepal, the problems would not admit of any solution.

The Acting President, Professor Kshitimohan Sen of Viswa Bharati, brought to the notice of the writer and the ladies and gentlemen present of some new sources which he had come across in the course of his searches for mediæval mystic songs. The legend persisted in distant localities, among monastic and ascetic orders who are shy of public gaze and publicity. Thus the Yogis have their seats and manuscripts in the Frontier and in the Kālabbhairava temple of the Gorakhpantis in Lahore. Songs about them or manuscripts of their order are commonly found among the mendicants and in monastic libraries at Hinglaj in Sindh, at Dinadhar Hill in Cutch, in Kathiawar and Bhavnagar. The Kabirpanthis speak of the meeting between Kabir and Gopichandra. The cults and traditions of the Nāthas persisted and may be traced in those of the Bāūls and Darveshes who had adopted Islam. Hence the full and complete study of the question is possible, according to the speaker, only if one devotes oneself to make it a life-work, by living amongst these various orders of people and learning what they had to impart, but would never do so except to the really deserving, who approach them not with intellectual curiosity but with a living spiritual fervour and hunger.

The Acting President gave his address on the Bāūls of Bengal on which he is a recognised authority. The address was highly interesting and many of the songs and sayings of these mystics, full of poetic beauty and spiritual fervour, were brought before the public for the first time.

GOVERNMENTS, INSTITUTIONS, AND SOCIETIES REPRESENTED IN THE CONFERENCE.

GOVERNMENTS.

No.	Names of Governments.	Names of Delegates.
1.	Government of India (Archæological Dept.)	Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle. Do. Western Circle. Government Epigraphist for India. Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum.
2.	Government of the United Provinces (Ministry of Education.)	Dr. Mangal Deo Shastri, M.A., Ph.D.
3.	Government of Bihar and Orissa (Ministry of Education.)	Dr. Hari Chand Shastri. Dr. Azimuddin Ahmad. Hafiz Shamsuddin Ahmad. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq. Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies. Superintendent of Islamic Studies.
4.	Government of Hyderabad ..	Mr. K. M. Ahmad. Mr. S. Yusuf.
1.	Kgl. Norsk Generalkonsulat. (Norway.) Government of Baroda ..	Rev. Paul Olaf Bodding. Dr. B. Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph.D. (Director of Oriental Institute). Prof. G. H. Bhatt, M.A. (Professor of Sanskrit). Prof. Kazi, M.A. (Professor of Persian, Baroda College).

UNIVERSITIES.

No.	Names of Universities.	Names of Delegates.
1.	University of Dacca ..	Prof. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. Dr. M. D. Shahidullah, M.A., B.L., D.Litt. Dr. S. M. Hussain, M.A., D.Phil. Mr. W. H. Andalib Shadani, M.A., M.O.L.
2.	University of Delhi ..	Maulvi Haji Abdur Rahman. Pandit Lachmi Dhar.
3.	University of Madras ..	Dr. C. Kunhan Rajah. M.R. Ry. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, Avl.
4.	University of Agra ..	Pt. Haradatt Sharma, Ph.D.
5.	Aligarh Muslim University ..	Dr. S. Hadi Hasan, B.A., B.Sc., Ph.D.

No.	Names of Universities.	Names of Delegates.
6.	Osmania University, Hyderabad	Maulvi Abdul Haq. Dr. Abdul Haq, B Litt, Ph D Dr. Nizamuddin, Ph.D
7.	Lucknow University ..	Dr Radha Kumud Mukerji, M.A., Ph D. Prof. K P. Subrahmanya Iyer.
8.	University of Allahabad .	Dr A Siddiqi, M.A, Ph.D.
9.	Annamalai University ..	M.R Ry K Rama Pisharoti, Avl., M A
10.	University of the Panjab ..	Dr A C. Woolner, failing him— Dr. Lakshman Swarup and Prof. Md. Shafi.
1.	L'Université de Paris .	Dr. P. C. Bagchi. Dr André Weil Dr. Hari Chand.
2.	University of Cambridge .	Prof. H. G. Rawlinson.
3.	Universtat Bonn vertreten..	Dr Breloer.

COLLEGES.

No.	Names of Colleges.	Names of Delegates.
1.	Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Cawnpore.	Prof. Munshu Ram Sharma, M.A.
2.	St. John's College, Agra ..	Prof. Harihar Nath Tandan.
3.	Sri Chamarajendra Sanskrit College.	G. K. Timmanachar, M.A., B T.

SOCIETIES, ETC.

No.	Names of Societies, etc.	Names of Delegates.
1.	Anthropological Society of Bombay.	Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, C.I.E Vishwanath P. Vaidya, Esq
2.	Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal.	Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M.A., M.R.A S. Mr. Brajendra Mohan Maitra, M.A., B.L. Mr. Kahitish Chandra Sarkar, M.A., B.L. Mr. Bijaya Nath Sarkar, B.A., C.E Mr. Nirad Bandhu Sanyal, M.A., B.L. Mr. Dharani Mohan Maitra, M.A., B.L

No.	Names of Societies, etc..	Names of Delegates.
		Mr. Saroshi Kumar Saraswati, M.A. Prof. Upendra Nath Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Prof. Radhagovind Basak, M.A., M.R.A.S. Prof. Siva Prasad Bhattacharya, M.A. Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, M.A. Mr. Kalidas Datta. Mr. G. V. Acharya, Curator.
3.	Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.	
4.	Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch.	Sir Jivanji Modi, Kt. V. P. Vaidya, Esq., Bar.-at-Law. P. V. Kane, Esq., M.L., Advocate. Mr. G. V. Acharya.
5.	Royal Asiatic Society, London.	[Representatives did not attend.]
6.	The Philological Society, London.	Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.
7.	The India Society, Art and Letters.	[Representative did not attend.]
8.	Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft, Bonn.	Dr. Breloer.
9.	Societe de Linguistique, Paris.	Dr. A. C. Woolner. Prof. S. K. Chatterji. Dr. Hari Chand.
10.	Anjuman Taraqqui Urdu of Patna.	Qazi Abdul Wadood, Esq., Bar.-at- Law.
11.	Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.	Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S.

LIST OF ORIENTAL CONFERENCES AND THEIR PRESIDENTS.

I.	Poona	..	1919	..	Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.
II.	Calcutta	..	1921	..	M. Sylvain Lévi.
III.	Madras	..	1924	..	Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha.
IV.	Allahabad	..	1926	..	Dr. Shamsul Ullema J. J. Modi.
V.	Lahore	..	1928	..	Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sāstri, C.I.E.
VI.	Patna	..	1930	..	Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, B.A.

Articles.

Section of History and Archæology.

President :

DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D.LITT.

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ARCHÆOLOGY IN INDIA AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR INDIAN HISTORY.

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India is an ideal country for research. Her ancient literature including the *Rgveda* which is decidedly the oldest book known in this world, her ancient civilisation which is still surviving, her numberless old sites full of antiquities of all sorts lying unexplored from Kanyākumārī to the foot of the great Himalayas afford very rich material to the explorer in whatever branch of research he may engage himself without ever causing him very strenuous labour or enormous expenditure provided, of course, he has a desire to get at it. India will prove a real *rasundharī* for him.

Indians of the hoary past did not care much for history, not because they were destitute of historical instinct but because they cared more for the next world than for the matter of fact human existence. To them the world before their eyes was *māyā* or illusion and what was beyond the grave or the *śmaśāna-bhūmi* was the real world. It is owing to this wrong or perverted conception of metaphysics that we do not possess real historical works written by the ancients of this country. It is on this account that we practically know nothing in regard to our great sages and heroes and it is on this account that we are led to take them to be mere myths. The wonder of wonders is that whereas the stories of other countries which were formerly taken to be allegories are gradually being proved to be historical facts, our legends, *itihāsas*, *purāṇas*, etc., remain hardly more than mere fiction. Even the *Arabian Nights* are now being taken seriously and the seven voyages of Sindbād the Sailor, to be history, so much so, that endeavours are now being made to trace out the valley of diamonds in right earnest. This would not have been the case had our ancestors thought of this living world also and not preferred to waste their energies on *parvatō vahnimān*, *dhūmāt*; *yan=n=aivam tan=n=aivam*, and so on. One would wonder indeed when he remembers that these very scholars had the mottoes like *yas=tarkeṇ=ānusandhatte, sa dharmmam veda n=etarah*, and *na ṛte srāntasya sakhyāya devāḥ*, i.e. 'He alone knows what *dharma* is, whose investigations are based on *tarka*, i.e.

critical acumen,' and that 'the gods do not become friendly without one's exerting himself'. In spite of all such sayings the fact remains that ancient India, though long after the Vedic age which was full of life and vigour and where people were taking the world as a reality and not as mere *māyā*, was more for the world beyond the grave than for the immediate present, more for to-morrow than for to-day.

The veil of darkness which encompasses their lives is so very impenetrable that even the sharp spade of Archæology sometimes becomes blunt while tearing it asunder. We know next to nothing regarding the personal history of *rsis* like Yāska, Pāṇini, Patañjali and others and writers like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and others. What did we know regarding Emperors like Aśoka and Samudragupta and others before epigraphists came in with their discoveries to help us? What the late Dr. V. Smith stated about Samudragupta, the mighty Gupta Emperor, is equally applicable to many a worthy son of India who came on the stage, played his part and disappeared and we have to make guesses regarding his personality. 'By a strange irony of fate this great king (Samudragupta)—warrior, poet, and musician—who conquered nearly all India and whose alliances extended from the Oxus to Ceylon, was unknown even by name to the historians of India.... His lost fame has recently been slowly recovered by the minute and laborious study of inscriptions during the last eighty years; and the fact that it is now possible to write a long narrative of the events of his memorable reign is perhaps the most conspicuous illustration of the success gained by patient archæological research in piecing together the fragments from which alone the chart of the authentic early history of India can be constructed.' Had our forefathers bequeathed to us real *itihāsas*—true accounts—the history of this country would have had a different reading. Luckily for us, they have left behind them archæological, epigraphical, numismatic and other materials which, when properly worked out, do help us to collect historical facts regarding ancient India. The Government of India by creating and maintaining the Archæological Survey Department has enabled us to bring a good deal of such material to light. In realising that the preservation of the relics of the past is a primary obligation and a duty we owe not only to India but to the whole civilised world, Government has recognised the debt it owes to its forerunners. The conservation or preservation of monuments, the working out of the historical

material and the maintenance of the agency through which it is being accomplished, I mean the Archæological Survey Department, are real boons conferred on us, for which we are all thankful. But for this noble work much of the material on which Indologists are now engaged would have been lost, possibly for ever. It is to Lord Curzon, in the first place, that all this is mostly due and we are highly grateful to him for it. Without indulging in platitudes, I would like to say some words about the pioneers of Archæological Research in India and other scholars, Indian as well as European, who have done substantial work in bringing to light the facts relating to our past history, such as Henry T Colebrooke, Horace Hayman Wilson, Sir William Jones, Bhauda Ji, Rajendra Lal Mitra, etc. My not mentioning other scholars should not be taken as implying that they did not do anything, or as casting any reflections on them. Some worked on lines other than archæological, while the rest busied themselves in their own way. My *dhanyavādas* go to all to whom they are due.

First of all I should mention the glorious name of James Prinsep to whom we are indebted for the decipherment of the Brāhmī alphabet. This great scholar was born on the 20th of August, 1799, and died in 1840. He was an assay-master at the Calcutta Mint as well as Secretary of the Bengal Asiatic Society in succession to H. H. Wilson and, devoting his leisure to Indian inscriptions and numismatics, succeeded in determining the value of practically all the ancient Brāhmī symbols, between 1834 and 1837. By erecting the Prinsep's Ghat, an archway on the bank of the Hooghly, in his memory, the citizens of Calcutta and through them, all of us, have paid the debt of gratitude, at least to some extent, which was due to that great ṛṣi. Sir Alexander Cunningham is the next sage to whom, I should say, India is highly indebted for the noble work he did for her. He entered the service of the Government of India as a Lieutenant of the Royal Engineers in June, 1831, and set himself almost at once to the researches that have made his name so well known. Within three years of service he gave us his first publication, viz. 'The correction of a mistake regarding some of the Roman coins found in the Tope at Manikiyala opened by M. Court' (*Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 635 ff.). He was selected for the post of the Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India in 1870.

In connection with that office he has given us the twenty-one well-known volumes of his *Archæological Survey Reports*. He has also given us *The Bhilsā Topes*, *The Ancient Geography of India*, *The Stupa of Bharhut* and other publications. Whatever criticism may be applied, Cunningham's works will be found to be full of valuable information so very helpful in elucidating many a knotty point connected with archæological research. He must have been a many-sided scholar who could deal with coins, inscriptions, sculptures, and other subjects falling within the domain of Indian Archæology. In respect of topography he was perhaps a genius, as almost all of his identifications of ancient towns, sites, etc. etc., prove to be correct. Dr. James Burgess was an accomplished scholar and zealous worker, who played a great part in the development of Indian historical and archæological research. He was Scotch by birth and was born in 1832 at Kirkmahoe in Dumfriesshire. He came to India in 1855 as Professor of Mathematics in the Doveton College at Calcutta. In 1861 he became the head of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution at Bombay. While he was working in this capacity his interest in archæological matters was aroused by the caves at Elephanta and other places. The first great service which he rendered to the scientific world was when he started in 1872 the well-known journal, *The Indian Antiquary*. Many prominent scholars, both European and Indian, responded to his call and contributed to this journal, and its pages have laid before us many valuable contributions by them and by him. Dr. Burgess carried on the publication of this journal, chiefly at his own cost, for thirteen years and then, finding his hands to be full with his official duties, he made it over to Sir Richard Carnac Temple and the late Dr. Fleet in 1884. Besides publishing several very useful works like the Reports on Buddhist Cave Temples and their inscriptions, he brought out in collaboration with James Fergusson the well-known work of primary importance, namely, *The Cave Temples of India*. He succeeded Sir Alexander Cunningham as Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India in 1886. Finding that the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* were insufficient, he started the *Epigraphia Indica*, the first volume of which was finished in 1892. This journal was at first brought out as a supplement to the *Indian Antiquary* but since 1921 it has been published independently under the authority of the Government of India, as a record of the Archæological

Survey Department. He died at the age of 85, spending his long life in serving the Muse of Archæology so very meritoriously. Then comes the revered name of George Buhler, to whom Indian Epigraphy owes ever so much. He was born at Borstal in Hanover in the house of a clergyman in 1837 and died at the age of 61 in 1898, being drowned while boating in a lake. It was he who realised the value of traditional Sanskrit learning and its repository, the oft-despised 'Pandit', for whom he had nothing but profound respect—*gūṇi guṇam veti na veti nir-guṇaḥ*. We know how he insisted on the appointment of a thorough-bred *śāstrin* of the old school, both for the help of the advanced students and for his own assistance. His numerous publications, especially the works on Indian Inscriptions, his search for Sanskrit and other manuscripts, his works on our *Dharma-śāstras*, his *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*, in particular, his masterly treatises on the *Indian Brahmi Alphabet and Palæography* with his well-known nine palæographic tables—works not yet superseded or supplemented—will keep his sacred memory quite fresh in the minds of every Indologist of whatever nationality he might be. It is said that in the depth of knowledge of Sanskrit he could equal our old *śāstris* and, excepting Whitney's, his Sanskrit learning remains unsurpassed in Europe. Franz Kielhorn was the other European scholar who, together with his friend, the late Professor Buhler, exercised a great influence in opening the eyes of the learned world in Europe to the importance of traditional Indian scholarship. 'It had become fashionable to distrust Indian tradition, and to try to find the way back to the old Indian civilisation without consulting it.' It was both Bühler and Kielhorn who showed that this was a grave mistake. Kielhorn studied Sanskrit grammar under the guidance of the Pandits themselves—the very Pandits whom some of us look down upon with scorn. In Europe he was considered as 'the only scholar who had thoroughly penetrated into the depths of the old grammatical system of the Hindus'. His study of the *Vyākaraṇa* according to traditional methods enabled him to give us a masterly edition of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and of Nāgōji's *Paribhāṣendusūkhara*. It is impossible here to enumerate the many important contributions Indian history owes to him. John Faithful Fleet is known to us by his volume on the *Gupta Inscriptions* in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Series, and his work on Kanarese Inscriptions. He came to Bombay in 1867.

In 1872 he was appointed Educational Inspector of the Southern Districts of the Bombay Presidency. In 1875 he became Assistant Political Agent in the South Mahratta Country and Kolhapur but in 1883 he was appointed to the specially created post of Government Epigraphist for India and was engaged on preparing the aforementioned volume on the *Gupta Inscriptions*. He reverted to the Revenue Service as Collector in 1886 and retired as Commissioner in 1897. We feel indebted to him for his studies in Indian Epigraphy which were characterised by his mastery of the classical and vernacular languages, namely, Sanskrit and Kanarese, a thorough grasp of details combined with remarkable skill in synthesis, and a highly sober and critical judgment based on strictly scientific methods. As a Joint Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, the well-known Oriental journal, which was started by Dr. Burgess in 1872, he brought out a number of learned articles so very helpful for constructing the early history of India. His paper on '*The Present Position of Indian Historical Research*' proved a great stimulant for rousing practical interest in Epigraphy. The fact that for the history of ancient India we are largely indebted to our epigraphical records was brought home to us chiefly by him. As to the value of the work he did and the careful manner in which epigraphical research is to be performed, his own remarks may well be quoted. Says he, 'If life were long enough, I should like to re-edit up-to-date almost everything that I have published ... I can only express the hope that writers who may wish to quote me will look to my later writings in preference to earlier ones.' Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* and the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* incorporated in the *Bombay Gazetteer* are the two source books which have immortalised his name. There is no student of the ancient history of India who will not reverentially take up these works, especially the latter, for information and right guidance which he may look for in vain elsewhere. Mistakes there are, no doubt, but who does not commit mistakes?

Among the galaxy of Indian archæologists, or rather epigraphists, the name of Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji of Gujarât, who was rightly called the 'born archæologist' by scholars like Bühler, stands most prominent. But for his ignorance of English he would have shone more effulgently than he does now. It is rather due to Bühler that the greatness of his genius was appreciated. Dr. Bhauda Ji was his great patron and did much of research work in collaboration with

him. His epigraphical discoveries in Nepal, for which Dr. Bühler called him 'the pathfinder in the history of Nepal', his contribution to the study of Cave Numerals, to the interpretation of the now well-known inscription of Kharavela, the Nanaghat Inscriptions, the Āndhra coins and his discovery of the famous Lion Capital of Mathurā with Kharoshthi Inscriptions incised on it, etc. etc., have made him immortal indeed. His achievements in the domain of archæology received public recognition first from the University of Leyden which, on the recommendation of the late Professor Kern, who was another *ṛṣi* and did so much to bring many a fact relating to our past history to light, conferred upon him the Honorary Degree of Ph.D. Then comes the illustrious and revered name of Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. I do not think India in recent years has produced a greater antiquarian so very accurate and sound in judgment. He was born in 1837 and breathed his last in 1921 after earning a fair name not only for himself but for his country through his researches and very scholarly publications. His edition of books like the *Mālatīmādhava* and various articles can well be taken as models by scholars who want to do similar work in this country. The *Early History of the Deccan* and *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* are the two great monuments he has left to perpetuate his memory. The splendid work which this gifted son of Sarasvatī did was duly appreciated by learned societies not only in India but also in Europe and America and also by the Government of India. It is not my object to give a life sketch of him and of other scholars or to review their works. Scholars have done that already and we can read the same in publications like the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Indian Antiquary*, etc. It is rightly remarked that Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar was every inch a student and scholar and we should follow his footsteps in our investigations and try to be as unbiassed and accurate as he was. To Kielhorn and Hultzsch, the two other eminent European scholars, we are highly indebted for the various researches they made in Indian Epigraphy.

Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya and Mr. R. D. Banerji are the two scholars who stand prominent in the galaxy of Indian researchers of note. The former proved to the satisfaction of Indologists that Indian scholars could also be accurate in their epigraphical researches. As Dr. Sten Konow has rightly remarked everything that came from him bore testimony to the scrupulous care and conscientiousness, the

critical acumen and the solid learning which characterised him as a scholar. The latter—alas! he died too early—was a versatile scholar who could freely deal with matters not only epigraphical but archæological, numismatical and historical as well. The numerous contributions he has made not only to the *Epigraphia Indica* and other official publications but to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and other journals, including his monograph on the Pālas, and his dissertations on the Indo-Scythian period of Indian history will do credit to any scholar. His *Pāṣāṇer Kathā* and his book on Coins, etc., are other monuments which will keep his memory ever fresh. Above all, his discovery of the prehistoric remains at Mohenjo-daro in the Indus valley is a crowning jewel to his researches. This discovery has upset the whole conception of Indian antiquity and, as a friend has already remarked, has raised the prestige of the Department to which he belonged.

In the world of the living we have to honour scholars like Sir Aurel Stein and Sir John Marshall who have done so much to bring our forgotten past to light. The researches of the former give us a peep into the glories of Greater India of the past. The excavations carried under the able guidance of Sir John Marshall, the present eminent head of the Archæological Department, at Taxila, Sanchi, Mohenjo-daro as well as other places and the conservation done at different places not only bring to light the relics of our forgotten past but give us an idea of the work done—with his characteristic care and diligence—to preserve our glorious monuments.

Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, the worthy son of a worthy father, is another luminary. So also are Rai Bahadurs Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha and Hiralal, and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, to whom we are highly indebted for the good work they have done in the domain of Epigraphy and in promoting the cause of the ancient history of India.

In numismatology, besides Sir Alexander Cunningham, Rodgers, V. Smith, R. D. Banerji, Rapson, Nelson Wright, R. Burn, Allen and Hodivala stand very prominent. Some of them have given us learned catalogues of coins which are indispensable for the study of Indian numismatics. Others have written learned articles and books on various coins which are so very helpful for investigating several questions connected with Indian history.

In naming above archæologists, epigraphists, Indologists and numismatists, I have mentioned only a few. The omission of others,

as I have already stated, does not mean any reflection on them. There are so many scholars who have done splendid work to unravel the past history of this vast country and we are beholden more or less to all of them. The debt we owe to these scholars I would call *ṛṣi-rṇa*, which we have to pay by studying and continuing their noble works. All of us, of course, cannot do this. Those who cannot, personally, should sympathise with and try to promote that work. Let not people say that the sons of the soil are indifferent or apathetic to it while others are doing whatever is possible for them to promote it. I cannot help remarking that in the majority of cases our own people are indifferent and in some cases they even go so far as to state that such a research work causes waste of money. It is rather due to the scholars or Indologists of Europe that interest in archæology and all its branches is being kept alive and I would bow down to them all in gratefulness for what they have done or are doing to promote the noble cause of Archæology, Epigraphy and Numismatics.

With these preliminary remarks I should like to tell you something about the splendid work which archæological research has done in India—a sort of *śiṃhāvalōkana* on it. In doing so, I cannot help traversing beaten ground, for most of you know about it. Still, refreshing the memory of some and informing others of a few new things will not be out of place for one whom you have honoured by selecting as Chairman of the section I am presiding over.

First of all, as a son of the *dharma pradhāna-dēśa*, I should like to mention the identification of the old Lumbini garden or the sacred spot where Siddhārtha, one of the greatest men the world has ever produced, was born. Till this was done, the great Buddha was considered to be not more than a mythical personage. The Aśoka pillar at Rummindei in the Nepalese Terai with the words *Hida Budhe jāte Sakyamunī ti, Hida Bhagavaṃ jāte ti Lumbini-gāme* clearly engraved in the old Brāhmī script indisputably set aside all doubts to his being a historical reality. Now we have located the place where he died and was cremated and I feel a pardonable pride in saying that the copper-plate which I myself excavated at Kasia in the Gorakhpur district has considerably contributed towards clearing the doubts regarding the location of the antique Kuśanagara which is a most hallowed or sacred place for the Buddhist world. Other places like Sarnath, the Jetavana, etc., have also been identified with

the help of Archæology or Epigraphy. The decipherment of Aśokan records is one of the very noble works of Epigraphy. What the finding of the *dhātus* of the Buddha by the Archæological Department means for the Buddhist world, especially, need not be dilated upon. The discovery of the inscribed stone-pillar at Besnagar, the once famous site of the ancient Vidiśā, made in 1908-09, is of an unique historical importance. The inscription which it bears is the only lithic record yet brought to light where a clear reference is made to the Indo-Greek rulers of the Panjab, and proves beyond doubt that the Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa cult, with *bhakti* as its chief feature, is not a recent fabrication but an old sect which existed even 140 years before Christ. The column in which it is engraved is a *garuḍa-dhvaja* or a flag-staff surmounted, instead of by a banner, by the representation of Garuḍa, the well-known vehicle of Viṣṇu. It was set up, as you all know, in honour of Vāsudeva by the Bhāgavata Heliodorus, the son of Diya or Dion who went there from Taxila during the reign of Antialcidas. The discovery of the Sanskrit inscription at Īśāpur near Mathura has its own value for the Kuṣāṇa epoch of Indian history. All these things are already known to you. I do not like to have a *piṣṭa-peṣana* here to tax your patience. Besides, so many archæological discoveries have been made that it is impossible to mention them all here. You are already familiar with the prehistoric finds made at Harappa and at Mohenjo-daro. What these relics of the hoary past really are, I cannot say for certain and I doubt very much if the mystery enshrouding them will be solved till the pictographs have been deciphered. To me it appears that they are connected with the now forgotten Asura civilisation. The Asuras are well known to ancient Sanskrit literature as the elders, and the Suras, as the youngsters. The Suras succeeded in vanquishing the Asuras who had a different civilisation and whose language too was possibly different. One would like to infer from expressions like, *te asurāḥ helayo helaya iti kurvantaḥ parābabhūvuḥ*, which Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* has quoted, evidently from some ancient Vedic work—the Mādhyandina recension of the *Śatapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa* as noted in the *Śabdakauṣṭubha* gives *Helavo helava iti vadantaḥ parābabhūvuḥ*—that this was the case. One is tempted to notice in this expression the ancient Hebrew or Sabæan word *Allah* which is compounded of *al* and *ilah*, meaning *the god*. The real significance of the term was forgotten in the course of ages and fanciful interpreta-

tions were attempted. I wonder if these pictographs form a branch of the ancient five-fold *lipi* :

Mudrā-lipiḥ śulpa-lipir = lipir = lekhanī-sambhavā |

Gundrikā-ghuṇa-sambhūtā lipayaḥ pañcadhā smrtāḥ ||

They are not connected with any known Indian script though they seem to contain *mātrā*-marks on them.

Without telling old stories I might say something in regard to a few fresh archæological discoveries to further show the usefulness of archæological research for Indian history, both new and old. The Indian chief who seems to have been largely responsible for vanquishing the bloodthirsty Huns, the tyrant Mihirakula and his hosts, was hitherto known to us by the name of Yaśodharman. The stone inscription which has recently been excavated at Nālandā tells us that his name was Yaśovarman and not Yaśodharman. This invaluable record which I am bringing out in the *Epigraphia Indica* further tells us that Mālāda, the son of a Turki prince who was a minister of the said sovereign and his guardian of the frontier, was a devout Buddhist who brought offerings for the image of the Buddha set up in the temple which Bālāditya had built at Nālandā. That even Turks embraced Buddhism and bowed down to the All-Compassionate Buddha, one of the noblest sons of India, is a matter of pride for us indeed.

The Chōla inscriptions which have been dealt with by us from time to time, like the two records at Uttaramallūr, tell us how developed the system of village administration was in the South during the Chōla times. Such a system could not have come into force all of a sudden like something extraneous. The details of the communities which then governed villages, the qualifications needed for their membership, the defects which disqualified persons for membership of such communities and the arrangement of committees, would all go to prove that Indians in the South were in a highly advanced stage of civilisation in those days. For instance, the tank committee, spoken of in these inscriptions, seems to have been responsible for the upkeep of tanks used specially for irrigation. It not only looked into the repairs and the annual removal of silt but also dealt with the questions regarding endowments for tanks. The gold committee probably regulated the currency. The members of each committee were expected to take an active part in discussing questions brought before it. One of these inscriptions refers to eloquence at committee meetings as a special merit. As the late Mr. Venkayya remarked,

the age restriction, the educational and property qualifications laid down, and the principle of membership by rotation, are items which may commend themselves even to modern administrators.

The Chola inscriptions which have been brought to light furnish indisputable evidence of the existence of a strong Indian navy about the 10th century of the Christian era. But for it, Rājendra-Chōla, the potent ruler of Southern India, as stated in his inscriptions incised on the south wall of the famous temple of Tanjore, could not have attacked by sea Sangrāma-vijayōttuṅgavarman of Śrīvijaya or Palembang in Sumatra, and captured him along with his vessels and heaps of treasures.

Inscriptions in the Far East.—The Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarman from Koetei (East Borneo) and other records, found in the Far East, would show that it was through the Brahmans in the first place that Brahmanical civilisation, together with the sacred lore and language, was carried across the eastern ocean. The Koetei inscriptions are incised on sacrificial stone pillars and mention that the erection of these *yūpas* or posts was due to the assembled *dvija* or twice-born priests on whom King Mūlavarman had bestowed rich gifts in gold, cattle, and land. The inscriptions are composed in Sanskrit verse and written in the archaic Grantha script. Palæographically, they belong to about the 4th or 5th century A.C. and even to this day they testify to the Hindu supremacy in the Eastern Archipelago, in Borneo, Java and Sumatra and other places. Certainly, in those days, there was no restriction of caste, and India did not lose caste by crossing the sea!

The Sanskrit inscriptions found in Burma would tell their own tale. A number of them we find couched in Sanskrit and written in the Gupta and the Devanāgarī scripts. The inscriptions found on the platform of the Sittaung temple at Mrohaung in Arakan possess considerable historical value. I have been able to make only a preliminary examination of these documents and wish some of you to take up their study. One of them gives a list of kings of the Śrī-Dharmānuja-vaṃśa stating the number of years each king ruled. It enumerates the names of 19 rulers, all ending in *candra*, proceeding from Bālacandra in whose reign the inscription was written. These names are altogether new to us and it is quite possible that we are on the threshold of an important discovery and are about to resuscitate to life a dynasty of Hindu kings, now extinct, which held

sway in Burma about the mediæval period. Epigraphy which is unquestionably the most copious and important source of early Indian history supplies accurate information regarding the dark epochs of the long forgotten past. The well-known Khāravela inscription, the contents of which have been so creditably discussed by my friend Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and the late lamented Mr. R. D. Banerji need not be dilated upon here. A fresh article on it by both of them is in the course of publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Not only the large inscriptions but the short ones also which we find written on seals shed definite light on our political and religious history and also the history of the development of art in India. The official seals that have been unearthed enable us to draw interesting conclusions in regard to the system of government which was in force during ancient days. The large square seal found at Vaiśālī with archaic symbols, and a three-lined legend in the Mauryan Brāhmī script reading *Vesāli-anusamyānaka-Ṭakāre* would show that there was a regular police system in vogue during the Mauryan ascendancy. The seal apparently belongs to the Metropolitan Police of Vaiśālī stationed at the outpost of the Ṭakāra village within the jurisdiction of the Vaiśālī municipality. Another seal excavated at the same old site of Vaiśālī goes to indicate the existence at Vaiśālī of a Local Government under a Royal Viceroy of the ruling dynasty whose capital was Pāṭaliputra. Some of the seals found at Nālandā, which still await publication, help us to establish the genealogy of certain kings, as does the Sonpat seal of Harṣa. The clay seals of the Maukharis and other rulers which we have briefly noticed in our Annual Reports are instances of the kind. It is true that these relics of yore are portable and we cannot base our conclusions exclusively on their evidence, the more so, when we know that sometimes very modern things have been dug out along with them, such as the Austrian amulet found along with the Mauryan Police seal of Vaiśālī—it would be absurd to infer from this that the house of Hapsburg ruled in Vaiśālī before the Mauryas! Such finds only go to confirm our conclusions which we have drawn from other documents more or less of a positive nature.

These are now old tales and you are familiar with them. Archæology and epigraphy are not only helpful in constructing authentic history of ancient India but of modern, I mean Muhammadan or Mughal India, as well. Leaving aside numerous epigraphs

of that period of Indian history which have been brought to light from time to time, I should like to speak to you of some interesting records connected with the time of Śivāji, the great Mahratta chief, who, outwitting Aurangzeb, succeeded in establishing an independent Hindu power on the eve of the Mughal ascendancy. The contents of this record are corroborated by the historical *kāvyas* which were composed about the time it was engraved at Tanjore. I hope to publish the whole material collected by a colleague of mine a few years ago in the form of a Memoir ere long.

The Machhlisahar copper-plate inscription of Hariścandra which I published in the *Epigraphia Indica* several years ago would tell us that it is not always safe to exclusively depend on the old Muslim historians of India. This document not only adds one name, viz. Hariścandra, to the list of the rulers of Kanauj, but would demonstrate that Hariścandra, the donor of the grant registered herein, enjoyed sovereign powers to make a gift of a village in A.C. 1197. The Belkhara pillar inscription, dated a few months earlier, records the gift of another village some two hundred miles away from Kanauj which, according to the Mussalmān writers, was completely devastated by Shihāb-ud-dīn in A.D. 1193.

That epigraphy is helpful in constructing ancient history of India has been amply proved. That it renders considerable assistance in writing modern history also is clear from the few instances I have now given. The long Mahratta stone inscription of Tanjore, which we copied in 1924 and noticed in one of our reports, is a document of great value for the history of the Mahrattas. It records in chronological order several facts regarding the history of the Bhonsle family, describing in detail the achievements of Shāhji and his son, Śivāji the Great, and continues the family history down to Sarfūji, the ruler of Tanjore, at whose orders it was engraved. The genealogy which it gives carries us back some fifteen generations as has been shown in the table published in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* pertaining to the year 1924-25.

How the Muse of Indian History has been helped by the numismatic handmaid will be clear if the evidence of coins that has been sifted by numismatists, both Indian and European, is gone through. From the time of Alexander's invasion coins afford valuable aid to the building up of Indian history of every period. In fact, for the history of the Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian dynasties,

coins are rather our sole guides. The noble service rendered by the founders of the Numismatic Society of India to popularise the study of coins by publishing the results of their investigations is too well known to the readers of the publications of the Society to require mention here. I cannot help remarking in this connection that the enthusiasm which marked the labours of numismatists like Messrs. R. Burn, N. Wright and other Englishmen, who have now retired and left the field, is hardly to be found in their Indian successors although they are expected to put forth greater energy in such studies, as they are meant for the elucidation of the history of their own motherland.

I do not think I am to be considered a flatterer when I say that it is to the Europeans that we are beholden for the selfless work they have done in connection with the various branches of Archæology in India and in teaching us the way to continue it on the scientific lines they have chalked out for us. My head bows down to them all for the noble work they have done for us. We also have done a good deal. Some of us, at least, have proved ourselves to be their equals in every respect—perhaps Ekalavya has superseded Drona! Let that be as it is. Time has come when Indians should come forward to take up the research work wholeheartedly and do it with unflagging zeal and redeem themselves of the debt due to their ancestors. I earnestly hope that what has been stated by me will make at least some of you take to whatever branch of archæology appeals to you, in order to build up our ancient history and thus enable our motherland to raise her head in pride for her noble achievements in the past.

AŚOKAN CHRONOLOGY.

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A close and comparative study of the Aśokan Legends and Inscriptions will yield a fairly complete set of dates for the important events in the life and reign of Aśoka. Of these dates, the two initial ones are those for Aśoka's accession to the throne and for his coronation, and when these are settled, others will follow from them, and also from one another. The initial dates may be determined as follows :

274 B.C.—Date of Aśoka's accession to the throne. This date is taken as the starting-point of Aśokan Chronology, from which the reckoning of other dates will be made both backward and forward. The date, 274 B.C., is established by the convergence of evidence from different sources. If we make a start with 323 B.C. as the date of the commencement of Chandragupta Maurya's sovereignty, both Brahminical and Buddhist texts, the *Purāṇas* and the Ceylon Chronicles agree in assigning the same duration for his sovereignty, viz. 24 years. This brings us to 299 B.C., as the date of Bindusāra's accession to the throne for whom, again, the *Purāṇas* assign a reign of 25 years. Thus we arrive at 274 B.C. as the date of Aśoka's accession to the throne. All other dates in Aśokan history will be seen to fit in with this initial date so as to produce a complete chronological system.

270 B.C.—Date of Aśoka's Coronation. This date is derived from the following passage of the *Mahāvamśa* [V. 22]: 'Four years after the famous Aśoka had won for himself paramount sovereignty (*ekarajjam*) he consecrated himself as King in the city of Pāṭaliputra.' This date is the basis of Aśokan Chronology, because all other dates cited in the legends or the Edicts are counted from it, the year of the King's *abhiṣeka*.

This date that we derive from the *Mahāvamśa* we may also deduce from the Edicts. Rock Edict XIII refers to five Western Kings as Aśoka's contemporaries who, according to the Cambridge History of India [Vol. I, 502], were all living up to 258 B.C. when one of them (Magas of Cyrene), if not another (Alexander of Epirus),

died. If we allow for one year's interval for the news of this event to reach the ears of Aśoka at distant Pātaliputra, the date of RE. XIII may be taken to be 257 B.C. We also know from RE. III, IV, V, and Pillar Edict VI that the Rock Edicts were issued in the 12th and 13th year of his coronation. From this we again come to 270 B.C. as the date of the coronation.

There is yet a third way leading us to the same date, 270 B.C., for the coronation. The *Mahāvamsa* [V. 37-38] tells us—(1) that Nigrodha, the posthumous son of Aśoka's elder brother, Sumana, was born in the year of his father's death which was also the year of Aśoka's accession to the throne, viz. 274 B.C., and (2) that when he was seven years old he converted Aśoka to Buddhism. Seven years from 274 B.C. bring us to 266 B.C. as the date of Aśoka's conversion. This date we find confirmed by the evidence we get in the RE. XIII and Minor RE. I. RE. XIII tells us—(1) that Aśoka's bloody conquest of Kalinga took place in the 8th year of his coronation, i.e. 262 B.C., and (2) that it produced in Aśoka a terrible mental reaction which took the form of an *intense* (*tivra*) devotion to *Dharma* (of Non-violence) on the part of the king (*dharma-kāmatū*). Read carefully, and between the lines, the Minor RE. I also refers to two stages in Aśoka's progress towards the *Dharma*: (1) a stage of indifference for a period of over $2\frac{1}{2}$ years when he was merely an *upāsaka*, an ordinary lay-worshipper, and did not exert himself much in the cause of the *Dharma* (*no tu kho bāḍham prakamāte hūsam*); (2) a stage of fuller exertion for the *Dharma* (*bāḍham ca me pakamāte*) when he came into closer contact with the *Saṅgha* (*yaṃ mayā saṅghe upayāsi*). It is evident that the second stage was the result of Aśoka's mental revolt from the violence of his Kalinga conquest, a stage described in RE. XIII as one of intense observance of *Dharma*, love and preaching of *Dharma* (*tivra dhama-sīlana dhama-kamata dhramanūṣaṭi*). This stage, therefore, commenced immediately after the Kalinga conquest of 262 B.C. The previous stage of Aśoka as an *upāsaka* of the *Saṅgha* began more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ years earlier. Thus we come to the same date, 266-265 B.C., for Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism as we get from the *Mahāvamsa* cited above.

The date, 270 B.C., for Aśoka's coronation help us towards other dates in his life. The *Mahāvamsa* [V, 204] tells us that in the sixth year of his coronation, i.e. in 264 B.C., were ordained both his eldest son, Mahendra, and his eldest daughter, Saṃghamitrā, the

former at the age of 20, and the latter at 18. This leads us to the date 284 B.C. as that of the birth of Mahendra, and to the date, 282 B.C., as that of the birth of his sister. If his eldest son was born in 284 B.C., when was Aśoka born? We take it that he was born in 304 B.C. and became a father at the age of 20. A younger age for his fatherhood is ruled out by the limits indicated in *Mahāvamsa*, XIII, 8-11, stating—(1) that Aśoka was sufficiently old before his marriage to have been deputed by his father to serve as Viceroy at Ujjayinī and (2) that, on his way to Ujjayinī, at the town of Vedisa, he met his first love, Devī, who became the mother of Mahendra [*Ib.*].

We thus obtain on the basis of a collation of evidence from both legends and inscriptions the following set of dates.

304 B.C.—Birth of Aśoka.

286 B.C.—(1) Date of appointment of Aśoka by his father Bindusāra as Viceroy of the province of Avanti (*Avantirāṭṭham bhujjante*) and of his journey to its headquarters at Ujjayinī, halting at the town of Vedisa on the way [*Mahāv.* XIII, 8-10].

(2) Marriage of Aśoka with Vedisa-Mahādevī-Śākya-kumārī (as designated in the *Mahābodhivamsa*), the daughter of a merchant of Vedisagiri, who became the mother of Mahendra.

What must have been the age of Aśoka in 286 B.C.? The highest limit for it is 18. Otherwise he would be too young for Viceroyalty, if not for marriage too.

284 B.C.—Birth of Aśoka's eldest child, Mahendra, as already explained [*Ib.* V, 204].

282 B.C.—Birth of Aśoka's eldest daughter, Saṃghamitrā [*Ib.*].

274 B.C.—(1) War of succession between Aśoka and his brothers, (2) Death of the Crown Prince, Sumana, in the war, (3) Consequent accession of Aśoka to the throne and to supreme sovereignty (*ekarajjam*), (4) Birth of Prince Sumana's posthumous son, Nigrodha [*Ib.* 40-50].

270 B.C.—Aśoka's Coronation [*Ib.* 22].

270-240 B.C.—Asandhimitrā figuring as Aśoka's chief Queen (*Aggamahesī*) at the Court of Pāṭaliputra [*Ib.* 85; XX, 2] instead of Devī, his first wife, who was all along left at her native town, Vedisa [*Ib.* XIII, 1, 8-11]. This agrees with the fact stated in R.E. V that Aśoka had his harems (*olodhana*) at Pāṭaliputra and also 'in outlying towns' (*bahilesu cha nagalesu*, Dhauī Text).

270-266 B.C.—Appointment by Aśoka of his youngest uterine brother, Tissa, to the office of *uparājā*, Deputy-King [*Ib.* V, 33, 168].

268 B.C.—Saṃghamitrā married to Agnibrahmā (inferred from the next date).

267 B.C.—Birth of Saṃghamitrā's son Sumana [*Ib.* 170].

266 B.C.—(1) Conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism by Nigrodha [*Ib.* 45], as already explained.

(2) Conversion by Aśoka of his brother and *uparājā*, Tissa, to Buddhism [*Ib.* 160].

(3) Tissa ordained by Mahādhammarakkhita [*Ib.* 168].

(4) Appointment of Prince Mahendra as *uparājā* in place of Tissa ordained [*Ib.* 202]. Mahendra was then 18 years old and was just qualified by age for that responsible office. This office he must have held for two years, up to 264 B.C., when he took orders, as shown below.

(5) Agnibrahmā, nephew and son-in-law of Aśoka, ordained [*Ib.* 170].

266-263 B.C.—Construction by Aśoka of *Vihāras* and *Caitīyas* at places visited by the Buddha (*Jinena parivutthasthānesu*) [*Ib.* 173-175; also cf. *Divyāvadāna*, XXVI].

It is interesting to note that the north Indian Sanskrit text of *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 380-381 of Cowell's edition) agrees with the *Mahāvamsa* in stating that Aśoka's building activity immediately followed his conversion. His conversion to Buddhism is declared by him in the following words of the *Divyāvadāna*: 'Saranam rēṣi upaimi tam ca Buddhān gaṇavarān āryaniveditam ca dharmān.' The same text describes Aśoka's building programme as being executed in two stages. First were constructed what are called *dharmarājikās* or *stūpas* all over his empire to receive the Buddha's corporeal relics which were extracted by 'Ārya-Maurya-Śrī' Aśoka out of seven previous *krtis* in which they had been enshrined by his predecessors. One of these was the *Drona-stūpa* built by Ajātaśatru. These Aśokan *stūpas* are described as being 'resplendent like the autumn clouds' (*śāradābhraṇa*) and 'high as hill-tops' (*giriśṛṅgakaṇṭha*). The *Mahāvamsa*, however, differs from the *Divyāvadāna* in describing the first part of Aśoka's architectural activity as *Vihāra* construction, the construction of *Vihāras* and not of *dharmarājikās*, or *stūpas* mentioned by the *Divyāvadāna*. The *Div.*, however, agrees with the *Mahāv.* in describing the second series of Aśokan monuments as

comprising *caityas* and in stating further that these were erected at places where the Buddha had dwelt (*ye pradeśā adhyusitāḥ Bhagavatā Buddhena* which is equivalent to 'Jinena parivutthasthānesu' of the *Mahāv.* already cited) [*Div.*, p. 389 of Cowell's edition].

265-262 B.C.—Period when Aśoka remained as a mere *upāsaka* of the Buddhist Saṃgha [MRE I, already explained].

264 B.C.—(1) Ordination of Mahendra by the Thera Mahādeva, with Majjhantika acting as President of the chapter which had met for the required *Kammavācam*; his second ordination by Moggaliputta Tissa acting as his *upādhyāya*.

(2) Ordination of Saṃghamitrā by her *ācāryā*, Ayupālā, and by her *upādhyāyā*, Dhammapālā [*Mahāv.*, V, 204-209].

(3) Consequent promotion of Dharmāśoka from the rank of a *Paccayadāyaka* to that of a *Sāsanaadāyaka* [*Ib.* 197].

263 B.C.—Birth of Kunāla, son of Aśoka by his wife, Padmāvatī, 'on the day when 84,000 *Dharmarājikās* were completed by Aśoka' [*Div.*, p. 405].

262 B.C.—(1) Conquest of Kaliṅga and its consequences to Aśoka in intensifying his zeal for the Dharma [RE. XIII] and leading him to a closer association with the Saṃgha (*Samghe upagate*) and strenuous exertions on its behalf (*parākrama*) [MRE. I]. (2) Death of the monks, Tissa and Sumitta, followed by the growth of heresy and riches in the Saṃgha and the consequent retirement from it of Moggaliputta Tissa 'in the 8th regnal year of the King' [*Mahāv.*, V, 227-30]. (3) Accession of Mahendra to the headship of the Saṃgha [*Ib.* 232].

263-250 B.C.—Period of Aśoka's pilgrimage to Buddhist holy places in the following order mentioned in the *Div.* (pp. 389-397): (1) *Lumbinī-vana*, visited 'first of all' (*sarvaprathamena*), (2) *Kapilavastu*, (3) *Bodhimūla* or *Bodhi*, (4) *Vārāṇasī*, (5) *Rṣipatana*, (6) *Kuśinagara*, and (7) *Jetavana* containing the stūpas of the Buddha's chief disciples, Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, and Ānanda. Of these, the most important were the four connected with the Buddha's (a) *Jāti*, Nativity, at No. (1); (b) *Bodhi*, Enlightenment, at No. (3); (c) *Dharmacakra*, first preaching, at No. (5); and (d) *Parinirvāṇa*, Dissolution, at No. 6.

This account of Aśoka's pilgrimage is somewhat different from that of the Edicts which mention his pilgrimage to only two of the above places, viz. Bodh-Gaya or Sambodhi in 260 B.C. [RE. VIII]

and Lumbini in 250 B.C. [Rummindei PE.] and a third place, the Stūpa of Buddha Koṇākamana, not included in the list of the *Div.* [Nigali Sāgar PE.], in 256 B.C. The order in which these places were visited is also different in the Edicts. But an important point of agreement between the two sources is in the proclamation of Aśoka at the place visited. The words of Lumbini Pillar Inscription 'atana āgāca mahāvīte hida Budhe jāte' correspond closely to the following declaration in the *Div.*: 'Ye Buddhena Bhagavatā pradeśā adhyusitās tān arcayan ahaṃ gatvā cihnāni caiva kuryām . . . asmin Mahārāja pradeśe Bhagavān jātaḥ'.

262-254 B.C.—Mahendra's headship of the *Samgha*; Moggaliputta Tissa, brought from his retirement by Aśoka, teaches him the doctrine of the *Sambuddha*; meeting of the *Samgha* under his presidency and expulsion by the king of all heretical monks ('*te micchādittṭhike sabbe rājā uppabbajāpayi*') [*Mahāv.*, V, 231-274].

It may be noted in this connexion that the Pillar Edicts at Sanchi, Sarnath and Kauśāmbī also mention the king's punishment of heretical monks by disrobing and expulsion from the *Samgha*.

260 B.C.—(1) Issue of the first Edict, MRE. I, as already explained.

(2) Aśoka's first *dharma-yātrā* or pilgrimage to Bodh-Gaya [RE. VIII].

(3) Issue of the Bhabru Edict addressed directly to the *Samgha*, and not through the *Mahāmātras* in charge, as in the later Sanchi or Sarnath Edicts.

(4) Aśoka's religious propagandism for popularising the gods [MRE. I as interpreted by some scholars].

259 B.C.—Issue of the two separate Kalinga Edicts. These are considered to be prior to the main series of 14 Rock Edicts mainly on the ground that while they merely hint at the king's idea to create *Mahāmātras* the other Rock Edicts show it to be an accomplished fact, and are thus later in time.

258-257 B.C.—(1) Issue of the 14 Rock Edicts.

(2) Grant to the Ājīvikas of cave-dwellings excavated in the Barabar Hills [Nigrodha and Khalatika Caves Inscriptions].

257 B.C.—Creation of officers called *Dharma-Mahāmātras* [RE. V].

256 B.C.—Enlargement of the Stūpa of Buddha Koṇākamana to double its size [Nigali Sagar PE].

253 B C—Meeting of the Third Buddhist Council under Moggali-putta Tissa as President [*Mahāv.*, V, 280] and despatch by him of evangelisers to different countries [*Ib.* XII, 1-8].

The Edicts also tell of the despatch of missionaries, called *Dharma-Mahāmātras* or *Dūtas* [RE XIII], to foreign countries, but it was by Āśoka directly, and not by Tissa. The legends mention more of these countries than the Edicts, and the following in common, viz. (1) Gandhāra [RE. V], (2) Yavana [RE. V and XIII], (3) Himalaya (which includes peoples like the Nābhakas, Nābhitis, or Nābhapamtis mentioned in RE. XIII), (4) Aparāntaka [RE V], (5) Mahārāstra (the house of the peoples named Andhras, Pulindas and Rāṣṭrikas in RE. V and XIII). The South is represented in the legends in the countries called Mahisamandala and Vanavāsi and in the Edicts in the peoples called the Śatyaputras, Keralaputras, Cholas, and Pāndyas [RE II]

As to the date of these foreign Missions, the legends begin them in 253 B.C., but the Edicts refer to them as in full swing in 258 B.C. [RE II and XIII] They also confine them to purely religious work, the preaching of select Buddhist doctrines. But the Edicts give them extended scope and present them as Missions of Social Service promoting medical measures for the relief of suffering of both man and beast [RE. II] and achieving *Dharmavijaya* or Moral Conquest [RE. XIII] replacing *Āsura-vijaya* or Military Conquest

252 B.C.—Mahendra, already 12 years a monk, visits his mother, Devī, at Vedisa before proceeding to Ceylon [*Mahāv.*, XIII, 1, 8-11].

251 B C.—Gift of a cave in the Khalatika Hill as shelter against rain [Khalatika Hill, No. 2, Cave Inscription].

250 B C—Visit to (1) Lumbini where were erected a Pillar and a Shrine as memorials of the Visit, (2) the *Stūpa* of Buddha Konākamana repaired and doubled in size with the erection of a memorial Pillar.

243-242 B.C.—Issue of Pillar Edicts.

240 B.C.—Death of Asandhimitrā, 'the dear consort of Āśoka and faithful believer in the Sambuddha' [*Mahāv.*, XX, 2].

236 B.C.—Tiṣyarakṣitā figuring as chief Queen [*Ib.* 3]. She is also mentioned as Āśoka's *agramahiṣī* in the *Div.* (p. 407).

235 B.C.—Despatch of Kuṇāla as Viceroy to Taxila then in revolt [*Div.* *ib.*]. Kuṇāla was then 18 years old.

233 B.C.—Attempts of Tiṣyarakṣitā to destroy out of jealousy the Bodhi Tree to which Aśoka was too much attached [*Mahāv.*, XX, 4-6]. The *Div.* (p. 397) also tells the story of her jealousy of the Bodhi Tree which she calls her *sapatnī*.

232 B.C.—Death of Aśoka in the 38th year of his reign [*Mahāv.*, XX, 1-6].

AN UNPUBLISHED CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF AURANGZEB'S ACCESSION IN VERSE.

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This rare contemporary historical record in verse relating to Aurangzeb's accession belongs to the State Library (His., No. 603) of Hyderabad, Deccan—the tableland of Ajanta, Ellora—the last home of Aurangzeb himself where he lies buried. I have not been able to trace a second copy of it anywhere. I am quite certain that this has never been used by any student of history. This contains very useful information based on personal observations and impartial motives. The author has named it in the last chapter :—

‘AURANG NAMA.’

It opens with the praise of Almighty God, as usual with Persian books

بنام خدای که از صنع پاک نکرد آفریده خلائق ز خاک
همه را زبان داده‌م چشم و گوش خردمندی و دانش و رای و هوش

and followed by a brief survey of Taimur's dynasty in India. The author has not given his exact name anywhere with the exception of his poetical pen-name ‘HAQIRI’ (Humiliated) in several places :—

بیا ای حقیری ز لطف خدای بگو نعت پیغمبر رهنمای
معجز حقیری ایا پادشاه که جز ذات پاکت ندارد پناه

Therefore I have entered this under the name of—

‘AURANG NAMA-I-HAQIRI’

in my work ‘The Main Sources of Aurangzeb's Life’, simply with a view to distinguish it from other such works. Haqiri was Shia by religion and came of the Rozebehan clan who used to live in Central Asia, as he has said all this in this book, which is given here in proper place.

The metre of the verse is the same that of Shahnama of Firdousi. The size of the book is normal 10×7 inches. It has 278 folios, 15 verses on each page, i.e. about 5,000 verses in all,

which are divided into 330 sub-heads in red ink. It is neatly written in Nastaliq style.

The following historical works mainly bear the account of Aurangzeb's wars of succession.

1. *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* by Aqil Khan Razi.
2. *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai* by Mir Mohammad Masum.
3. *Tarikh-i-Shahjahani* by Mohammad Sadiq.

But the contents of the Aurang Nama, which is of the same nature, resemble to some extent those of *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai*. This is mainly due to the fact that the author himself took part in the fights against Shuja under Mir Jumla, and utilised his own personal observations in the compilation of the work. There is another work in Verse '*Ashob-i-Hind*' by Bahishti, published from Lucknow. Bahishti was in the service of Dara and this is why he has defended his master in many cases. But our author is not at all so influenced and his mode of rendering is quite free from bias.

The chief contents run as follows:—

1. The sickness of Shahjahan, Division of the kingdom ; Jealousy among sons.
2. The departure of Suleman Shukuh, son of Dara with Jai Singh against Shuja towards Bengal.
3. The flight of Shuja and Suleman celebrates his success.
4. Shahjahan disapproves of Dara's action.
5. Murad and Aurangzeb negotiate with each other on the information of Dara's intrigues to get the throne.
6. Shahjahan checks them by letter and receives their replies which he gives to Dara but Dara does not obey.
7. On the other hand Dara despatches Jaswant Singh against Aurangzeb.
8. At Ujjain both Murad and Aurangzeb join each other and Jaswant Singh is defeated.
9. Dara having come to know of Jaswant's defeat calls back his son Suleman and Aurangzeb advances to Gawalior.
10. Dara makes Shahjahan aware of the affairs and disapproves of the behaviour of Dara. But Dara does not care a bit and sets out himself for war against Aurangzeb towards Gawalior.
11. Dara starts for Lahore having been defeated.

12. On seeing the state of affairs Shahjahan bestows *kingdom* upon Aurangzeb.

همه ملک خود را فراز و نشیب سراسر سپهر باورنگ زب

13. The affairs of Murad and Aurangzeb.

14. Aurangzeb pursues Dara to Multan where he receives the information as to the coming of Shuja who crowns himself in Delhi.

15. Sultan Mohammad, son of Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla start against Shuja and encamp on the bank of the Ganges.

The author has given each and every detail, specially of all the skirmishes of Mir Jumla in which he himself was participating, as a soldier of Aurangzeb under Mir Jumla.

In all the battles Shuja is completely defeated and at last puts all his bag and baggage to fire and comes to Dacca. Here the author Haqiri gives a few verses in which he says something of himself referred to above:—

حقیری ز لطف خدای کبیر	داهما رسید آن سپهدار میر
بدم چاکر آن فریدون کلاه	که خلش بخوانند اورنگ شاه
چنین باد دارم ازان یاکدین	که بودم در اندم تبادده زمین
تعبات میر جمله یاک دین	بودم دران جنگ و پیکار و کین
نزدادم بدانی تو روز بهان	همه سرفرازند نبرد شهبان
وطن کاهشان گوهر زاد و بوم	بود درمیان صفاهان دادم

همه سرگذشت سپهدار میر باخر رساندی حقیر ظمیر

16. From here Shuja goes to the Jungles and encounters Rajas of Tipperah, Karkot کورکات, and Dhot دھات.

17. Dara's last battle at Ajmer from where he escapes towards Sindh to go to Kandhar and reaches Bhakkar where he is welcomed by (Malik) Jiwan who entraps him.

18. Aurangzeb starts for Delhi where he is proclaimed Emperor of India and new coins are struck in his name.

19. Dara is brought to Delhi and meets with death by the orders of Aurangzeb and properly interred in Humayun's tomb.

20. The end is devoted to the fate of Suleman Shukuh, son of Dara.

In the closing verses Haqiri has given the date of compilation 1072 A.H. (1661 A.D.) and it took him one and a half years to compile:—

ز لطف خداوند عرش مجید	همه داستان ها ناخر رسید
کشیدم بسی رنجه سال و ماه	نهادم برین نام اورنگ شاه
همه بینهای چو در سمین	مبارک بسادا بصاحب نگین
بیک سال و شش ماه ز لطف وهاب	فراهم بکردم جمیع کتاب
به شد نسخه این آخر مر زبان	ز بخشی گردون پیاش زبان
ز دنیا گذشت رسول کبار	دو بودی و هفتاد دهم یکهزار
ز پس شاه اورنگ فرهنگدار	بفرخ گذشته ببودی چهار
چو نسخه به بسی ایا تبر ویر	بخوانی دعا را ز بهر حقیر

In short this was compiled after four years of Aurangzeb's accession to the throne, i.e. even in the life time of Shahjahan.

The colophon says that this copy of Aurang Nama was written in 1116 A.H. (1704 A.D.?), i.e. two years before the death of Aurangzeb and prepared in Zafarabad (Bidar-Deccan) by Ghulam Ali, a scribe:—

تمت تمام شد
نسخه اورنگ نامه بتاریخ ششم روز شنبه صفر المظفر سنه ۱۱۱۶ هجری هذا
مکانه غلام علي
مکانه شهر ظفر آباد

MUHAMMAD BIN TUGLAK AND THE RĀJA OF MA'ABIR.

REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

Ferishta relates that Muhammad bin Tuglak conquered the country of Ma'abir in 1327¹. Now the country of Ma'abar has usually been identified with Madura in the South. Ibn Batuta and other Mussulman historians of this period often speak of the Sultans of Madura as Sultans of Ma'abar. Ferishta mentions 'the Rāja of Maabir'. If we suppose that Ma'abir is the same as Ma'abar, this Rāja, according to the above identification, will be the Pāṇḍya King of Madura.² Nevertheless this author says that the Rāja of Maabir and the Rāja of Dwar-Sumoodra (Dorāsamudra), i.e. the Hoysala King 'were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic'.³ There cannot be any doubt about the significance of this phrase. The former government of the Carnatic, to which some tributaries were annexed, was the Chalukya Empire of Kalyāṇi. The Hoysalas acknowledged the Chalukya Emperors, though sometimes very reluctantly; and many petty chiefs of the Kārṇāṭaka and Kōṅkan did the same. Among these tributaries of the Chalukyas, was the Pāṇḍya King ever included? This is the crucial question of this paper. If the Pāṇḍya kings were at any time tributary to the Chalukyas, our argument will fall to the ground. If, on the contrary, the Pāṇḍyas never acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chalukyas, the Rāja of Ma'abir could not have been the Pāṇḍya King of Madura. Hence the importance of examining the relations between the Chalukyas and the Pāṇḍyas.

The only event in which the Pāṇḍya King is shown to have come in contact with a Chalukya Emperor is found in the Velvikudi grant of Neduñjaḍayan. One of his generals is said to have 'put to flight with (great) loss, in an infantry attack at Venbai, the Vallabha of a vast army of archers,'⁴ towards the end of the 8th century. The very early mention of the Pāṇḍyas among the Kings

¹ Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 413.

² Cf. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 204-206.

³ Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 427.

⁴ *E.I.*, XVII, p. 309, v. 136.

to whom Pulikēśi II 'caused great prosperity,'¹ does not point to his having subdued them,² apart from the fact that such an early event would not have been known to Ferishta. This author speaks of a relatively recent acknowledgment of Chalukya supremacy on the part of two tributary chiefs at the same time—the Hoysala King and Rāja of Ma'abir.³ Beyond doubt the latter cannot be any Pāṇḍya King. Who is then the King referred to as 'Rāja of Maabir'?

It has been hitherto supposed that the 'Maabir' of Ferishta and the 'Ma'abar' of Ibn Batuta, Barni, and other Mussulman historians, are merely variants of the same name, and that both therefore refer to the same country, viz. Madura. There is no doubt that the word Ma'abar, as used by those Muhammadan writers, means Madura, since they speak of Sultan Jalal-ud-din and his successors as ruling that country. It is therefore necessary to find out what is the meaning of Ma'abir, and what is the difference between Ma'abir and Ma'abar.

The origin of these two words is the same. *Abr* is an Arabic word meaning *to cross*, or *to pass*. From this root the two words Ma'abar and Ma'abir proceed. The former means *harbour* or *landing place*; the latter is only the plural of the former. If this word is applied to a whole country, it must be by a transfer from the original meaning, which beyond doubt referred to a seaport. What was the seaport called Ma'abar by the Arabs? If we examine the whole line of the western coast we shall scarcely find any seaport so frequented by the Arab merchants as that of Gopakapattana, which is identified with old Goa on the river Zuairim, the capital of the Kadamba Kings of Goa. There is a copperplate charter of King Jayakēśi I, showing the extraordinary amount of shipping which frequented the harbour of Goa, by the number of taxes imposed on ships coming from different countries and seaports.⁴

¹ *E.I.*, VI, p. 11, v. 31.

² Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 350-351.

³ In the volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica* one often comes across inscriptions of Pāṇḍya Kings acknowledging the Chalukya Emperors. They are Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi, in the North of Mysore, not Pāṇḍyas of Madura.

⁴ This trade between Goa and Arabia continued during the Portuguese period. The Arab horses shipped to Goa were one of the main sources of revenue for the Portuguese Government. Cf. Heras, *Early Relations between Vijayanagara and Portugal*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XVI, pp. 68, 74.

Goa was the seaport through which the Arabs entered India, and knew India. Goa was Ma'abar. How the whole of the Southern India afterwards came to be called Ma'abar is not difficult to explain. For the Muhammadan historians of Delhi, leaving far from Goa and the Coromandel Coast, the whole southern country surrounding the seaport called Ma'abar soon came to be called 'the country of Ma'abar'. Thus Ibn Batuta speaks of 'the governor of the country of Ma'abar', meaning the governor of the Southern possessions of Muhammad bin Tuglak.¹ Thus the word Ma'abar was soon synonymous with the South. In this sense Wassaf says that in 1310 during the reign of Alla-ud-din Khalji 'the appointed leaders, accompanied by a select army, were dispatched to conquer Ma'abar'.² This was the first expedition of the Mussulmans of Delhi to the South, when the southern country was absolutely unknown to them. Hence the word Ma'abar could not be applied to any kingdom or city in particular, but only to the southern country in general. Later on when Madura became the most important conquest of the Delhi Sultans, that country became Ma'abar *par excellence*.³ And naturally the Pāndya Kings were accordingly called 'Rais of Ma'abar'.⁴ To mention some parallel instances:—Hemachandra, the Jaina writer of the 11th century, when writing from Anhilwada (in northern Gujerat) about the city of Chandrapur situated in Southern Konkan, puts it in the Dekkan⁵; and later on the word Carnatic was applied to the eastern coast of Southern India, though its original and natural meaning was limited to that part of the country where the Kannaḍa language was spoken.⁶ Thus the whole of Southern India became Ma'abar for those writers who are living in Delhi, for instance Barni; or for those southern travellers who were already imbued with the phraseology of the Delhi Court, as for instance Ibn Batuta.

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, III, p. 618.

² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³ Cf. Elliot, *o.c.*, III, p. 90, Gibb, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 252.

⁴ Elliot, *o.c.*, III, pp. 88, 219.

⁵ *I.A.*, IV, p. 233.

⁶ The application of the name Carnatic to the eastern coast was due to the change of capital of the Vijayanagara Empire from Vijayanagara and Penukonda, to Chandragiri and Vellore in the Tamil country. The Emperor was still called the Rāja of the Carnatic (his old title) by the servants of the E.I. Co. and by the Dutch merchants. Cf. *English Factories*, 1642-1645, pp. 67, 80, 81, etc. Naturally after some years, the country where he was reigning was supposed to be the Carnatic.

But Ferishta, who had never been at Delhi, but always lived in the Deccan (and was, so to say, a neighbour of Goa during his stay at Bijapur) knew fully well that Ma'abar meant Goa only. Hence whenever Ferishta speaks of Ma'abir he means Goa, and whenever he speaks of the Rāja of Ma'abir he means the Rāja of Goa.¹

At the time of Alla-ud-din Khalji and Muhammad bin Tuglak, Goa was ruled by the Kadamba Dynasty founded by Guhala-dēva. An expedition of Mallik Kafur seem to have overrun the whole of the South Konkan, viz. the island of Goa and the peninsula of Salsette, south of that island. The terminus of this expedition along the western coast seemed to have been the cape of Rama, called by Ferishta 'Sett Bund Rameswur', where after looting the temples the Mussulman general built a mosque.²

This expedition of Mallik Kafur was fatal to the kingdom of Ma'abir. The capital of the kingdom, Gopakapattana, seems to have been destroyed or at least taken possession of by the Muhammadans. For after that time the Kadamba Kings appear only in Salsette, where they fixed their Court in the city that had been the first *rājadhānī*, of their dynasty, the city of Chandrapur, now called Chandor.³

What king first established his Court at Chandrapur after the Khalji conquest is not easy to say. Shashta-dēva III, the last king of the direct line of the Kadamba Kula could not have lived after 1260.⁴ He appears to have died childless and was succeeded by his brother-in-law, called Camapoto by the Portuguese writers,⁵ a corrupted form for Kāmapati or Kāma-dēva.⁶ This king could not then be very young for in 1248 he had helped his brother-in-law Shashta-dēva when the latter succeeded to the throne of his

¹ One may also notice that Ferishta always uses the plural Ma'abir, instead of the singular Ma'abar, as he was well aware that there were several harbours in the kingdom of Goa, viz. Gopakapattana, Chandrapura, Narvem, etc

² Ferishta-Briggs, I, pp. 373-374. Cf. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 160, n. 4.

³ There are no documents referring to this period. One is to rely upon the local oral tradition, that connects the end of the dynasty with Chandor, leaving aside the city and island of Goa completely.

⁴ Cf. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 210.

⁵ Cottineau-d' Alreu, *Bosquejo Historico de Goa*, p. 11, note (a).

⁶ Cf. Moraes, o.c., p. 210.

ancestors.¹ Therefore supposing that, in 1248 when Shashta-deva became king, Kāma-deva was at least 25 years old, in 1310-11, at the time of the expedition of Mallik Kafur, he was an old man of 87 or 88. Hence we cannot decisively state that he witnessed the capture of Gopakapattana by the Khaljī general. Either he or his son—whose name is unknown to us—transferred the capital to Chandrapura, where he tried to restore the faded glory of the Kadamba family.

But such efforts were of no avail. Not many years later and soon after the accession of Muhammad bin Tuglak, a new Mussulman army re-conquered the kingdom of Ma'abir. Ferishta tells us that on this occasion the Delhi Sultan 'subjected the distant provinces of Dwar-Sumoodra, Ma'abir, Kumpila, Wurangol,' etc.² And in order to leave no doubt as regards the limits of this conquest, the same author presently adds (as if summarising the results of the campaign) that he 'subdued the whole of the Carnatic, both in length and breadth, even to the shore of the sea of Ooman',³ i.e. the Arabian sea. It is therefore clear that Muhammad bin Tuglak again conquered the kingdom of Ma'abir 'even to the shore of the sea of Ooman'. In the first conquest by Mallik Kafur the city of Chandrapur, not being then the capital of the kingdom, had probably been spared by the invader. But before the second campaign Chandrapur had become the *rājadhāni* of the King of Ma'abir, and so probably experienced the full wrath of the invaders.

As a matter of fact, in the course of some excavations conducted at Chandor last April, by an expedition of the Indian Historical Research Institute, a copper coin of Muhammad bin Tuglak was found within the *garbhagrha* of an ancient Śaiva temple, mixed with the debris and mud which filled up the building. A huge granite Nandi, nearly six feet long, was found badly mutilated in a pit in front of the temple not far from its original position. Inside the *garbhagrha* a stone image of one of the Saptamātrkās, Vaiṣṇavi, was also discovered. The group had been purposely broken leaving intact only Vaiṣṇavi and the left leg of Kumāri. It was evident that the iconoclasts wilfully destroyed the images

¹ Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, I.A., XIV, p. 288.

² Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 413.

³ *Ibid.*

and temple; and probably these iconoclasts, who accidentally dropped there a coin of their Sultan, were the soldiers of Muhammad bin Tuglak of Delhi.

The Hindu King very likely resisted the attack and perhaps he perished in the combat. This event took place in about 1327. This unnamed king who probably died during the war was already pretty old, as Kāma-deva, his father, had already attained the age of eighty-eight, seventeen years before in 1310-11. Hence even supposing that he did not perish during the war, he could not have survived down to 1345 when we last hear of the king of Chandrapur.

Ferishta relates that not long after Muhammad's departure for Delhi, 'all these conquests . . . were wrested from him and continued separate'.¹ This happened in Gulbarga in 1347.² But the Hoysala Empire and the Kadamba Kingdom of Goa, which were both further south and had Hindu sovereigns as their rulers did not probably hesitate so long, and shook off the Mussulman yoke as soon as the Sultan had crossed the Narbada. The chief who rose up on this occasion probably was the grandson of Kāma-deva. However he did not enjoy peace for long. A dispute seemed to have arisen between him and one of his sons. The latter called in the Nawab of Honavar to help him against his father, promising to become a Mussulman. The city of Chandrapur was accordingly stormed by the soldiers of the Nawab, who came from Honavar by sea, and the petty Mussulman chief took possession of the Kadamba capital and palace³ Such was the end of the Kingdom of Ma'abir.⁴

¹ Ferishta-Briggs, I, pp. 413-414.

² Cf. Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, I, p. 22.

³ Gibb, *Ibn Batuta*, pp. 239-240 We do not know who was this Nawab of Honavar—called Jalal-ud-din by Ibn Batuta. The only information this author gives about him is that he acknowledged a sovereign called Haryab (*Ibid.*, p. 230). This Haryab was Harihara I of Vijayanagara. Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 63, n. 3.

⁴ Ibn Batuta refers to a counterattack of the King of Chandrapur, as a result of which the Mussulmans 'were besieged by the infidels (Hindus) and reduced to great straits'. Yet the end of this Hindu reaction is not disclosed by the traveller for he himself naïvely avers: 'When the situation became serious, I left the town during the siege and returned to Calicut'. Gibb, *o.c.*, p. 241.

A PARSI HIGH PRIEST (DASTUR) AZAR KAIWAN, WITH
HIS ZOROASTRIAN DISCIPLES AT PATNA IN THE
16TH-17TH CENTURIES A.C.

(Summary.)

DR. JIVAJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

Introduction.

The object of the paper is to give a brief account of a band of Zoroastrian priests and laymen—with Dastur Azar Kaiwan at their head, who visited northern India, and stayed at Patna, in the latter part of the 16th and the earlier part of the 17th century A.C.

*The Moghul Emperors as Friends of Literature—Religious and
Secular.*

The Court of the Moghul Emperors of India was a kind of Academy, where men of Literature, Art and Science met under the patronage of the Rulers. Their patronage and encouragement drew many outsiders to India.

The Position of Parsees at the time of Akbar.

Though individual Parsees had risen to fame and some high positions in the time of Humayun, Akbar and their successors, more cannot be said with certainty about the Parsee community as a whole. Mr. Morland, in his '*India at the death of Akbar*', says, that their position was not clear. The profession of most of them was husbandry; some cultivated palm trees, the wine made out of which trees on the Persian Gulf and in Mesopotamia was celebrated for its health-giving quality. In the time of Cambyses, the then King of distant Abyssinia liked it and attributed to it the health of the Persians, which, however, he thought to be inferior to that of the Abyssinians. A number of Parsees were weavers and some resorted to commerce. The literature they knew of here was mostly religious, in the matter of which they occasionally consulted their co-religionists of Persia.

Akbar as a Mystic.

Akbar was more or less a mystic from his boyhood. A story of such mysticism is connected with the story of his riding a vicious horse at the age of 15. Later on, some contact with some Hindu pantheistic doctrines, and some Sufi teachings, led him to thoughts of direct communion with God. He seems to have remained, more or less, a mystic up to the end of his life.

The Religious Fervour of Akbar's times seems to have drawn Azar Kaiwan to India.

Akbar's zeal for an eclectic religion is well known. It drew the attention of many foreigners—Mahomedans and non-Mahomedans. As to Mahomedans, we know, that there were, and even now are, several schools or sects of belief. The attention of all these schools or sects was drawn to the Court of the tolerant Akbar (born 1542 A.C.). It seems that the Zoroastrian Priest, Azar Kaiwan (born about 1536 A.C.), was drawn to India by this religious fervour of the country—a country of Sanyāsins and Sādhus, Yogis and Fakirs. In Persia itself, some were already drawn towards *riyāzat*, towards abstemiousness and austerities which, they believed, were preached even by some of their Peshdadian, Kayānian and Sassānian ancestors.

Azar Kaiwan at Patna.

The reason, why out of all other parts of India, Azar Kaiwan chose Patna for his headquarters, is not quite clear; but it seems that, Patna, being a seat of the old ruins of Buddhist times, a place of old Buddhist stupas and Jain cupolas, Azar Kaiwan looked to it as a seat of old Indian philosophy and mysticism.

Our Authorities for Azar Kaiwan and his Disciples.

Our principal authority for the account of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples is the Persian *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* (School of Religious creeds), by an unknown author, mistaken to be Mohsan Fāni. Besides the *Dabistān*, we have references to Azar Kaiwan in some of the known writings of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan.

The Dabistān.

Among Persian books, on mystic sects and their beliefs and austere practices, the *Dabistān* and the *Desātir*, especially the

former, are well known in Northern India, up to Kashmir. During my three visits of Kashmir, I heard of the *Dabistān* several times. In the last century, a number of oriental scholars like Sir W. Jones, Erskine, Norris, Silvester de Sacy, William von Schlegel, and even Warren Hastings, took part in the discussion about the originality and importance of these books. The *Dabistān* described the religions of India at the time when it was written.

The Author of the Dabistān.

The author of the *Dabistān* is not known. At one time, he was taken to be one Mohsan Fani, and there was some discussion about it in the beginning of the last century. He seems to have travelled a good deal and gone to Kashmir and to the various towns of Punjab and Gujarat. He had gone to Naosari in Gujarat, the headquarters of the Parsi priesthood. He had come to India from Persia and died in India in 1670. The author names, in more than one place, the disciples of Azar Kaiwan, whom he met in Kashmir and Patna.

From what Dastur Edalji Darabji Sanjana, the learned translator of the *Sharistān-i-Chehar Chaman* says, one may say that, possibly, at first, parts of the *Dabistān* may have been written by Azar Kaiwan himself, and then, the unknown author added his own versions. Wherever he says, that he met certain disciples of Azar Kaiwan and travelled in Punjab and Gujarat, etc., there it is he personally who speaks, but the other portions describing various creeds may have been originally written by Azar Kaiwan. The unknown author added his own portions here and there but the main part descriptive of the various creeds may be Azar Kaiwan's own. This seems to explain why the author does not give his name. As he knew that most of his work was Azar Kaiwan's writing, he dared not announce himself as the author. Dastur Edalji Sanjana says, on the authority of his teacher, Rustomji, that the *Dabistān* formed the 4th Chaman of the *Sharistān-i-Chehar Chaman*. Thus, when we see, on the one hand, that the author of the *Dabistān* does not give his name as the author, and (b) on the other hand, that the 4th Chaman of the *Sharistān-i-Chehar Chaman* is not given in its current texts, and (c) when we read what Dastur Edalji says that the *Dabistān* was mentioned traditionally, as the 4th Chaman of the *Sharistān*,

we may, to a certain extent, justifiably say, that the author of the *Dabistān*—not as it has come down to us, but as its main part descriptive of the various creeds is concerned—was written by Azar Kaiwan himself. This conclusion puts an end to the long controversy as to who the author was.

Authorities named by the Dabistān.

The *Dabistān* names 23 Persian books for its authorities. Its English translators, Shea and Troyer, after enumerating their names, say, that, out of all the 23 books only a part of the *Desatir* is known to us. But, three more, the *Zardasht Afshār* and the *Jam-e-Kaikhusrū* also were published in translation in the middle of the last century by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayat of Bombay, at the instance of the first Sir Jamshedji Jijibhoy, Baronet. In the case of the *Jam-e-Kaikhusrū*, the text also was published. I also think that the *Sharistān*, in the list of the *Dabistān*, is the *Sharistān-e-Chehar Chaman*. So, its authorities, that are known and printed are (1) the *Desatir*, (2) the *Jam-e-Kaikhusrū*, (3) the *Sharistān*, and the *Zardasht Afshār*. I describe these four at some length in my paper.

The Desatir referred to in the Dabistān.

At one time, much importance was attached to the *Desatir*, as it was referred to in the *Dabistān* as an authority. Sir W. Jones, Governor-General Hastings, and the then Bombay Governor, Duncan, all seemed to have been overjoyed at its discovery at the hands of Dastur Mulla Firoz of Bombay, but later patient studies have shown the extraordinary claim, put forward for it, to be undeserved.

Who were Azar Kaiwan and his disciples.

It seems that, Azar Kaiwan and his disciples were all of the Sufi sect of belief and that they belonged to the Ishqaniān class (i.e. the Illuminati). Sufism and its kindred belief in the west and the east, looked at a kind of Communion with God. Azar Kaiwan and his disciples were, as it were, some adepts in this kind of belief.

Azar Kaiwan.

The *Dabistān* traces his descent from the Mahabādians, said to be the predecessors of the Peshdadians, down to Sassan I,

who was said to be a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and then to Sassan V, a contemporary of Khusro Parviz. All the five Sassans were supposed to be mystics. From his mother's side, he had relations with the great Chosroes I (Noshervan). His native country was Ishtakhar, the Persepolis of the Greeks, where from the age of 5 he had begun showing some mystic tendencies of taking very little food and sleep daily. He had passed 28 years of his very young life in seclusion in a very narrow straitened place (khum). We read of some supernatural or over-extraordinary events of his life. He abstained from flesh diet and had acquired the power of taking out his soul from his body and of re-entering it. He died in India in about 1618 A.C. at the age of 82.

Was he a Dastur?

Some Parsee writers of the last century speak of him as a Dastur. But the *Dabistān* or the works of his disciples do not speak of him as such. I have used the epithet Dastur, which seems to have come down traditionally.

His Disciples.

He had a large number of disciples, some of whom had come with him from Persia and some had joined him in India. The *Dabistān* names 13 Zoroastrian disciples. 12 other Zoroastrians are mentioned on the authority of one of his disciples. The *Dabistān* names 11 non-Parsee disciples, of whom 5 were Mahomedans, 2 Jews, 1 Christian, and 3 Hindus. I give, in my paper, a few particulars about these disciples. Among the Zoroastrian disciples some were Mobads or priests. Some have the epithet Farzaneh (i.e. wise or learned) prefixed to their names. Some of these disciples were learned and knew Arabic, Persian, and Hindi. The descent of many of them is traced from Kayānian and Sassānian kings and heroes. They were from different cities like Shiraz, Isfahan, and Herat. One had gone to him from Surat in India. Two or three Zoroastrian disciples are said to have been born at Patna. It seems that some Zoroastrians may have gone to Patna some time before Azar Kaiwan. Perhaps, one of the reasons of Azar Kaiwan having made Patna his headquarters may be this, that there were already some of his co-religionists there. The dates of some of his disciples' deaths ascertained from the *Dabistān*

vary from 1614, the earliest, to 1640 the latest. Next to Patna, Kashmir is said to be the place visited by them. The author of the *Dabistān* says, that he met some at Patna and some at Kashmir.

Some Disciples as Authors.

Some of his disciples had written books on Mystic subjects. The author of the *Dabistān* refers to them. Some religious-minded Parsees of devotional mind attached importance to these works, which mostly spoke of one kind or another of Communion with God. So, four books were published, both in text and translation, in the middle of the last century by the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat of Bombay at the suggestion of the first Sir Jamshedji Jijibhoy, Bart., who paid a part of the expenses.

*A few of the Tenets of belief and of the Observances of Azar
Kaiwan's School.*

1. They believed in instructions in dreams from old philosophers of India, Greece and Persia.

2. They avoided contact with ordinary people and gave audiences generally to their disciples. They said that masses are not to be depended upon.

3. They advised that everybody may, though he took to mysticism, stick to his own religion.

4. They kept some of their peculiar tenets to themselves. Some of their beliefs about extraordinary practices and observances were the following:—

1. In fight, one can change himself into a stone which would break the adversary's sword.
2. They can divest themselves of their physical bodies.
3. They can read the thoughts of others.
4. They had different modes or gestures for sleep during which they stopped breathing.
5. They limited their food to minimum quantities. Azar Kaiwan is said to have lived on one dam of weight of food.
6. Some of them never looked upon women, thus reminding us of the austere customs of some of the Christian monasteries of Western Asia, where the monks, not only did not admit women into the precincts of

their monasteries, but did not even admit female animals, e.g. she-goat, or a cow or hen.

7. They could create things out of non-existence.
8. They could know the secrets of others.
9. They passed sleepless nights.
10. They could make themselves invisible.
11. They travelled long distances in unusually short times.
12. They appeared at one and the same time in different places.
13. They brought the dead to life.
14. They deprived the living of their life by miraculous powers.
15. They understood the language of (a) animals, (b) vegetables, and (c) minerals.
16. They could produce various kinds of food and drink without any visible means.
17. They walked (a) on water, (b) in fire, and (c) in air.
18. To punish and frighten the evil-minded, they (a) could flood their fields or (b) create extraordinary huge figures in the air.
19. They can change worthless things like broken pottery into gold.
20. They could marvellously create extraordinary houses with the sun moving in them.
21. They turned themselves into animals.
22. They threw into fire clothes which did not burn.
23. They made themselves invisible by the recital of incantations.
24. They swallowed fire.
25. They made houses appear full of serpents.
26. They, by a particular influence on others, made them answer questions as they liked.
27. They ignited matches, whereby there appeared immediately dancing ladies who appeared all naked.
28. They suppressed their breath for hours together (hubs-e-dam). In one case it was for 24 hours.
29. They remained underneath water for two watches (pâs) i.e. six hours.
30. Some moved about all naked during the day and night during summer and winter.

THE CHAUHAN KING, BAIJALA DEVA II OF PATNĀ STATE.

L. K. PANDYA.

The State of Patnā, which was formerly included in the Chhattisgarh Division of C.P.'s and has been transferred since 1905 to Orissa, appears to have been an important principality. The state is not wanting in historical and archæological remains suggestive of its past glory and civilised occupations. In olden days a group of 120 temples adorned the beautiful site of the present village of Ranipur Jharia, surrounded by rocky hills and containing a fine and large tank of oval shape, with two *ghats* having regular stairs. One of the temples here is a fine example of the Indian Hypæthral Temple of which only a few specimens now exist, i.e. one at Khajurāha in Central India and the other at Bherāghāt, in Jubbalpur District, C.P. The age of temples of this style is generally attributed to the 10th century A.D. Such temples are better known by the names of 'Chaunsath Jogini temples' for the fact that they contain in the cloister 64 niches for holding the *Yoginīs* mentioned in the *Durgāpujā-Paddhati* and *Kālikā Purāṇa* respectively with 64 distinct names. In one of the temples, there is an inscription¹ which has not yet been fully deciphered. There are two or three fragmentary inscriptions² in the Patnā State which are dated Samvat 1000 and Samvat 1253 but to what Samvat Śaka or Vikrama they refer to is not certain. But this much is clear that prior to the establishment of the Chauhan rule at Patnā, the state was inhabited by a civilised people about the history of whom nothing is yet definitely known. According to an historical Hindi Poem named '*Jayacandrikā*' composed by Prahlād Dube of Saranagarh in Vikram Samvat 1838 (1781 A.D.) the 'Aṣṭa-mallik' form of government was prevalent in the Patnā State about the beginning of the 12th century A.D. To quote the Hindi poet:—

¹ This is in Devanagari script and mentions one Somośvara Deva Bhaṭṭāraka Parmeśvara (see P.S.).

² One of these has the words '*Pāṭnā Daudpāta*'. (See P.S.) *Arch. Sur. of India Reports*, Vol. XIII.

पटनामें रहे भूप निमुष्ठा को
 दिन एक उठे एक मल्लिक साको ।
 अठ-मल्लिक राज करै जु तबै को
 पानिग्राहि मुखमान रहै जु सबै को ॥

(प्रथमोऽध्यायः)

In Patnā the lemon (fruit) was considered to be the king. (With the help of this lemon the administration was carried on.) Every day this lemon-king gave its power to a *mallik* or elderly citizen. Eight *malliks* or representatives (of the people) were empowered to run the administration then. Of the eight *malliks*, Panigrahi was the head.

The tradition is that in the absence of a king, there was a council of eight elderly citizens or master-minds for the administration of the state. These were not allowed to occupy the throne upon which was placed a lemon fruit and in the name of that lemon fruit, the eight *malliks* carried on the administration by turn.

Rama Deva or Ramai Deva, as the poem calls him, was a favourite of *Panigrahi*—one of the *malliks*. This Ramai Deva is said to be a grandson of the last Emperor of India—Prithvi-raja Chauhan of Delhi. Panigrahi whose name is given in the Hindi poem as *Cakradhar*, happened to be ill during his turn of office as governor of the state. He selected Ramai Deva to officiate for him. Ramai Deva was a young, ambitious and brave man. He availed himself of the opportunity. He invited all the seven *malliks* to a feast and ordered them to be murdered. He saved the life of Chakradhar Panigrahi, the 8th member or *mallik*, because he and his mother were under his roof and he had spent his early days in Panigrahi's service. Time being favourable, Ramai Deva succeeded through the offering of rich present to the leading officers in the army in contriving the ruin of the local governors. Thus came to an end the *Aṣṭa-mallik* form of government of the Patnā State. Ramai Deva installed himself as the king of Patnā, where to this day, his family continues to rule.

Sings the Brahmin Bard Prahlad :—

कविः

ते दिन ते अठल राज कीन्हें पुर-पटना में
 पाटनेश्वरी को बलि दीन्हें भैंस भैस के ।

पुत्रहिं समान प्रजा पालो पुर पट्टन कौ
 होत थरहरित लोक देश परदेश के ॥
 तपत प्रताप तप्त तपन समान भूमे
 भगत प्रह्लाद कन्या व्याहे देश देश के ।
 ये तो चौहान रामचण्डी सूर्यवंशी अहैं
 विमल जस उदित है रमई नरेश के ॥

He describes रमई नरेश as Chauhan of रामचण्डी and सूर्यवंशी ।
 Further he records the geneology of रमई देव in the following lines :—

गढ़ सँभरी चौहान को अस पूर्व को विरतन्त ।
 पुर पाटना महुँ आद्य रमई देव उत्तम पत्तन ॥
रमई नरेन्द्र को पुत्र भै पुनि महालिङ्ग भुञ्जाल ।
 १ २
महालिङ्ग को सुत भयो बैजल देव छप विकराल ॥
 ३
 पुनि भयो बैजलदेव नन्दन भोजराज भुञ्जाल ।
 ४
 सुत भोजराज के भये विक्रमदेव भूप विशाल ॥
 ५
 भै भूप विक्रमदेव के परतापमल्ल नरेश ।
 ६
 परतापमल्ल नरेश सुत भूपालदेव विशेष ॥
 भूपालदेव नरेन्द्र के सुत विक्रमाजित भूप ।
 ८
 पुनि विक्रमाजित देव सुत बैजलदेव अनूप ॥
 ९
 सुत भये बैजलदेव को श्रीधिराधर नर-नाह ।
 १०
 जिन के प्रताप प्रचण्ड भै नवखण्ड मेदिनि माँह ॥
 छप धिराधर को नन्द भै दुई सुरति में जस काम ।
श्रीरामदेव सुजेछ, लछु बलरामदेव सुनाम ॥
 दोहा० सापत्नी को बान्धव दुयो रामदेव बलराम ।
 रामलखन सों अवतरो करौ सु पूरन काम ॥

From the above we have

1. Ramai Deva
 2. Mahaling
 3. Baijal Deva
 4. Bhojraja Deva
 5. Vikram Deva
 6. Pratap Malla Deva
 7. Bhupal Deva
 8. Vikramājī Deva
 9. Baijala Deva II
 10. Hiradhar Deva
- 11 Ram Deva otherwise
known by the name of
Narsingh Deva

Balram Deva
1st Maharaja of
Sambalpur.

From a Sanskrit poem in manuscript ¹ which I was able to trace out and which is in possession of Mr. Kapilnath Dube of Ratanpur (old capital of Chhattisgarh and seat of the administration of Haihaya kings of Mahākośala) we gather that it was composed by King Baijal Deva, Maharaja of Patnā, for the use of his son Hiradhar Deva. Raja Baijal Deva has given the name of his father in one of the slokas. It runs as follows :—

चन्द्रावती वदन चन्द्र चकोर धीर,
श्रीविक्रमार्क तनयो नय-तन्त्रवेत्ता ।
चौहान-वंशतिलकः पटनाधिनाथो
राजा पर जयति वैजलदेव नामा ॥

श्लोक 2nd.

¹ This manuscript was prepared in Hizri era 1244, a hundred years back : the present year 1930 A.D. being 1348 Hizri. I saw another manuscript of this poem in the library of Rai Bahadur Sāhityācārya B. Jagannath, 'Bhānu Kavi,' retired E.A.C., Bilaspur, C.P.

This very *śloka* is enough to shut the mouth of those who doubt the *Kṣatriya* Origin of the Maharajas of Patnā cum Sambalpur Kingdoms. This Sanskrit poem is named *Probodha Candrikā* by the author himself but it is known in Orissa and Bengal by the name of *Baijal Kārikā* or *Baijal Kāvya*. The manuscript I refer to begins with the following:—

श्रीगणेशाय नमः । अथ बैजल-काव्य प्रारम्भ
हरिहरगुरुभक्तः सर्वलोकानुरक्तः ।
त्रिभुवनगत-कीर्तिः कान्ति-कन्दर्पमूर्तिः ॥
रणरिपुगण-कालो, बैजलः क्षोणिपालो
जयति जगति दाता, सर्व-कर्मावधाता ॥ १ ॥

The object of the composition of the poem is given thus:—

संसारभोधितरणं रामनामानुकीर्तनम् ।
रामनामान्विता तस्मात् प्रक्रिया क्रीयते मया ॥ ९ ॥
बालकानां प्रबोधाय तोषाय विदुषामपि ।
आकल्पमपि संसारे कौतूहलव्यापनाय च ॥ १० ॥
चिन्तयन्निति निर्यातः क्रीडन्तं श्रीहरिधरम् ।
श्रीमान् बैजलभूपालो विस्लोक्य सुतमब्रवीत् ॥ ११ ॥
x x x x x
यावन्न राजचर्या ते यावन्न विषयग्रहः ।
यावन्न यौवनमद-स्त्रावत् विद्यामुपार्जय ॥ १८ ॥

Further the author says:—

प्रबोधचन्द्रिका नाम रामनामसमाश्रिता ।
अज्ञानतिमिरध्वंसकारिणी चित्तहारिणी ॥ २५ ॥
बहवः प्रक्रिया ग्रन्थाः सन्ति चेत् सन्तु का कतिः ।
मालतीमधुनिकापि मधुपानामनादरः ॥ ३६ ॥

From the above quotation it is clear that Baijal Deva's father was Vikramāditya and his son, Hiradhar Deva. This is exactly what we find in the Hindi poem by Prahlad Dube.

It is, however, much to be regretted that the Sanskrit poem *Probodha Candrikā* gives no date of its composition. Nor does it give any information about the time of Baijal Deva II's reign.

In one place the poem mentions one Hammir, who, I believe, is no other than the famous Chauhan King of Ranathambhor who was

a great hero. It is said about him तिरियातेसु हमीर-हठ चढ़े न दूजी बार । The Sanskrit poem *Hamīra-mahākāvya* by the Jain Saint, Nayana Chandra Suri of Gwalior will for ever be singing the glory and bravery of this lion of mankind. He preferred to die, sword in hand, to accepting the humiliating terms of peace proposed by Alauddin—Emperor of Delhi.

The ślokas referring to Hammir are :—

दानेन दयया चैव युद्धेनोचित-कर्मेणा ।
 दानवीरो दयावीरो युद्धवीर इति श्रुतः ॥ २० ॥
 दधीचिर्दानवीरोऽभूत् दयावीरः शिविर्द्वयः ।
 हमीरो युद्धवीरोऽभूत् निदर्शनमसौ वयः ॥ २१ ॥

Hammir's death took place about Hizri era 700 (1301 A.D.) or Vikrama Samvat 1358. The mention of हमीर goes to show that the poem was composed some time after 1301 A.D. The State of Patnā was in the time of Baijal Deva not included geographically or politically in Orissa as is evident from the 81st śloka of Chapter I —

दिग्देशकालयोमे च ग्रामात्पूर्वं स्थितिर्नम ।
 उत्कलात् पश्चिमं ज्ञेयं पटनाराज्यमद्भुतम् ॥ ८१ ॥

The Patnā State was then, to the west of उत्कल or Orissa. It must have been a part of Kośala apparently Mahākośala. In Patnā town itself and in the interior, temples by the name of Kośaleśvara Mahādeva are still found.

The existence of the manuscripts of *Probodha Candrikā* or *Baijala Kāvya* at Ratanpur is attributed to the matrimonial alliances between the royal houses of Patnā and Ratanpur. It is stated in the Hindi History of Ratanpur (in MS.) that the Haihaya Prince Virasingha Deva married the daughter of the Chauhan King of Patnā. This Chauhan King is, to all probability, the author of *Probodha Candrikā*—Raja Baijal Deva II. Vira Singh—Haihaya prince, as given in the history book referred to above, ruled from Vikrama Samvat 1428 to 1464.

P. S.

(a)

On the door frame of the largest shrine among the group of about 60 temples at Ranipur Jharia in the Patnā State, there are inscriptions in the Devanagari characters which read as follows :—

Line 1. ॐ नमः शिवाय । श्रीसोमेश्वरदेव-भट्टारक-परमेश्वर-वरप्रसादे
श्रीउत्तरहेरम्ब-गृहविनिर्गत गगनशिव ।

Line 2. अभिराम आचार्येन इदं स्थानं कौर्तितम् । सर्वैः तीर्थफलसमायोगः
लोकानुग्रहकम् पुणं सोमस्वामी सिद्धेश्वरम् ।

Line 3. लक्ष्मीनामा चतुर्थकम् इदं तीर्थे स्थात्वा सर्वपापविमोचनः ।
श्रीसोमेश्वरनाथ तव पादयुगलाराधने कुतः क्षमः ।

Line 4. प्रशमणि (प्रशमति ?) गगनशिव यदि बद्धो मुक्तिं ददासि शङ्कर ।

What can be made out of the above is that under the patronage of King Someśvara Deva—a Sādhu by name ‘Gagana Śiva’ who had come from ‘Uttara-Heramba-Grha,’ got the temple constructed.

Rai Sahib M. M. Ghosh, curator of the Patnā Museum, contemplated a visit to Ranipur Jharra and Bolangir with a view to decipher these and other inscriptions there. It is hoped that he will soon lay the result of his labours before the learned public.

(b)

The name ‘Patnā Danḍpāta’ is suggestive of the fact that it was a remnant of the old name *Gaṇadanda-nāyaka*—a minister and *Gaṇadanda-Pāla* an officer in charge of the maintenance of army and can connect the *Aṣṭa Mallik* system of Government to the Hindu Republic or *Gaṇa* of very remote antiquity. In the neighbourhood of Patnā we still find a State by the name of ‘*Aṭhmallik*’ which was ruled by eight representatives of the people by turns, which gave it the name it still bears.

ARAB INVASIONS OF INDIA.

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From the very beginning of their aggressive and triumphant military career, the Arabs cast longing eyes towards the fair valleys and cities of India. There were at that time three important kingdoms on the western borderland of India, which may be roughly denoted as Kabul, Zabul and Sind. 'The highlands of the Kandahar country, along the upper waters of the *Helmund*, were known as Zabul or Zabulistan.' Kabul or Kabulistan was the country round Kabul, lying more to the north, on the frontiers of Bamiyan. Sind, the largest of the three, not only included the modern province of that name, but extended towards the north far into the heart of the Panjab, and on the west it counted as its dependencies the coastal province of Makran and the hilly country of Kekkāna (Arabic *Al-Kikān* or *Kikānān*) round the Bolan Pass. According to the testimony of Arab writers all these kingdoms belonged to India proper whose frontier extended up to Kish (modern Kaj or Kuhich) far to the south-west of Kandahar, and this is corroborated by such other evidences as we possess.¹

Every student of Indian history is familiar with the story of Muhammad-ibn-Kāsim's conquest of Sind. He regards it as but natural that the powerful Arabs whose triumphant career was unchecked from the Pyrenees to Pamir would make an easy conquest of Sind. The surprise has rather been felt why the Arabs made so little progress in the further conquest of India.

But the true nature and significance of the Arab invasion of India has hitherto escaped proper recognition. The fact is that the conquest of Sind is not an isolated fact, but merely a part of a complex problem. It was not the beginning of Arab conquest,

¹ See foot-note 15 below. Balādhuri refers to Kish as the frontier of al-Hind. The extent of the kingdom of Sind is given in *Chachnāma* (hereinafter referred to as Ch'). I have used the English translation of Ch' by Fredunbeg (Karachi, 1902) and the English Translation of Balādhuri's account by Murgotten.

but only the triumphant end of a long series of fruitless endeavours on the part of the Arabs to penetrate into the 'land of Hind'. The result of a failure to realise this elementary fact has been that while the defeat of the Indians looms large in the pages of history their successful resistance to the onslaught of the Arabs for more than two centuries has almost been ignored.

It is a well-known fact that there are only four routes open to a hostile army operating against India from the west. One way is by the sea, and the other three he, roughly speaking, through Khyber Pass, Bolan Pass and the Makrán coast.

From the very beginning the Arabs tried each of these routes in their endeavour to enter into India. Their repeated naval raids were unsuccessful, the Bolan Pass was bravely guarded by the Jāths of Kekkāna (Al-Kíkán of the Arabs), still further north, the rulers of Kabulistan and Zabulistan stood as bulwarks against the Arab army seeking an entrance to India through Khyber Pass. While the repeated attempts of the Arabs in these directions led to failure, they succeeded in reaching the southern part of Sind through Makrán.

This last phase of the struggle has been told and retold by many authors. But in order to get a true perspective of the struggle as a whole we must also review its other phases which ended in the failure of the Arabs.

The early Arab raids were directed against the coastland of India. From their secure base at Oman an army was sent across to Tanah, i.e. Thana near Bombay about 15 A.H. (637 A.D.). Similar expeditions were sent against Barwas or Broach and to the gulf of Ad-Daibul, i.e. Debal. Al-Baládhuri records a Muslim victory at Debal, but is silent about the results of the other two raids. On the other hand, according to Chachnáma, the Muslims were defeated and their leader was killed by the governor of Chach at the battle of Debal.² It may be safely concluded that the Muslim arms did not gain any appreciable success in any of these raids

² Ch° (57-58) places this event shortly before the murder of Umar but gives the date 11 A.H. This seems to be a mistake for 21 A.H. Similarly on p. 37, Ch° refers to some events in Persia in 2 A.H., whereas the right date seems to be 12 A.H. These two dates are either due to misreading of original figures or counted from the death of Muhammad—for it is difficult to believe that a Muhammadan author would give 11 A.H. as the date for

which were all undertaken during the Caliphate of Umar (634-643 A.D.).

The defeat at Dehal must have taken by surprise the Caliph Umar whose arms were victorious in distant parts of the world. Having failed to approach Sind from the sea-coast on the south, he sent an army to Makrán and Kirmán with a view to attack the western frontier of the kingdom; but like a true statesman, he at the same time asked the governor of Irak to send him detailed information about the country. The governor reported that the king of Sind was very powerful and by no means willing to submit to the Muhammadans. Thereupon all ideas of sending further expeditions against that country were abandoned.³

an expedition undertaken during the Caliphate of Umar, as the latter succeeded to the Caliphate only in 13 A.H. Similarly Ch^o gives wrong dates for the beginning of the Caliphate of Ali (p. 38) and Muawiya (p. 61).

Similarly the statement in Ch^o that Chach had ruled for 35 years when this expedition took place cannot be correct. This is not only in conflict with the statement in the *Tuhfat-ul-kurám* that Chach ascended the throne in 1 A.H., but is also irreconcilable with the general statements of Ch^o about Chach and his successors.

It may be noted here that Ch^o does not mention the naval raids against Thana or Broach which are mentioned by Baládhuri (p. 209).

³ The statement that Umar sent an expedition to Makrán and Kirmán is based on the authority of *Chachnāma* (pp. 58 ff.). But it is clear from the context that the expedition was recalled before it could achieve any success. Al-Baládhuri ignores this expedition altogether. Later authorities refer to the success of Moslem arms in this expedition. According to *Tarikh-i-guzida* the Moslems conquered on this occasion not only Makrán and Kirmán but also Sijistan, although the ruler of Sind helped the king of Makrán. Hasan bin-Muhammad Shiráji referring to the same incidents, adds that the ruler of Makrán, called Zambil, who was also king of Sind, was killed. Habibu-s-Siyar and Tabari also refer to this expedition. These authorities, however, give different names for the leaders of this expedition, and a perusal of al-Baládhuri, our earliest authority, leaves no doubt that the whole thing was a confused echo of certain incidents which happened at a later period. Al-Baládhuri, for example, narrates many incidents described by these authorities, but they belong to a later period. Further, Makrán and Sijistan were conquered by the Moslem forces at a much later date.

Elliot seems to have accepted the later authorities (Vol. I, pp. 417-8) which are in conflict with the statement, accepted by Elliot (p. 421) that at a later period the governor of Basra sent his agent 'to explore Sijistan and Makrán as well as the countfies bordering on the valley of the Indus'.

The failure of the previous raids induced the next ruler Uthman, to attempt an invasion of Sind by land. He sent his agents to collect information about the country but their reports were unfavourable. So Uthman, too, gave up the enterprise ⁴

During the next Caliphate, that of 'Ali, a great expedition was sent against India (38-39 A.H.). The Muslim army which included a large number of nobles and chiefs, advanced, without serious opposition, up to Al-Kíkán or Kíkánán which was a part of Sind. The people of this country (which corresponds to the mountainous regions in Baluchistan round Kalat) made a brave stand and routed the Muslim army. The leader of the Muslim host 'was killed together with all but a few of his followers'. This took place in 42 A.H. This is the version of al-Baládhuri. The Chachnáma, on the other hand, relates, that the Muslims obtained a victory at Kíkánán, but turned back on hearing of the murder of 'Ali. This seems to be only a thin pretext for hiding the defeat and disgrace, and the version of Baládhuri seems to be confirmed by later events. Besides, the version in Chachnáma is based on the authority of Amir, son of Haris, son of Abdul Kais, while according to Baládhuri Haris was himself the leader of the expedition. The son of the defeated leader naturally suppressed the inconvenient details.⁵

Henceforth Kíkánán became the chief objective of the Muslim expeditions and during the Caliphate of Mu-áwiyah (41-60 A.H.), several attempts were made to subdue this outlying frontier post of the Kingdom of Sind. The first expedition was led by Al-Muhallab in the year 44 (664 A.D.). He advanced against Kíkán from the side of Kabul in the north, but did not achieve any conspicuous success.⁶ The second expedition led by Abdullah, in spite of initial successes, ended in a disaster, and the routed Mussalman army

⁴ Baládhuri, pp. 209-10; Ch°. pp. 59-60. Both agree very closely.

⁵ Baládhuri (p. 210). Ch° (p. 60) gives the dates as 80 which is evidently a slip or misreading for 40. For, immediately before, it refers to year 38 A.H. It is, however, wrong in stating that the Khilafat of Ali began towards the end of that year. As a matter of fact Ali became Caliph in 35 A.H., 38 A.H. is the date of the expedition (cf. Elliot, Vol. I, p. 422).

⁶ This is omitted in Ch°. Curiously enough, here again, Ch° puts 44 A.H., the date of the first Indian expedition under Mu-áwiyah, as the date of the beginning of his Caliphate (see f.n. of Chapter IV). For further remarks on this expedition, see f.n. 17 below.

fled to Makrán.⁷ Sinan, the leader of the next expedition, 'proceeded to the frontier and conquered Makrán'. He established a garrison there and made it his headquarters.⁸ The Arab forces were apparently unable to proceed any further. Hence Sinan was replaced by Rashid who proceeded from Makrán and led a successful raid against Kíkánán. But later, while raiding the Mid (i.e. Meds) he was defeated and killed.⁹ He was succeeded by Sinan who led another expedition against Kíkánán. He proceeded up to the district of Budhia in Kíkánán but the people there rose against him and killed him.¹⁰ The next expedition was led by Al-Mundhir (Munzir in Chachnáma). He raided al-Bukán and al-Kíkán and conquered Kusdar, which although previously conquered by Sinan had rebelled against the Muslims. But Al-Mundhir died at Kusdar. The command was then taken over by Ibn-Harri who subdued Kusdar and fought a fierce and successful campaign there acquiring much booty.¹¹ But Al-Kíkán was far from being subdued. For

⁷ Baládhuri (p. 211). Ch^o (p. 62) gives more details of the disaster. Both authorities refer to the curious anecdote of a pregnant woman by way of illustrating the hospitality of the leader of the expedition. Baládhuri refers to some initial success of the Islam army but this is omitted in Ch^o. This expedition probably took place in 46 A.H. (Weil I, p. 291).

⁸ Baládhuri (p. 212). Apparently there is some confusion about this incident. Baládhuri refers to a tradition according to which Makrán was conquered by Hakim ibn Jabalah al-abdi. Ch^o (p. 63) refers to Sinan as having succeeded Abdulla, but does not refer to his conquest of Makrán. It, however, says that Ahnaf, son of Kaish, who was selected for the holy wars in Hind remained at Makrán for two years.

⁹ Baládhuri (p. 212). Ch^o (p. 64) gives more details of this expedition. It says that Rashid returned after a year from Kíkánán, and 'travelling via Sistan he came to the mountains of Mauzar and Bharj. The natives of this mountainous country mustered about 50,000 men strong to stop him on his way. A bloody battle ensued and Rashid fell a martyr.'

¹⁰ Ch^o (p. 65). Baládhuri (p. 212) refers to Sinan's succession in command but is silent about his expedition to Kíkán and death. Ch^o quotes a memorial verse relating to the martyrdom of Sinan.

¹¹ Baládhuri (pp. 213-14). Ch^o (p. 66) says that Munzir died of illness at Burabi, and does not give any details of his success. Nor does it refer to Ibn-Harri's campaign. Ibn-Harri seems to have conquered al-Bukan. Baládhuri refers to a memorial verse to that effect and adds 'The inhabitants of al-Bukan to-day are Moslems. . . . al-Barmaki built a city there which he named al-Baida (the white). This was in the Caliphate of al-Mutasim-billah.'

more than 20 years the Muslim forces concentrated their efforts upon the conquest of this frontier of Sind but failed to achieve any lasting results.

The Arabs seem to have given up the idea of conquering Kikán as a task beyond their power. Their efforts were not crowned with success even after the conquest of Sind, which enabled them to advance against the country from both the front and the rear. Even as late as the time of the Caliph Mutasim-billah (833-842 A.D.) Imran-ibn-Musa, 'made an expedition against the Kikanites, who are Zutt, fighting and defeating them'.¹² This does not seem to be a permanent conquest and this is the last we hear of Kikánán.

We now proceed to give an account of Arab raids against Kabul and Zabul.

About the middle of the 7th century A.D. during the caliphate of Uthman the Arabs conquered Sijistan. From its capital Zaranj they proceeded further east and came into conflict with the Indians near Kish. By successive victories they advanced up to Bust (to the south-west of Kandahar) and even three marches beyond it. The victorious general Abd-ar-Rahmān, the Arab governor of Sijistan, entered into an amicable agreement with the king of Zabulistan. The terms of the agreement are not mentioned. Abd-ar-Rahmān then retired to Zaranj. He had shortly to leave Sijistan placing it in charge of Umair, but the people of Zaranj expelled Umair, and closed the town. Thus the Arabs lost almost all that they had gained.¹³

When the next chief Ali had consolidated his power he made renewed efforts to re-establish the power of Islam in Sijistan, and succeeded in recapturing Zaranj. When Mu-áwiyah became Caliph, Abd-ar-Rahman-ibn-Samurah was re-appointed as the governor of Sijistan and with this began a fresh triumphal career of the Islamic forces.

Abd-ar-Rahman raided the country, whose people had apostatised, and subdued it either by force, or by making treaties with its people, advancing as far as Kabul. This city was ably defended

Elliot thinks that Munzir referred to in Ch^o is different person from Munzir referred to by Baládhuri (Vol. I, 425).

¹² Baládhuri (pp. 231-232).

¹³ Al-Baládhuri, pp. 141-144. For the localities named cf. Le Strange—'The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate' (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 344-45.

and the Arabs laid siege to it. After a few months a breach was made in the city wall by means of stones thrown by manjaniks. Then the Arabs attacked the city at night, but though they fought the whole night they could not overcome the defence. At day-break the defenders made a brave sortie. Unfortunately an elephant that was killed at the battle fell just at the gate from which they issued so that they could not close it and the Arabs entered the city by force. A treaty was concluded—on what terms we do not know—but it was shortly broken, and Kabul had to be conquered a second time (pp. 146-147).¹⁴

From Kabul the conqueror proceeded against Zabulistan.¹⁵ As already noted before, Abd-ar-Rahman, during the first period

¹⁴ Raverty gives a somewhat different account of this conquest of Kabul on p. 62 of his '*Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan*'. He writes:

'In 43 A.H. (663-64 A.D.) the Arabs invaded the territory of Kabul, under Abd-ur-Rahman, son of Sumrah, who was the lieutenant of Abd-ullah, son of Amir, governor of Khurasan. He marched from Sijistan after capturing the capital of that country. Kabul Shah, at that period, was known by the title or name of Arij, but this appears to be an Arabic word, and signifies lameness from birth. He moved out, with his forces to meet the Musalman invaders, and after a severe battle retired within the walls of Kabul, and did not sally out again. Abd-ur-Rahman continued before it for a full year, after which, his army having suffered great hardship and fatigues, the place was taken. The fighting men were put to the sword, and the women and children were made captives. The Kabul Shah was also taken, and his head was ordered to be struck off, but he was spared on his agreeing to become a convert to Islam. He was then received into favour, a tribute was fixed, and the Musalmans retired.'

Raverty does not indicate his source of information about this detailed campaign, but it is evidently based on *Turjuma-i-futuhāt* of Ahmad bin Asmi Kufi, quoted by Dowson (Elliot, Vol. II, p. 414, f.n. 1). It is not certain whether the account refers to the first or the second conquest of Kabul. The latter seems more probable.

In connection with the Muslim conquest of Kabul Balādhuri makes a very interesting statement which deserves more than a passing notice. 'Abd-ur-Rahman,' says he, 'took with him to al-Basrah slaves captured at Kabul, and they built him a mosque in his castle there after the Kabul style of building' (p. 147). The fact that one of the earliest mosques to be built at an important centre of Islam was modelled after Kabuli style of building, is full of importance for the history of the origin of Saracenic Style. But this topic being only of secondary importance in the present discussion, cannot be treated any further here.

¹⁵ Both Elliot and Raverty, and following them other scholars, have accepted the view that both Kabul and Zabul denoted one and the same kingdom

of his governorship had entered into an agreement with this country. But the inhabitants had broken it and now attacked the Arabs. They were, however, defeated (p. 147).

Abd-ar-Rahman was replaced by Ar-Rabi-ibn-Ziyad and died in the year 50 A.H. (670 A.D.).

The removal of Abd-ar-Rahman emboldened the chiefs of Kabul and Zabulistan to throw off the Moslem yoke. The king of Kabul drove out all the Moslems from Kabul and Ratbil (apparently a title of the king of Zabulistan)¹⁶ came and gained control of Zabulistan and Ar-Rukkhaj as far as Bust. 'Ar-Rabi, the Arab

under Ratbil. This erroneous conception has confused their entire account about the Arab raids in Sijistan and Kabul. A careful perusal of Baládhuri leaves no doubt that Zabulistan has been clearly distinguished from Kabul. Thus, describing the victories of Abd-ar-Rahman he mentions separately the conquest of Kabul and Zabulistan (p. 147). Then, describing the subsequent discomfiture of the Muslim army the same author says 'Then Kabul Shah assembled a force to oppose the Moslems and drove out all of them that were in Kabul. And Ratbil came and gained control of Dhabulistan (or Zabulistan) and ar-Rukkhaj as far as Bust' (p. 147). Again, Baládhuri clearly distinguishes the two when he says that Ratbil sent to him (Ubaidallah) asking for peace for his own country and the land of Kabul (p. 148). Again, it is said with reference to al-Mamun that he collected double the tribute from Ratbil, but he subdued Kabul whose king promised obedience.

No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained that the two formed separate kingdoms. They often made an alliance against their common foe, the Muslims, and this no doubt explains their long resistance to the powerful arms of Islam. It may be noted here that Raverty admits that Kabul and Zabul are distinct places and should not be confused with each other (*Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 61).

As to the geographical position of Zabulistan we can have no better guide than Le Strange whose conclusion is based upon accounts of early Muslim writers. According to him 'The highlands of the Kandahar country, along the upper waters of the Helmund, were known as Zabulistan' (p. 334).

Again 'As we have seen, the whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmund and the Kandahar rivers was known to the Arabs as Zabulistan' a term of vague application, but one which more particularly denoted the country round Ghaznah. On the other hand Kabulistan was the Kabul country, lying more to the north on the frontiers of Bamian (p. 349).

¹⁶ The name Ratbil has numerous variants. Elliot observes: 'Nevertheless there is no certainty as to the proper mode of spelling the name. The various readings of the European authors who have noticed him show how little the orthography is settled. Ockley calls him "Zental"; Weil, "Zonbul"; Reinaud, "Ratbyl" and "Zenbyl"; Wilson, "Ratsil, Ratpeil, Ratbal, Rantal, Zantil—

Governor, attacked him at Bust, put him to flight, and pursued him until he reached ar-Rukhkhaj. After attacking him in Ar-Rukhkhaj, Ar-Rabi continued to advance and subdued the city of Ad-Dawar.' Ubaidallah who succeeded Ar-Rabi as governor of Sijistan continued the campaign and reached Razan when Ratbil concluded with him a treaty of peace for his own country and the land of Kabul. As regards the terms we are simply told that the peace was established on the payment of 1 million dirhams.¹⁷ But the peace was short-lived. Towards the end of the reign of Caliph Yezid (64 A.H.=683 A.D.), Kabul revolted once more and imprisoned Abu-Ubaidah ibn-Ziyad. Yazid ibn-Ziyad the governor of Sijistan proceeded against Kabul and a great battle took place at Junzah. But the Moslem army was completely routed. The governor himself and some distinguished members of the aristocracy lay dead on the field and the rest fled. Abu-Ubaidah had to be ransomed for 500,000 dirhams.

Ratbil fomented and aided rebellions in the Arab domain of Sijistan where the people expelled the Arab governor. Ratbil soon declared war against the Arabs and apparently proceeded nearly as far as Zarah lake, for we are told that the new governor was compelled to stop in the city of Zaranj. But Ratbil was killed and his soldiers were put to rout (685 A.D.).¹⁸

variations easily accounted for by the nature of the Persian letters". E. Thomas, "Ratpil"; Price, "Ratel," "Rattel," or "Ratpeil".

¹⁷ Baládhuri (210) refers to a border raid in 44 A.H. by Al-Muhallab in course of which he passed through Bannah and Al-Ahwar, towns between Multan and Kabul, and reached Al-Kikán. Bannah seems to be the same as Bannu and Al-Ahwar was probably a neighbouring town. As regards the result of the raid Baládhuri simply says that 'the enemy met and attacked him and his followers.' Evidently Muhallab did not achieve any success.

Firishta, as usual, gives an exaggerated account and takes Muhallab to Multan and identifies Al-Ahwar with Lahore. These presumptions are absolutely without any basis and may be dismissed as incredible. It may be doubted whether the city of Lahore existed at that time, at least under the present name. The objective of Muhallab's raid was Al-Kikán, and both Multan and Lahore were far away from the route, Elliot (Vol. II, p. 415) gives some details of Abd-ur-Rahman's campaign against Kabul, apparently on the authority of Baládhuri. But the text translated by Murgotten does not give these details.

¹⁸ Elliot apparently refers to this episode (Vol. II, p. 416), when he says:—

'In 64 A.H.=683-4 A.D. Abdu-l-aziz, the governor of Sistan, declared war against the king of Kabul and in the combat which took place, that

The war was, however, continued by Ratbil II, the son and successor of the deceased chief. He did not oppose the advance of the Arabs till they penetrated deep into his country. Then he blocked the mountain paths and passes, and forced the Muhammadan general Abdalla to conclude a treaty on easy terms.¹⁹ The Caliph Abd-al-Malik, however, disapproved of the treaty and dismissed Abdalla (p. 150).

Shortly after, Al-Hajjaj became governor of Irak (695 A.D.), his general Ubaidallah made an attempt to subdue Kabul. Here, too, his enemy blocked the mountain path and Ratbil soon joined them. Ubaidallah was ready to extricate himself from this difficult position by offering easy terms to his opponents, but Shuraih ibn-Hani al-Harithi dissuaded him from this course, saying 'Fear Allah and fight this people, for if thou doest what thou art about to do, thou wilt weaken Islam on this frontier'. So 'a battle ensued and Shuraih made a charge, but was killed. The army fought their way out, although hard pressed, and made in their way along the desert of Bust. Many of the men perished of thirst and hunger, and Ubaidallah died of grief for what he had brought upon his men and the fate that had overtaken them' (p. 151).

It was a veritable disaster for the Muslim forces and its subsequent effects convulsed the whole Islamic world. Al-Balādhuri briefly passes over this unfortunate episode, but other sources give more details. It appears that the Muslim forces were allowed to retire only on the payment of a humiliating ransom.²⁰ To avenge

king was defeated and killed. The war continued under his successor and he was compelled to submit to the payment of tribute, but whenever opportunity offered, renewed efforts were made by the Kabulis to recover their lost independence.'

But Elliot confuses it with the campaign of 64 A.H. Besides, this campaign of 'Abdu-l-aziz was directed not against Kabul, but against Ratbil, king of Sijistan. As noted above, in f.n. 15, the presumption that Kabul and Zabul formed one kingdom under Ratbil, has vitiated the account of Elliot.

¹⁹ According to this treaty, 'Abdallah agreed, on payment of 300,000 dirhams, not to raid in future the kingdom of Ratbil. It was in the nature of a chaauth exacted by the Mahrattas, in later ages.

²⁰ Price, Vol. I (p. 454). cf. e.g. the passage from *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, quoted by Elliot (Vol. II, p. 416) 'Ranbal retiring before his assailant, detached troops to their rear and blocking up the defiles, entirely intercepted their retreat, and in this situation, exposed to the danger of perishing by famine, 'Abdulla

the affront, an army was raised, named the 'peacock army,' so splendidly was it equipped at the cost of a heavy war-cess on Al-Basra and Al-Kufa. The command was placed in the hands of Abd-ar-Rahman-ibn-Muhammad ibn-al-Ashath who marched against Ratbil in 80 A.H. (699 A.D.), put him to flight and ravaged his land. The commander, mindful of the recent reverses, wanted to proceed cautiously, but Al-Hajjaj, upbraiding him with faint-heartedness, peremptorily bade him to fight on, and when the commander expostulated with him, threatened his supersession. The army, as well as its commander, strongly resented the action. Abd-ar-Rahman made favourable terms with Ratbil, and declaring war both against Al-Hajjaj and the Caliph, marched on Al-Irak, and captured Al-Basra. The rebellion having assumed serious proportions, the Caliph took alarm and offered terms to the rebels. Abd-ar-Rahman was inclined to accept the offer, which included supersession of Al-Hajjaj, but the rebel army rejected it. At last a great battle was fought in 82 A.H. (701-702 A.D.) and Abd-ar-Rahman was signally defeated by Al-Hajjaj. Pursued by the latter, Abd-ar-Rahman was again beaten on the Persian border and took refuge with Ratbil, who a year or two afterwards sent his head to Al-Hajjaj.²¹ He is said to have died or committed suicide.

was compelled to purchase the liberation of himself and followers for a ransom of seven hundred thousand dirhams.'

Raverty evidently follows the same authority and adds to the above extract: 'It is said that, when his (Ubaid-ullah's) wearied and half-starved troops reached Mussalman ground, and their own people brought forth food and relieved their necessities, many ate their fill and fell down dead immediately after.' (Raverty—*Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 62.) Raverty gives the name as Ubaid-ullah—which agrees with that of Baládhuri. Elliot spells it as Abdulla. Both give 79 A.H. (898-99 A.D.) as the date of the event.

²¹ Elliot, Vol. II, p. 416. Price, Vol. I, pp. 455-463. Muir—*Caliphate*, p. 336. Strangely enough, Baládhuri passes over the whole episode though he refers to the rebellion of Abd-ar-Rahman, and his tragic end.

Raverty gives interesting details, but as usual, does not indicate his authority. He says that Abd-ar-Rahman, after prolonged fight with Hajjaj, was compelled to fly in 81 A.H. (700-1 A.D.) and took shelter within the walls of Bust, which was held by one of his own subordinates named Iyaz. Raverty then continues—

'He (Iyaz) seized and imprisoned Abd-ar-Rahman and proposed to send him to Hajjaj. Zantbil (i.e. Ratbil) immediately on hearing of this marched his force to Bust and invested it on all sides and threatened Iyaz and all within the

According to Al-Baládhuri Ratbil betrayed him from fear of Al-Hajjaj, because the latter had written a threatening letter. Thereupon Abd-ar-Rahman threw himself from the top of a cliff (p. 151).

Ratbil did not fail to take full advantage of the internal split in the Moslem world, and concluded a favourable treaty with Al-Hajjaj. The latter agreed not to make war upon him for 7 (or 9) years on condition of an annual subsidy in kind. This arrangement continued till the death of Al-Hajjaj (714 A.D.) in spite of occasional disputes over the value of the goods paid as subsidy, in which Ratbil always scored against his enemy (p. 152).

When, in the Caliphate of Sulaiman, Yazid became governor of Irak in 96 A.H. (715 A.D.) and his brother Mudrik, governor of Sijistan, Ratbil refused to pay any tribute at all. For more than forty years the Arabs could not exact anything from him.

It was not till the Caliphate of Al-Mansur (754-775 A.D.) that the Muhammadan governor of Sijistan again demanded tribute from Ratbil (apparently Ratbil III or IV). The latter sent some camels, tents and slaves, reckoning each at double its value. The governor became angry and declared war against Ratbil. Evidently he had little success.²² For we are told that henceforth the Muslim officers

place with impalement, if a hair of the head of Abd ar-Rahman should be injured, and that he would never leave the place until he should be released. This had the desired effect, and he was set at liberty, and took refuge, with Zantbil (Ratan-pal?). Hajjaj, sometime after sent an agent to that ruler making him very advantageous offers, and requiring him to give up Abd-ar-Rahman, which he did, along with eighteen of his kinsmen, in the year 82 H. (701-2 A.D.), but on the road back, Abd ar-Rahman succeeded in throwing himself from the flat roof of a building in which they had alighted to rest, and dragged the agent with him. Both perished' (Raverty, op. cit., p. 631).

This episode, if true, throws interesting light on the power and magnanimity of Ratbil.

Raverty further adds that in the year 90 H (709 A.D.) Ratbil agreed to aid the Malikis of Balkh Marw-ar-Rud, Tal Kan, Faryab, and the Guzganun against Katibah, son of Musallam-ul Bahili (*Ibid.*, p. 63).

²² Baládhuri says (p. 154) that after the campaign, Mawani, the lieutenant of Ratbil asked for safe-conduct in order to be taken to the Commander of the Believers. Ma'n granted it sending him to Baghdad with 5,000 of their soldiers, and Al-Mansur treated him generously, pensioning him and his chieftains

It is possible that some understanding was arrived at regarding the payment of tribute in future.

collected tribute from Ratbil of Sijistan 'as well as they could,' which certainly does not mean much.²³

When the Caliph Al-Mamun (813-833 A.D.) visited Khorasan, Ratbil paid double tribute to him, but was evidently left unmolested. Al-Mamun, however, sent an army against Kabul, probably the Shahi ruler of Kabul, who submitted to taxation. Al-Baládhuri further says that the king of Kabul professed Islam and promised obedience.²⁴ That is the last Arab expedition against Kabul and Zabul and the dissolution of the Arab empire, which soon followed, ended the long-drawn struggle.

We may now sum up the results of the Arab raids against Kabul and Zabul. During the period of 50 years that elapsed since the first raid in 28 A.H. (649 A.D.) we may distinguish three periods of alternate success and failure. The first period of 7 years ended with the Caliphate of Uthman (656 A.D.). In spite of a promising beginning, the Arab forces achieved very little during this period. During the second period, renewed efforts were made by the Caliphs 'Alí and Mu-áwiyah, and thanks to the brilliant skill and energy of Abd-ar-Rahman-ibn-Sanurah Islamic forces obtained notable successes against the rulers of Kabul and Zabulistan. The removal and death of Abd-ar-Rahman in 50 A.H. (670 A.D.) ushered in the third period of nearly 30 years in which the Islamic arms sustained serious reverses both in Kabul and Zabulistan which had their repercussion on the whole Muslim world. The fruitless efforts of half a century (c. 649-700 A.D.) convinced the Arabs that the conquest of these territories was beyond their power. Henceforth they were glad to let them alone and merely sought for imposing some sort of suzerainty upon them. But even this was with difficulty maintained for a very brief period (700-714 A.D.). For the next century and a half Kabul and Zabul maintained their authority practically unimpaired. The

²³ Price refers to an expedition against Kabul in 107 A.H. (725-6 A.D.) during the Khilafat of Hisham. (Vol. I, p. 567). Raverty refers to two expeditions against Kabul, in 152 A.H. (769 A.D.) and 170 A.H. (786-7 A.D.). But none of these achieved any substantial results.

²⁴ As to the King of Kabul's accepting Islam and promising obedience the Arab accounts report it too often to be taken seriously. It seems the Islamic creed sat very lightly upon that ruler and he apostatised at the earliest opportunity. There are good grounds to believe that that was also the case on this occasion. In any case we find an independent non-Muhammadan ruler in Kabul in later times.

Abbassid Caliphs no doubt occasionally exacted some tributes from them but with the exception of this and occasional raids, Kabul and Zabul were left undisturbed till the dissolution of the Arab empire put an end to the prolonged fight between that mighty empire and the two insignificant states on the border-land of India.

We may now conclude the story of this great failure of the Arabs with a word of tribute to the people of Al-Kíkán, Zabulistan and Kabulistan.

The long-drawn struggles of the Arabs with these powers, which we have narrated above, mark their steady but fruitless endeavours to enter India through the two great Passes. The hardy mountaineers of these regions, backed by the natural strength of their hilly country offered a stubborn resistance to the conquerors of the world, and though often defeated, ever refused to yield. Unfortunately we have no independent evidence of the brave and heroic fights they put up for more than two hundred years, and our knowledge is entirely derived from the picture as painted by the hands of the victors. But even from the records of the Muhammadan writers we can have some idea of the wonderful skill and energy which they displayed against enormous odds, and the crushing and humiliating defeats which they not unoften inflicted upon the army of the Arabs. If India had her history the heroic deeds of these brave peoples, who defended her gates against Islam for two centuries, would probably have been written in letters of gold.

THE HOME AND NATIONALITY OF THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS OF MALKHED.

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There is a great controversy about the home and the nationality of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family which later established itself at Malkhed. The country round Kanauj, Āndhradeśa, Mahārāṣṭra, and Karnāṭaka have all been claimed as the home of the above Rāṣṭrakūṭa house by various scholars. In this article it is proposed to examine these theories with a view to solve the problem. It will be shown that the ancestors of Dantidurga were originally immigrants in Berar from Karnāṭaka and were ruling there for a century and half before they rose into prominence under the leadership of Dantidurga.

Dr. Fleet has suggested that since the names Rāthor and Rāthod are to be derived from the term Rāṣṭrakūṭa, we may connect the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with Rajputana and Kanauj country, which seems to have been the original habitat of the Rāthor clan of the Rajputs.¹ But the Rāthors come into prominence much later than the southern Rāṣṭrakūṭa families, and it is quite possible that the Rajput Rāthors may have been the descendants of some members of the Deccan Rāṣṭrakūṭa families, left behind in northern India during the northern campaigns of Dhruva I, Govinda III, Indra III, or Kṛṣṇa III. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the settlement of Maratha families in Central and Northern India in the course of the Maratha expansion during the 18th century.

Burnell was inclined to hold that the Malkhed Rāṣṭrakūṭas were Telgus and were of the same stock as the Reddis of the Āndhra country.² This view does not bear close scrutiny. The Reddis are at present scattered even over Tamil country and north-eastern portions of Mysore state, but their original home and present stronghold is Āndhra country. The Reddis of Mysore are undoubtedly of Telgu origin,³ and those in Tamil districts still speak a broken Telgu dialect, which clearly betrays their Āndhra origin. If we suppose

¹ *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 384.

² *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 10.

³ *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVIII, p. 191.

that the Rāstrakūtas were the ancestors of the modern Reddis, their original home will have to be located somewhere in the Krishna-Godavari doab.

In that case it is reasonable to expect that they would have first come into prominence in that locality. As it is, not only did the Rāstrakūta expansion not begin from the Telgu-speaking area, but most of that area was never permanently included in the Rāstrakūta dominions. The Chālukya rulers, overthrown by them, were those of the main branch and of the Gujarat line, the Vengi Chālukyas continued to defy them down to the end of their career. It will be presently shown that the mother tongue of the Rāstrakūta rulers was Canarese and not Telgu. The Reddis were a class of traders and agriculturists and they are not known to have distinguished themselves by military exploits in any period of ancient Indian history. It is but once that they are known to have founded a kingdom, this was after the fall of the Ganapatis of Warangal, when for about a century, c. 1350-1450 A.D., they were holding portions of the Krishna and Godavari districts¹. The change of the term *rāstra* into *raḍḍa* or *reddi* is not possible in Telgu, though it can take place in Tamil. Under these circumstances it is not therefore possible to identify the Rāstrakūtas with the ancestors of the modern Reddis.

The late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar had argued that² the name Mahārāstra was due to the province being occupied in early days by the Rāthis and Mahārāthis, who were the ancestors of the Rāstrakūtas. Mr. C. V. Vaidya holds that the Rāstrakūtas were the captains of the Aryan armies who parcelled out Mahārāstra among themselves; they were therefore a Marāṭhi-speaking family domiciled in Mahārāstra and not in Karnāṭaka.³

A survey of earlier history is necessary in order to decide whether the Rāstrakūta family of Malkhed hailed from Mahārāstra or Karnāṭaka. 'Rāstrakūṭa' means the chief among the Rāstras or Rāthis and it is therefore clear that the ancestors of Dantidurga must have been descended from some of the Rathi families of the earlier centuries.

What then was the home of the Rāthis? Asoka inscriptions describe the Rāthikas as westerners but also associate them with the

¹ *Ibid*, VII, p. 158.

² *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 194

³ *History of Medieval Hindu India*, II, p. 249.

Bhojakas; this will show that they were occupying portions of Mahārāstra and Berar. The next reference to the Rathis is in the Nanaghat inscription of Queen Nayanikā where we learn that she was a daughter of Mahārathi Tranakayira. At about this time there existed numerous feudatory rulers known as Rathikas, for in connection with the western expedition of king Khāravela his Khandagiri inscription informs us that he carried away the wealth and crowns of all the Rathikas and Bhojakas. There are two records at Karli, belonging to a little later period, recording the benefactions of Mahārathi Gotiputa Agimitanaka and Mahārathi Vasīthiputa Soma-deva.¹ The latter grants a village which shows that he was a ruling chief. A Bhaja record discloses the existence of a Mahārathi Vinbudatta, and a Kanheri one that of a Mahārathinī Nāgamūlanikā, who was the daughter of a Mahārāja and a sister of a Mahābhōja.

It is usually supposed that the Rathis and Mahārathis were in power in Mahārāstra only, but there is definite evidence to show that they were occupying portions of Karnāṭaka as well. Lead coins bearing the legend 'Sādakani-Kaḷalāya-Mahārathi' have been found near Chitaldurga.² These coins belong to the middle of the 3rd century A.D. The Hirahadagalli grant of Śivaskandavarman is addressed, among others, to the Rathis.³ We further find that some of the Mahārathis were closely connected with Canarese families. Nāgamūlanikā of the two Kanheri records, who was married to a Mahārathi, was the daughter of Hāritiputra Viṣṇu-kada Chūtu-Sātakani, who was a Canarese prince ruling at Banavasi.⁴ Some of the Mahārathis were Nāga-worshippers⁵ and Nāga-worship was extremely common among the inhabitants of Mysore.⁶ Since some of the Rathi families were Naga-worshippers and connected by family ties with families residing in the heart of Karnāṭaka, we are justified in concluding that the Rathis and Mahārathis were in power also in parts of Karnāṭaka, especially since coins of Sādakani Kaḷalāya Mahārathi are found in the heart of Karnāṭaka. It can therefore be no longer maintained that the Rathis and Mahārathis were confined

¹ *J B.B.R.A.S.*, V, pp. 152-3.

² Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. LIII; Lüder's list, No 1021.

³ *E.I.*, I, p. 4. ⁴ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. LIII.

⁵ Cf. the names Nayanikā, i.e. Nāganikā, Agimita-naka, i.e. Agnimitra-Nāga, Nāgamūlanikā, Skandanāga, etc., that occur in the above inscriptions.

⁶ Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 202

only to Mahārāstra. The mere title Rāstrakūta therefore is not sufficient to prove that Dantidurga and his ancestors were natives of Mahārāstra.

The Multai¹ and Tivarkhed² plates can throw considerable light on the problem we are discussing. No one has so far suspected that the Rāstrakūta princes mentioned in these two records could be connected with the ancestors of Dantidurga, but it can be shown that Nannarāja, the grantor of these plates,³ was either a direct or a collateral ancestor of Dantidurga. No doubt there is no direct evidence to establish this connection, but several significant facts tend to show that such was really the case:—

(1) The seals of both the grants of Nannarāja is Eagle, which is also known to have been the seal-manual of Dantidurga and his descendants.

(2) The names of Nannarāja and his three ancestors,—Svāmikarāja, Govindarāja, and Durgarāja—are either similar to or identical with the names of some of the predecessors and successors of Dantidurga. One of the latter's uncles, who was governing over Daulatabad in 793 A.D., was named Nannarāja.⁴ The formation of the name Svāmikarāja reminds us of the *bruda* Pricchakarāja, borne by Indra I.⁵ Govindarāja, the name of the grandfather of Nannarāja, is repeated four times in the main Malkhed line, besides occurring once in the genealogy of the Gujarat Rāstrakūta branch.

¹ *I. A.*, XVIII, pp. 230 ff.

² *E. I.*, XI, pp. 276 ff.

³ The name of the grantor of the Multai plates was read by Fleet as Nandarāja, but an examination of the facsimile published by him shows that the name of the king is Nannarāja and not Nandarāja. Fleet has mistaken the partially faint subscript *na* of *nna* for *da*; a comparison of this letter with *nda* in ll. 2 and 6 will make it absolutely clear that the letter in question is *nna* and not *nda*. It will be thus seen that the grantors of both the plates are identical kings as their genealogy, which is identical for 4 generations, also shows. The dates of the two plates present some difficulty in accepting this identification. The Tivarkhed plates were issued in 631-2 A.D. while the Multai ones were drafted in 709-10 A.D.; we shall have, therefore, to suppose that Nannarāja was ruling for at least 78 years, which is hardly possible. This difficulty may be removed by pointing out that the date of the Multai plates may not be genuine. The genealogy in the Multai record starts in verse, but after the first verse there is a sudden break. A sentence in prose follows the concluding portion of which—'*tasyātm avānātmago*' is again the fragment of a verse. The record therefore does not seem to be genuine; at least it is not carefully drafted or copied. The date it supplies, therefore, may not be correct.

⁴ *E. I.*, IX, p. 195.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 235.

The name of the great-grandfather of Nannarāja, Durgarāja, seems to have paved the way to the formation of the name Dantidurga. This close similarity in the names of the members of the two houses can hardly be explained except on the assumption that the two families were connected with each other. Indra, Karkka, Dhruva, Govinda, Akālavarṣa Śubhatunga, Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa and Dantivarman were the names of the different members of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch, and all these names are borrowed from those of the rulers of the main line. The names of the 4 out of the 5 rulers of the Gujarat Chālukya branch,—the two Jayasimhavarmans, Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, and Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin,—are borrowed from those of the main line. If the names of Nannarāja and his ancestors are identical with or similar to those of the predecessors and successors of Dantidurga, the assumption is quite feasible that the two families were related.

(3) The known chronology of the two families supports the view that Dantidurga was a descendant of Nannarāja. If we assume an average reign of 20 years except where the accession was not from the father to the son, we get the following chronological and genealogical table from the known dates of the two houses.

The house of Nannarāja of Elichpur.

Durgarāja, c. 570–590 A.D.

Govindarāja, son, c. 590–610 A.D.

Svāmikarāja, son, c. 610–630 A. D.

Nannarāja, son, c. 630–650 A.D.

Known dates, 631 A.D. (Tivarkhed grant) 708 A.D.(?) (Multai plates).

The house of Dantidurga.

Dantivarman, a son or nephew of Nannarāja (?), c. 650–670 A.D.

Indra Pricchakarāja, son, c. 670–690 A.D.

Govindarāja, son, c. 690–710 A.D.

Karkka I, son, c. 710–730 A.D.

Indra II, son, c. 730–745 A.D.

Dantidurga, son, c. 745–757 A.D. Known date, 754 A.D.

Kṛṣṇa I, uncle, c. 757–775 A.D. Known dates, 758, 768 and 772 A.D.

N.B.—The reign of Indra is assumed to be a short one because his younger brother Nanna was alive as late as 793 A.D.

If we reject the date 709 A.D. supplied by the Multai plates for Nannarāja as not genuine, it will appear very probable that Nannarāja was the predecessor, and very probably the father of Dantivarman, who is so far the earliest known member of the house of Dantidurga. If on the other hand that date has to be accepted as genuine, the probability would be that Dantivarman was a younger brother of Nannarāja, ruling as his feudatory somewhere in Berar. Nannarāja may have had no sons, or they and their descendants may have been eclipsed by the descendants of Dantivarman.

(4) The early exploits of Dantidurga and his father, e.g. the latter's feat of carrying away by force a Chālukya princess from Kaira, Dantidurga's occupation, at the beginning of his career, of Gujarat and northern Mahārāṣṭra and his defeat of the kings of Sindh, Malva, and Kosala, would indicate that the family must have been ruling in the feudatory capacity somewhere in Berar or Khandesh which is almost equidistant from the different theatres of war in which the armies of Indra and his son operated. And we know from the Tivarkhed and Multai plates that Nannarāja was also ruling in Berar. The Tivarkhed plates were issued from Achalapura which is the same as modern Elichpur in Berar; the village Tivarkhed granted in the plates is situated about 55 miles from Elichpur. The villages granted in the Multai plates have not yet been identified, but Multai, where the plates were discovered, is situated only about 20 miles from Tivarkhed. It is a striking coincidence that Nannarāja should have been ruling precisely in the same locality, which seems to have been the place where Dantidurga's ancestors also seem to have been in power.

To sum up, the identity of the seal designs of the two families, the close contiguity of the places where they were ruling, the similarity or identity in the names of their members, and the striking manner in which the known dates of the members of the two families can be worked up into a mutually adjusting chronological and genealogical table,—all these make it extremely probable, if not almost certain, that the ancestors of Dantidurga were ruling somewhere in Berar and were either direct or collateral descendants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nannarāja of Elichpur, who is known to have been ruling towards the middle of the 7th century A.D.

The conclusion above arrived at would seem to strengthen the

views of R. G. Bhandarkar and C. V. Vaidya that the Malkhed Rāṣṭrakūṭa house was a Marathi-speaking family. There are, however, several cogent reasons to show that the family was a Canarese one.

(1) Canarese was the mother tongue of the family. It was Canarese and not Mahārāstri literature that flourished at the Malkhed court. Amoghavarṣa I was either himself the author or at least the inspirer of the oldest Canarese work in poetics. The fact that the recently published Jura inscription¹ of Kṛṣṇa III, found in Bundelkhand should be using Canarese language to describe his achievements can also be explained on the assumption that Canarese was the mother tongue of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family ruling at Malkhed.

(2) The sign-manuals of Karkka and Dhruva of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch in the Naosari plates of 816 A.D.² and Baroda grants of 812³ and 835⁴ A.D. are in south Indian proto-Canarese characters, whereas the records themselves are to be seen in the usual script of the locality. If the home of the Malkhed Rāṣṭrakūṭa family were in Mahārāṣṭra, it is difficult to explain how the members sent to rule over southern Gujarat could have been using the proto-Canarese script as their mother script. It is true that Karnāṭaka was included in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions before 775 A.D., but if the family had originally belonged to Mahārāṣṭra, its members deputed to rule over southern Gujarat, could not have been using for their sign-manuals a script, current neither in Gujarat nor in Mahārāṣṭra, but in Karnāṭaka.

The use of Canarese script and language by the members of the family of Dantidurga is not inconsistent with the theory, above advanced, that Dantidurga's ancestors were ruling in Berar from c. 625 A.D. It has been shown above how a number of Rāṭhi families were holding local sway even in Karnāṭaka. Under the Chālukyas of Badami, Canarese-speaking branches of the main house were established in Gujarat and Telgu-speaking Āndhra country. The predecessors of Dantidurga may also have similarly carved out a principality in Marathi-speaking Berar from their home in some part of Karnāṭaka.

That the ancestors of Dantidurga were immigrants in Berar would appear almost certain from the epithet 'Laṭṭalūrapuravarā-

¹ *E.I.*, XIX, p. 287.

² *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XX, p. 135.

³ *I.A.*, XII, p. 157.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 197.

dhīśa' or 'Lattalūrapuravīnirgata' which begins to figure in some of the later Rāstrakūṭa records. Lattalūra, from which the Rāstrakūṭas had emigrated, is very probably the same as Lātura in Bedar district of Hyderabad State. Phonetically the change is quite natural; the second *la* in Lattalūra being dropped by haplology, the original form will assume the garb of Lattaur in Prakrit; this form will later change into Lātura, the loss of the double consonant *lla* being compensated by the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

Since there is no phonetic difficulty, there is nothing standing against the identification of Lattalūra with Lātura. As a matter of fact all the known facts of history can best be explained only on this hypothesis. As the Rathis are known to have been holding sway over portions of Karṇāṭaka as well, there is nothing improbable in the theory that a Rathi family was ruling at Lātura, which is due east of Poona and south of Berar. This family may have later on migrated to Berar in order to carve a new dominion perhaps in more favourable surroundings. Elichpur, which seems to have been the capital of the family of Nannarāja, is only 150 miles from Lātura. Lātura is at present on the border of Karṇāṭaka, but Canarese was spoken much further to the north in our period; for we learn from the *Kavirājamārga*¹ that in the 9th century it was spoken right up to the Godavari. We can now understand how the members of the Malkhed Rāstrakūṭa family were using the Canarese script and language. Being immigrants from Karṇāṭaka, they naturally stuck to their mother script and tongue even in Berar. When we remember how the Maratha families ruling in Baroda, Indore, and Gwalior still use their mother-tongue and script in personal and private matters, there is nothing improbable in the assumption that the Canarese Rāstrakūṭa family ruling in Berar, which was just contiguous to the Canarese-speaking area, preserved its mother-tongue and script in its new home.

If we assume with Fleet, Bhandarkar and Vaidya that the home of the Malkhed Rāstrakūṭas was either in Mahārāṣṭra or somewhere in central India, we cannot explain how they should have been using Canarese script and language. If we assume that they were local chiefs, ruling somewhere in central or southern Karṇāṭaka, we cannot understand how most of the exploits of Danti-

¹ *Kavirājamārga*, I, 46.

durga, the founder of the dynasty, were performed in Gujarat, Malva, Central India and Northern Mahārāstra, and how the Chālukyas of Badami should have continued to hold the southern portions of their dominions down to the reign of Kṛṣṇa I. If on the other hand, we assume that they were immigrants in Berar from Lātura, we can understand why they call themselves Lattalūrapurādhiśa or Lattalūrapuravinirgata, why they were using proto-Canarese script and Canarese language, how their early exploits were performed in southern Gujarat, Malva, Central India, and why the early Chālukyas continued to hold longest in the southern portions of their dominions. The ancestors of Dantidurga were therefore immigrants from Karnāṭaka ruling in Berar at the time of the rise of Indra I and Dantidurga.

The conclusion above arrived at does not eliminate the possibility of the existence of Marathi-speaking Rāṣṭrakūṭa families ruling in Central India or Mahārāstra. We have shown already how a number of Raṭhi families were ruling in Mahārāstra also; it is therefore quite possible that some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa families, e.g. that of Abhimanyu of Mānapura,¹ or Govindarāja of the recently published Naravana plates of Vikramaditya II,² may have been Marathi-speaking Rāṣṭrakūṭa families, which were natives of Mahārāstra. It is only asserted that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, to which Dantidurga belonged, originally hailed from Karnāṭaka and was for a long time domiciled in Berar at the time of the rise of Dantidurga.

¹ *E.I.*, VIII, p 163.

² *Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala*, X, p. 9.

MATERIALS FOR SCULPTURE—THE ĀBHĀSA

P. K. ACHARYA, I.E.S., M.A., PH.D, D.LITT.

An important controversy has arisen for a long time with regard to the materials with which images used to be made in the past. As in all other matters, if archæological evidences can be produced and the sculptural remains may be found out, the question whether a certain material was in use for image-making could at once be settled. In the absence of such an evidence references met with in literature must be interpreted in such a manner as would invariably satisfy the context. The philological investigation in a matter like this may at best discover the earlier uses of the term, but if the context be satisfied there could be no reasonable objection in accepting a new meaning of a term which is, in addition, in conformity with the etymology. The seeker of truth would be merely misled by those who refuse to be further enlightened by a new source of information to which they had no access. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy doubts¹ the use of the term *ābhāsa* as a material in the *Mānasāra* and cites, in order to support himself, his own translation of the term as used in Śrīkumāra *Śilparatna* (LXIV, 2-6) and Gopinatha Rao's interpretation of the same as used in the *Suprabhedāgama*. The learned doctor declares that the term must always mean 'a method' and can never imply 'a sculptural material'. He further declares that the three varieties of *ābhāsa*, namely, the *citrāṅga*, *ardha-citrāṅga*, and *ābhāsa* proper, would imply 'sculpture in the round, reliefs, and painting'. At the outset it is necessary to refer briefly to the non-sculptural uses of the term in the *Mānasāra* itself, as the etymological sense of the term is too well known.

In connection with measurement, the storeyed buildings are divided into the *jāli*, *chanda*, *vikalpa*, and *ābhāsa* classes as they are measured in the units of twenty-four, eighteen, twelve, and six *aṅgulas* respectively.² The unstoreyed pavilions also of certain

¹ *J.A.O.S.*, 48, 3, p. 251.

² Eka-bhūmi-vidhiṁ vakṣye lakṣaṇaṁ vakṣyate 'dhunā
Jātiś chandaṁ vikalpaṁ tu cābhāsaṁ tu caturvidham
Pūrva-hastena saṁ-yuktaṁ harṁyaṁ jātir iti smṛtaṁ
Chandaṁ tripada-hastena vikalpaṁ syāt tad-ardhakam

shapes are designated as *jāti*, *chanda*, *vikalpa*, and *ābhāsa* ¹ Doors are also similarly classified.² In the *Kāṃikāgama* also buildings as well as the top-rooms are divided into the same four classes.³ In connection with the sculptural materials the use of *ābhāsa* in the *Mānasāra* appears to be clear. It is distinctly stated that the movable (*cala*) and the stationary (*acala*) images were made of nine materials, namely, gold, silver, copper, stone, wood, stucco, grit, *ābhāsa* (² glass), and terracotta or earth.⁴ It is needless to say that without *ābhāsa* there would be only eight materials, not *nine* which number is emphasised again and again. A clue has been discovered which may explain how Dr. Coomaraswamy and Mr. Gopinatha Rao failed to consider *ābhāsa* being a material. Both the *Śilparatna*,⁵ and

Ābhāsam cārḍha-hastena harmyādinām tu mānayet (M. XIX. 1-5).

Compare also

Etat tad eva saṃyuktam harmyānām māna-kalpanam (M. XXX. 175-177).

¹ Devānām bhūsurāṇām ca maṇḍapam jāti-rūpakam

Bhūpānām maṇḍape sarve chanda-rūpam itīritam

Vaiśyakānām tu sarveṣām vikalpam ceti kathyate

Śūdrānām maṇḍapam sarvam cābhāsam iti kīrtitam (M. XXXIV. 547-550).

² Sapta-vimśodayam hy-evaṃ tad-ardham viśṛtam bhavet

Evam Jāti-vaśāt proktam chaṇḍādīnām pravakṣyate

Trayaviṃśa śatāntam syāc chanda-dvāra-viśālakam

Pañca-vimśaṅgulaṃ ārabhya dvi-dvyangula-vivardhanāt

Eka-vimśaṅgulaṃ ārabhya dvi-dvyangula-vivardhanāt

Eka-vimśa (m)-śatāntam syād vikalpa-dvāra-viśṛtam

Nava-pank tyangulaṃ ārabhya dvi-dvyangula-vivardhanāt

Eka-panktyangulādḥkryam śatāntam ābhāsa-viśṛtam (M. XXXIX.

28-35).

³ (Jāti) Chandam Vikalpam Ābhāsam ekaike tu dviśaṃkhyakam' (*Kāṃikāgama*, L. 13).

⁴ Brahma-viṣṇu-maheśānām laksanam vakṣyate 'dhunā

Hiranya-rajatenaiva tāmreṇaiva śile vāpi

Dārve vā sudhe vāpi śarkarābhāsa-mṛttikā

Ētais tu navadhā dravyai(s) cottamādi trayam trayam

Calam cāpy-acalam cāpi nava-dravyais tu nirmitah

Lohajair mṛtsudhā caiva śarkarābhāsa-mṛttikā

Cala-dravyam iti proktam anyeṣām cācalam viduḥ (M. LL. 1-7).

⁵ Jangamā vā sthāvarā vā ye santi bhuvana-traye

Tat-tat-svabhāvatat-tesām karaṇam citram ucyate

Tac-citram tu tridhā jñeyam tasya bhedo'dhunocyate

Sarvāṅga-drśya-karaṇam citram ity-abhidhīyate

Bhūtyādau lagna-bhāvenāpyardham yatra pradṛśyate

Tad-ardha-citram ityuktam yat tat teṣām vilekhanam

the *Suprabhedāgama*¹ on which Coomaraswamy and Rao depended appear to have distorted and misquoted the *Mānasāra* of which the *Śilparatna* is wholly and the *Āgama* is partly a mere summary. As a matter of fact one or two other later works² also have badly distorted the original reading of the *Mānasāra* by changing *ābhāsa* into *citrābhāsa*. These later summaries of the *Mānasāra* also appear to have failed to correctly interpret the original.

It should be noticed that *cala* (movable) and *acala* (immovable or stationary) of the *Mānasāra* are read in the *Śilparatna* as *jaṅgama* and *sthāvara* respectively, which are inaccurately translated by Coomaraswamy by 'animate' and 'inanimate'.³

Ābhāsa is classified into three varieties in all these texts. In the *Mānasāra* they are called *citrāṅga*, *ardha-citrāṅga*, and *ābhāsāṅga*, or more generally *citra*, *ardha-citra*, and *ābhāsa* respectively. The *citra* is that which can be seen through all parts (? fully transparent or full relief); *ardha-citra* is that which can be seen through half of its limbs (? half transparent or half relief, or bust), and *ābhāsa* is that which can be seen through a quarter of its limbs (? a quarter or only partly transparent, or representation of head only).

In the *Śilparatna* the very same three varieties are called *citra*, *ardha-citra*, and *citrābhāsa* and defined as follows *citra* is that of which all the limbs are made visible; *ardha-citra* is that whereof half can be seen (through) even when attached to a wall and

Citrābhāsam iti khyātam pūrvaiḥ śilpa-viśāradaḥ
Citraṁ vāpyatha citrārdham mrdā vā sudhayā vāpi
Dāruṇā śilayā vātha lohaur iṣṭakayāpi vā
Tat-tad dravyaiḥ prakurvīta yathā dṛstaṁ yathā śrutam.

¹ *Suprabhedāgama*, XXXIV. 3-4 (refers to the image of Śvara):

Citraṁ citrārdham evaṁ tu citrābhāsaṁ tathaiḥ ca
Sarvāvayava-sampūrṇam dṛśyaṁ tac-citraṁ ucyate
Ardhāvayava-samdṛśyaṁ ardha-citraṁ caiva ca
Paṭe bhittau ca yo (āl)lekhyam citrābhāsaṁ ihocyate.

² Śīlodbhavānām v (b) imbhānām citrābhāsasya vā punaḥ
Jaladhivasanam proktaṁ vṛṣṇendrasya prakīrṇitam
(*Līṅga-Purāṇa*, part II (Uttara-bhāga), Chap. 84, v. 43)

Indhanāni ca vinyasya palalāni ca vinyaset
Tasmin loṣṭāni vinyasya palalāniś chādayet punaḥ
Palalābhāsakair paścād brūyābhāsais tuṣais tathā
Ācchādyūdbhir aṭha sulceḥ chākhāṁ prajjvālayet punaḥ

(*Vāstuvidyā*, ed. Ganapati Sastri, XVI. 32-3)

³ *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, page 52.

elsewhere;¹ and *citrābhāsa* is stated by the ancients, expert in the art (of sculpture), to be that which is their own writing (or painting). This very literal rendering would show that the author Śrīkumāra himself failed to clear out the Mānasāra's definition of *ābhāsa* and consequently left it rather unexplained by a reference to the expert artists (sculptors).² If *citra* means an idol, *citrābhāsa* may very well imply painting, but *citrābhāsa* should not be confused with mere *ābhāsa*.

In the *Suprabhedāgama* also the three varieties of *ābhāsa* are called *citra*, *citrārdha* (also *ardha-citra*) and *citrābhāsa*. Herein the definitions more closely follow the *Mānasāra*: *citra* is that of which all the component parts can be fully seen; *ardha-citra* is that of which half the component parts can be seen; and that is called *citrābhāsa* herein (i.e. in this treatise) which should be written (designed or painted) on the wall or a cloth-piece.

It should be noticed that while in the *Śilparatna bhitti* (wall) is connected with '*ardha-citra*', in the *Āgama* both *bhitti* (wall) and *pata* (cloth-piece) are connected with *ābhāsa* which had been left rather unexplained in the former. This fact may reasonably justify one to believe that the compiler of the *Āgama* directly or indirectly made an effort to improve on the clumsy definition of the *Śilparatna*.

Thus what appears to have induced both Coomaraswamy and Gopinath Rao to hold the above view is the use of the expressions '*vilekhanam*' in the *Śilparatna* (II. XLVI. 4), and '*likhyam*' in the *Suprabhedāgama* (XXXIV. 4), both of which expressions etymologically mean the same thing, namely, 'writing' whence the sense of 'painting' may follow if and when a particular context is satisfied. There is a similar passage in the *Bhavisya-purāṇa*³ where it is stated that for an increase of prosperity (i.e. benefit) of the

¹ Coomaraswamy's rendering of this line is incomplete inasmuch as '*yatra pradrśyate*' and '*api*' have been left out.

² Here too Coomaraswamy has left out the rendering of '*yat tat teṣāṃ*' possibly owing to inconvenience to fit in

³ *Pratimā saptadhā proktā bhaktānām śuddha-vṛddhaye ||*

Kāñcanī rājatī tāmri pāṭhivī śailajā smṛtā ||

Vārkaś cālekhyakā veti mūrti-sthānāni sapta vai ||

Ālekhyaka and *ābhāsa* seem to have the same meaning and indicate the same material.

(*Bhavisya-Purāṇa*, Chap. 131, v. 2, 3.)

devotees, images are stated to be of seven kinds as they are made of gold, silver, copper, earth, stone, wood, and *ālekhyā*.

The last of these seven may be taken to mean a material, the context makes that more or less imperative and it may be a synonym for *ābhāsa*. The use of *citrābhāsa* in the *Linga-purāṇa*,¹ and of *palālābhāsa* and *brīhyābhāsa* in the *Vāstuvidyā*² will also lend further support to *ābhāsa* having been used in the *Mānasāra* in connection with sculpture not as a method but as a 'material' with which images were made.

Lastly, what the Chinese traveller I-tsing says about the nine materials with which people made images during his visit (in 671-695 A.D.) can be taken to be as good an evidence as an archaeological find:

'Again, when the people make images and *caryas* which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks, and stone, or when they heap up *snowy sand*, they put in images or *chaityas* two kinds of *śarīras* (relics).'³

In the *Agni-purāṇa* also seven materials are stated to be used for image-making although nine are actually mentioned, namely, terracotta, wood, metals (iron), precious stone, ordinary stone, earth, *moon-white substance* (silver?), bell-metal, and sandalwood.⁴ This 'moon-white substance' and I-tsing's 'snowy-sand' appear to be the same and may be a synonym of *ābhāsa*.

The *snowy-sand*, *moon-white substance*, *ālekhyā* and other derivatives from the root *likh*, and *ābhāsa* appear to be identical and

¹ Śīlodbhavanānā v(b)imbānānā citrābhāśasasya vā punaḥ
Jaladhivāsanam proktān vṛṣondrasya prakīrtitam
[*Linga-Purāṇa*, Part II (Uttara-bhāga), Chap. 48, v. 43].

² Indhanāni ca vinyasya palālānī ca vinyaset
Tasmān loṣṭāni vinyasya palālāś chādayet punaḥ
Palālābhāśakail paścād brīhyābhāśais tuṣais tathā
Āchadyadbhir atha śiñce chhākham prajjvālayet punaḥ
(*Vāstuvidyā*, ed. Ganapati Sastri, XVI. 32-33).

³ Takakusu's translation of I-tsing's work,
'Record of the Buddhist Religion', p. 150.
Cf. V. S. Smith, Ind. Ant. XXXIII, 175.

⁴ Mṛṇmayī dīru-ghaṭitā lohajā ratnajā tathā ||
Śailajā gandhaja caiva kaumudī saptadhā smṛtā ||
Kāśāmayī gandhajā caiva mṛṇmayī pratimā tathā ||
(*Agni-Purāṇa*, Chap. 43, v. 9-10).

obviously refer to a material ('glass') which can be fully, half, and a quarter or partially transparent.

I-tsing's evidence also goes to show that iron was in use for image-making of which many archæologists including Dr. J. Ph. Vogel entertain doubt. That the iron-image used to be made is further proved by the *Matsyapurāṇa* where it is stated that the images for worship should be preferably made with gold, silver, copper-like red precious stones, ordinary stone, wood, iron-lead, brass-metal, copper, bell-metal, and lime-wood.¹

The eye-witness I-tsing and an early Purāṇa, the *Matsya*, separately but concurrently support the statement of the *Mānasāra* that the maximum number of sculptural materials was nine.

Sculptural materials including iron but excluding *ābhāsa* are referred to in other classes of literature also. But the *Mānasāra* being unquestionably meant to be a guide book for all contains standard rules and always refers to the maximum varieties not only in regard to sculptural materials, but also concerning everything, both architectural and sculptural.²

Thus in the *Skanda-purāṇa* mention is made of seven materials with which the phallus of Śiva was made. 'Here they produced a Līṅga, of seven metals, viz. gold, silver, tin, lead, copper, iron, and bell-metal.'³

In the later architectural texts, the specification is altogether given up as they obviously depended on the standard work. For instance it is stated in the *Śilparatna-sāra-saṁgraha* (XI. 5) that the images should be made of materials like timber, stone, and metallic substances.⁴ In the *Bimbamāna* different materials are prescribed for the different parts of the image. The main or middle body is stated not to be made of gold and such other precious substances and

¹ Sauvarṇī rājatī vāpi tāmri ratnamayī tathā
 Śailī dārumayī cāpi loha-sīsa-mayī tathā
 Rattika-dhātu-yuktā vā tāmra-kāmsa-mayī tathā
 Sudhā-dāru-mayī vāpi devatārcā prasasyate

(*Matsya-Purāṇa*, Chap. 258, v. 20-21).

² See the writer's 'Indian Architecture according to *Mānasāra-śilpasastra*,' specially pp. 34-88, 89-100, 110-131, 162-170.

³ *Skanda-purāṇa* (Sahyādri-khanda), *Ind. Ant.*, III, 194.

⁴ Mūrtis tu vṛkṣa-pāśāna-loha-dravyaiḥ prakārayet.

The image should be made of materials like timber, stone, and metals.

(*Śilpa-śāstra-sāra-saṁgraha*, XI, 5)

of metals, which should be used at the joints of images made of wood or stone, but the whole image also may be made of gold, copper, terra-cotta, stone, wood, and powdered brick.¹

In the *Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra* the effect of making images with different materials is specified. One would reside in heaven for a *kalpa* (432 million years) by making images with earth (terra-cotta), ten times that successively by making images with wood, stone, and metals respectively. Similarly with regard to draught animals or vehicles also the successive effect would be ten times of the preceding when they are made of earth (terra-cotta), wood, stone, brass, bell-metal, and copper, etc.²

To which heaven and for how many million years the image made of *ābhāsa* may lead the artists, archæologists, and others who are convinced of its existence as a material and identification with glass or some such material must be left to the judgment of the reader. The writer requests the learned members of the Sixth Oriental Conference to help him with their considered opinion and thus expedite the publication of the Text and English translation of the *Mānasāra* with measured drawings and illustrative sketches.

1 Svarṇādi-lauha-bimbe ca deha-garbham na kārayet ||
Kāṣṭha-pāṣāṇa-bimbe ca yat sandhau vidhir ucayate ||
Yat bimbe ca krte dravyam svarṇam tāmraṁ tu mṛṇmaye ||
Śaile kāṣṭhe iṣṭikā-cūrṇam bimbam tatra pracakṣate ||

(*Bimbamāna*, British Museum, Ms. 1, 558, 5292, v. 4, 6;
Ms 2, 5291, 559, v. 3.)

2 Mṛṇmaye pratibimbe tu kalpa-yutam divi
Dāru-pāṣāṇa-dhātūnām kramād daśa-guṇādhikam
Mṛṇmaye vāhane datte yat phalam jāyate bhuvī

Rittika-kāṁsa-tāmraḍi-nirmite deva-vāhane
Datte phalam āpnoti kramāt śata-guṇādhikam

(*Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra*, XIII, 22, 30, 31).

‘EARLY MUSLIM VISITORS OF EUROPE FROM INDIA’.

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Arabia, the cradle of Islam, was inhabited by a branch of the Semite family which was intensely adventurous and its members were very fond of travelling in far and distant countries. The connection of the Arab merchants with the Malabar coast and with the islands of the eastern Archipelago is of an age-long standing. They took delight in long journeys, pursued in quest of profit in trade, or for the satisfaction of their innate desire to see the wide world. Nor, did they live a settled life within their own peninsula; and the caravan life was the only life which appealed to their inquisitive minds. Their poetry, to which they devoted so much of their time and energy, was a child that was born, nourished and nurtured during centuries of travels in the peninsula and countries around it. (Holy *Qurān*, Chapter CVI.)

This love for travels was further cemented by the religion which sanctified journey that was taken in order to acquire knowledge or to impart it. The burning desire to preach the truth of Islam to the nations of the world also contributed to a large measure to strengthen this passion for travels in them. The QURANIC injunction on this point is very clear; ‘Say travel in the earth and see how he makes the first creation—and Allah create the latter creation’ ($\frac{2}{2} \frac{11}{11}$). It is for this reason that we find a galaxy of travellers who undertook long journeys during the very early period of the history of Islam: Abu Ayyub Ansari, a companion of the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him) went so far as Constantinople. His shrine still exists there and it is an object of adoration for all.¹ Later on, when the banner of the Arabs was hoisted in distant countries, men poured forth into Medina from all parts of the world, and there they acquired knowledge about Islamic Laws and Religion. Yahya Bin Yahya came to study under Malick from Andalusia, while Muhammad Bin Ismail from Bukhara, rummaged every creek and corner of the then Islamic world in order to gather materials for his

¹ *Tahaquat* by Ibni-Sad, Vol. III, p. 50.

work on tradition, the well-known As-Sahih. The climax was reached when the Mediterranean coast on the western side was permanently influenced by Islam, and Moslems from Arabia and Northern Africa built a civilisation of their own in supersession of the Roman Civilisation. Ibn-i-Jubair's famous book of travels, better known as *Kitabur-Rahla*, is an everlasting testimony to the Moslem's love for travels. Ibn-i-Bat-tutah is another famous traveller among the Muslims. His descriptions of the travels made by him are known to every oriental scholar. The zeal for travels was also imparted to the non-Arab nations that accepted Islam. We can mention here Nasir Khusasuniavi and Sadi as two very widely travelled Persian savants.

There is another very important reason why a Muslim should be a born traveller: Islam, among its other rituals, makes it obligatory on every able-bodied Muslim, who can pay his way to Mecca, to go there on the holy pilgrimage at least once in his life. This religious obligation kept alive, in every country where the religion of the prophet found its way, that spirit of adventure which so well characterised the lives of the early Arabs and Muslims. Even in modern times the Hejaz is the cynosure of Muslim eyes and pilgrims from the extreme north-west part of Africa, on the one hand, and the north-east corner of China on the other, flock to the spiritual capital of Islam. When Islam came to India, the Indian Muslims too imbibed this spirit of love for travels from those who brought to them the new faith. In short, the culture of the ancient Arabs that preceded that of Islam and the teachings of the Arabian prophet so influenced the character of the succeeding generation of Muslims that they always took delight in travels and, whenever possible, they left a brilliant record of their journeys and travels, a record which has, to a great extent, contributed to our collective knowledge of Geography and History. With the arrival of the Europeans in the field of Indian social life and politics a novel phenomenon must have been presented before the Indian Muslims and, though the Muslim power in the country was destined to receive a death-blow at the hands of the new-comers, it is not to be wondered at if the Indian Muslims felt admiration for the adventurous sea-loving band of traders who brought India in touch with a world hitherto unknown to it. Akbar and Jahangir were, indeed, actuated by the desire for an appreciation of their venture-

some spirits when they granted concessions and trade facilities to the Europeans who came to their Court.

Since the English, of all European nations, came, generally in closer touch with the Muslim rulers and inhabitants of India, they roused greater interest on the part of the Indians for a study of their language, customs and manners. This desire for a closer study of the English character must have, naturally, encouraged those among the Indians who were not averse to leading the life of a traveller to study at close quarters, and glean first hand information about the nation that had so slowly but successfully grafted itself on the country and the government of Hindustan. It is, however, regrettable that very early records do not throw sufficient light on the subject, but, at the same time it is a matter of surprise, as we shall see later on, that some of the materials that are available can give us correct and authentic accounts of those Indians who made journeys to England or Europe towards the middle of the 18th century and a little downwards. The purpose of these few pages is to give an account of some early Muslim visitors of Europe, especially England, from India. It is amazing indeed to find that the commonly accepted notion about this subject is that 'Raja Ram Mohan Roy' was the first educated and eminent Indian who had gone to England. As we shall progress we shall see that the assertion so naively made cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. At any rate, it will have to be accepted with a considerable amount of reservation.

Who, among the Indian Muslims, was first to go to Europe is a question that cannot be answered with precision. But, Abu Talib, the author of *Hadigatul-Afkar*, who is also one of those travellers who visited Europe towards the close of the 18th century, mentions two of his friends who, presumably, took the voyage at a comparatively early date. First among them is Muhammad Qubad Beg. The date of his voyage and the period which he spent over it are, however, not given, but, under a biographical sketch of the poet Ashobe, he declares him to be the poet's maternal grandfather who served as a Diwan in the Deccan towards the last days of Aurangzib. The said writer also adds that Qubad was not only a scholar of Islamic literature but also of Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek and that the last two languages he learnt during his travels in Europe. Muhammad Qubad Beg must, therefore, be regarded the first Indian

Mushm who went to Europe. He must also have spent a sufficiently long period in Europe to enable him to master the two languages. And, since, according to Abu Talib he was a state official under the last of the Great Moghals, towards the end of his glorious reign, the conclusion that forces itself upon us is that Muhammad Qubad is the first Indian who visited Europe and that he must have done so, at the latest, towards the close of the seventeenth century.

The second place is given to Mir Muhammad Husain. He belonged to a Persian stock and was born in Oudh. While young he had set his heart on travels in Arabia and also countries beyond it. In a Mathnawi composed by him under the title of *sagī nama* he refers to his voyages and journeys in the following lines.—

I pondered long over books,
 And during the period of 30 years I travelled the distance
 that would cover 100 years.
 I have learnt Mathematics and Natural Science,
 They are all mastered by me.
 I roamed round a fair portion of the world ;
 I passed by the remotest part of France,
 I went to a loving heart to Yathrib and Batha, (And)
 With all my heart I took the way to Hedjaz.
 From Alexandria I came to Egypt ;
 Like Joseph I was famous in that city.
 Two years of my life were spent on the sea, (And)
 I witnessed many a wonder.
 Through the sea I passed from Europe
 To the southern land and farthest Africa.

His death occurred in 1205 A.H. (1828 A.D.) at the age of 50 years. He was thirty when he finished his travels. He must have, therefore, visited Europe in the neighbourhood of the year 1765 A.D.

The last named visitor of Europe from India was contemporary to a scholar of no mean order who, during the years 1766-69 went on a voyage to England and also travelled in France. This took place eight years before Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born. The occasion of his visit to England and the mission with which he was entrusted call for a detailed account of the visitor's life and the events connected therewith. His name is I'tisamuddin and, curiously enough, he is a countryman of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, as he

belonged to the village of Pajnore in the District of Nadya. His early life was spent in the services rendered to the Nizamate of Bengal during the reigns of Nuwwab Ja'far Ali Khan and Quasim Ali Khan. He had also occasions to meet with Shah Alam and take part in the transaction that took place between the Moghal Emperor and the English, on the one hand, and the Marathas and the English, on the other. He had visited Northern India and had helped the English in bringing to a successful issue their negotiations with the Marathas at Poona. Nor, has he left us in doubt about his purpose for a visit to Europe and especially England, and, in a scholarly monograph, written in Persian, the Court language in India at that time, he has left not only a record of the voyage but also has given us a document of great historical value. Incidentally a further light is thrown on the character of Lord Clive who had directed the transactions between the East India Company and the Emperor of Hindustan.

In his book, *Shigarf-Nama-i-Wilayat*, the record of his voyage to England, I'tisamuddin says that he was present in the Court of Shah Alam, at Allahabad, when through the negotiation of Shuja'uddaula and Lord Clive the grant of Diwan of Behar, Bengal, and Orissa was made to the East India Company. But, as it appears from the said book (pp. 10-11), the grant was made on some moral understanding between the two contracting parties. Besides paying a tribute of 26 lakhs annually, the English had given an assurance to Shah Alam that they would help him in strengthening his position as the Emperor of Hindustan by rendering military services. This stipulation might not have been embodied in the royal warrant for the grant of Diwane, but it had the acceptance of all concerned. As military operations in support of the Emperor would have entangled the Company in political struggles in the country and prejudiced their position as traders, Lord Clive wished to have a sanction for this new phase of their activities in India from the King of England and the Parliament. Shah Alam, in order to assist Lord Clive in securing the desired sanction, deputed Nuwwab Muniruddaula and Raja Shitab Rai, his representatives in Bengal and Behar respectively, to accompany Lord Clive to Calcutta and to draft a letter on his behalf to King George the third of England asking for the formal sanction of the preferred help. The letter was drafted in a garden at Dam Dam and in the presence of General

Cornac, Captain Swinton and George Vansittart, besides Lord Clive and the two representatives. As it was the duty of the Company to secure this permission from England in consequence of the moral assurance they had given to the Emperor in regard to military help, in lieu of the grant of Diwanee, Captain Swinton was put in charge of the mission. I'tisamuddin too was asked on behalf of the Emperor to accompany the mission. The Diwanee was granted in 1765, and soon after, the mission left for England. The whole transaction was, however, kept a secret and other members of the Council of the East India Company were not made privy to it.

I'tisamuddin was young at that time and the youthful love for adventures made him accept the suggestion. He embarked on his voyage from the port of Hijli. He had hardly spent more than a week on the sea when a startling disclosure was made to him by his colleague, Captain Archibald Swinton: He was informed that Lord Clive had kept the royal letter with himself and, as he was expecting to return to England in the following year he would bring the same together with royal presents from Shah Alam to King George III, and would make it over to him to deliver the same to the King. I'tisamuddin was also charged not to disclose the secret. He describes the deception played upon him in a language befitting the disappointment it produced. But there was some more disappointment in store for him. After his arrival in England he was compelled to wait till Lord Clive came back from India (1767). It was after the lapse of a period of a year and a half, as he has said, when Clive returned to England. The presents which he had brought from Shah Alam for King George the third were presented on his own behalf, to the Queen. There was, however, no account given by Clive of the sum of Rupees one lakh which was a part of the presents to the King of England. And, as for the letter, Captain Swinton could not find any trace of it. The valiant Captain summarily finished the whole story before I'tisamuddin in one sentence: 'What you had thought came to be true. Lord Clive deceived us.' The epilogue of this drama is quite in keeping with the character of the hero of Plassey and a friend of Omichand!

Besides throwing this sidelight on the events that took place in India in those troublous times, the work of I'tisamuddin gives a clue to the difference that arose between the European traders in general, and the English merchants in particular, on the one

hand, and the Nuwwab of Bengal, on the other : After giving a brief history of the trade relations of the European traders of various denominations, with Bengal, he describes the three main sources of constant friction between the Europeans and the ruling power :—

(1) The Europeans had, in direct contravention of the general orders issued from the Imperial Court at Delhi, to their representatives in Bengal, from time to time, built and were insisting on building forts and defences of such description as would be required by a ruling power in a country and not by mere traders. Orders from Delhi were of a peremptory nature and in some cases the local representatives were asked to demolish such unlicensed buildings which were not meant for the purpose of carrying on peaceful trade in the country.

(2) European settlers, in their various colonies, had built churches and were a source of disturbance to the public by ringing their church bells at the appointed time for Muslim prayers. Often this slight act of negligence on the part of Europeans became a positive source for the disturbance of peace in the country. Standing as we do on a distance from those times we may not be inclined to attach much importance to this cause of disturbance, as described by the author of the *Shigarf Nama*, but looking at the temper of the age and also making due allowance for the anxiety of those who were responsible for the maintenance of Law and Order in the country, we may not be disinclined to agree with the author that the Europeans had given to the general Muslim public a cause for complaint before the authorities.

(3) European settlers and traders used to entice away young children, boys and girls, from their parental roofs and sell them in far off distant lands or forcibly convert them into Christianity. A colony of such unhappy and wretched men and women who were torn away from their homes in Bengal, was found by the author during his voyage on an African coast. This complaint was a chronic one. During his reign Shah Jahan was compelled to take drastic action. A detailed account of the action against the settlement at Hugli and its causes are given in the *Badshahnama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori.

Although the questions discussed by the author of *Shigarfnama-i-Wilayat* in the early part of his book are not connected very intimately with the subject matter of his work, yet they throw a flood of light on the contemporary events. These digressions of the author

are, in a way, very suggestive, as they give a clue to the proper understanding of the differences that arose between the English and Serajuddawla later on. It is no wonder that Serajuddawla's march on the English Colony on the banks of the Hughli might have been taken up in order to redress a wrong that was crying for long. The demolition of the fortifications erected as an infringement of the imperial order was an act which should not have called for hostile criticism as has been indulged in by the modern historians of India.

I'tisamuddin's route was the common route that was taken by sailors to Europe from India in the 18th century. His voyage was to a great extent uneventful, save and except the appearance of an island or the touching of the ship on some port, all of which he has described fully. He went to England through France where his fellow passengers were very thoroughly searched as many were in the practice of smuggling Indian products, especially muslin and shawl, and where his flowing Indian costume was taken for a fancy dress, and he was to his great dismay, unceremoniously asked to take part in a dance that was just going on. London presented to him a view that it should have presented to an Indian Muslim from Bengal in those old times. The time he spent during the interval of Clive's arrival in England was, indeed, very trying for him. He, however, utilised this opportunity as a scholar should have, in observing the people, their institutions, their systems of Government and of education and in drawing many intelligent and useful inferences in which his book abounds. Comparisons are also, here and there, made between the conditions that obtained in India and those in England. He is in raptures over the English public schools, and their system of training the youths of the community. Nor, did the University life escape his notice: he visited Oxford and did stay there for about a year. In fact, he was asked to stay there and take up the duties of a Persian Professor; an English connection with India, in those days necessitated the study of the language by the Europeans who came out to the country. The freedom which England gave to the dwellers in the island has made him draw lessons, for the benefit of Indians from a study of the parliamentary system of Government. He is fully alive to the advantages that accrue to the people from the democratic system of Government in the matter of granting them equality of right and even administration of justice. Little,

however, he knew at what a great cost England had acquired that freedom !

Conservative as I'tisamuddin was, the social life of England does not seem to have had much attraction for him. He was very much abstemious about his food. He had taken with him a servant, Md. Muqsud by name, who used to be in the charge of his kitchen. On one occasion, when he had to go out of his place for several days, he lived only on fruit syrup. He was about to collapse for want of food, when he was helped by Captain Swinton in preparing some chicken broth and rice. On this occasion, too, he was careful to kill the bird himself. As a student of the humanities, however, he could not ignore the study of this important feature of English life. And he did it. Besides attending invitations that came to him through Captain Swinton and his friends, he visited the play houses, and the story of a plot that was staged, as given by him, shows that he was present on an occasion when *King Lear* was played. He visited circus houses and enjoyed the display of acrobatic feats. He also witnessed the gay pageant on Lord Mayor's day. He spent sufficient time in Edinburgh. His remarks on the industrious and stingy Scotch are suggestive of a close study. At Oxford he must have mixed with the members of the University freely as we find him giving a detailed account of the University, its buildings, the observatory and the Bodleian Library. On one occasion some important document in Persian was brought to him for deciphering doubtful words. Rural and Agricultural England too have not escaped his careful observations. The smiling fields and beautiful orchards have, indeed, drawn forth many appreciative remarks from the author. He has given a very accurate statement of the English produce of cereals, fruits, vegetables, the flora and the fauna. He took part in hunting games and shooting birds and fowls.

English industrial life was just passing through a great revolution when I'tisamuddin went to England. There was, as yet, not much visible sign of the coming change. The preliminaries were there. I'tisamuddin has not failed to observe them. He has described how some mills were executing a work within a short time that would take a labourer in India weeks or months to perform. English shops and their system of taking articles to the market and placing them in the hands of the consumers have also elicited from him the praise due to the organisers of world's greatest industrial

centre. The improved looms had just begun to work ; and we have been given a description of the same by the author of *Shigarf Nama*.

I'tisamuddin's friends, Captain Swinton, Dr. Bolton and Captam Stabble were importunate detaining him in England and inducing him to take up the charge of some young men to whom he would teach Persian. He did not, however, agree to the proposal and returned to Bengal via Madras in 1183 A.H. (1806 A.D.).

Next place of importance, among the Muslim visitors of Europe from India, may be given to Mirza Abu Muhammad Tabrizi. His father, Haji Muhammad Khan came to India from Azarba-i-ian and was attached to the Court of the Nuwwab Viziers of Oudh. Abu Talib, as Tabrizi is commonly known by this name, was born at Lucknow. After the death of his father he continued for some time in the service of the Oudh State, but later on, he became associated with the English. Abu Talib was a learned scholar. He has written useful works on biography of Persian poets and general history of the world, besides his *Masiri-Talibi*, which last book he wrote in 1218 A.H., after his return from his European tour. His travels in Europe brought for him such a fame in India that he became known by the nickname of Londoni, a Londoner. His book of travels was received by the European and Indian public alike very favourably. The original, in Persian, was published in Calcutta in 1812 A.D. under the auspices of the Fort William College. Soon after an English version was brought out by Major Stuart. Abu Talib's main idea in writing the book was to supply the Indian Muslims with information on the system of education and training of youths as prevailed in England. He wanted to combat the idea, prevalent in those days in the Indian Muslim society, that the European system of education and mode of life were opposed to the accepted tenets of Islam. It is indeed a matter of surprise how the prejudice against the European, among the Indian Muslims continued so long, even after eyewitnesses like I'tisamuddin and Abu Talib had taken pains to enlighten their coreligionists on this point out of information gathered at first hand.

Abu Talib's voyage was commenced on the 7th of February in 1799, from Calcutta. He spent nearly four years in England, about a year in other European countries. He gives interesting descriptions of the places he saw and of men and women with whom

he mixed. He was friend of Sir Elijah Impi and refers to the Impi family in laudible terms. He wields a very facile pen and gives detailed accounts of buildings, towers, baths, play-houses, bridges, and churches all over the countries of his visit. He was of a very sociable nature and is always ready with 'a woeful ballad to the eye-brow' of every lady in England he came across. The mode of life among the English people has elicited every word of praise from him. English freedom is a subject of special discourse in the book, and, as for the liberty enjoyed by English women he accords to it his fullest support. He gives minute information on the English home life: The division of time for work and rest, the way of serving the meals in the families, maintaining regularity of time in going to bed and leaving it and the music played by the ladies at home all have been mentioned by Abu Talib in his book. He left England in 1217 A.H. (1839 A.D.) and passed over to France. At Paris he led the life of a true Parisian. From France he went over to other countries like Geneva and some German towns. From the last named place he came over to Italy. The capital of Italy seems to have captivated his heart by its fine musical halls. He devotes a special passage on the superiority of Italian music to any other European music. He seems to have observed the Italian life also very keenly. He mentions the curious practice of polyandry that was recognised in Rome at that time as a social institution. He says:—'The most wonderful thing is this that high class ladies, all over Rome, rather in some parts of France too, are in the habit of having two husbands openly. The second husband is meant for sensuous enjoyment and for the purpose of passing time with a happy mind. The time of each of the two husbands throughout the days and night with the common wife is divided The children and the house and the maintenance of the wife are the charge of the principal husband, while the other is meant to attend to the wish and pleasure of the lady.' He returned to Calcutta in 1218 A.H., visiting on his way back to India, Malta, Constantinople and some towns of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.

The last among this group of early Muslim visitors of Europe from India is Yousuf Khan, better known by the name of Kammal posh. He was at first a wandering Fakir, then a soldier and then a traveller. He was born in Hyderabad Deccan and at first he started on a tour in the Indian towns. He had visited the principal cities of

eastern and northern portions of India and also Nepal, when fortune brought him to Lucknow. At first he took service in the army of Nasiruddin Hayder, ruler of Oudh. At Lucknow he came in contact with some English officers of the army and he was so greatly influenced by the life of the English and their superior culture that he began the study of English language. In the *Tarikh-i-Yousufi*, which he wrote after his return from Europe, he mentions that he had made considerable progress in English when, in 1836, he took leave of his master for a voyage to England.

He embarked on board the ship *Isabella* on the 30th March, 1837. The early part of his work is full of reference to the islands and the coastal towns of Africa where his ship had touched. The flourishing condition of the towns owing to their being on the route to Europe, has drawn his attention to a descriptive account of the same.

To a student of *Tarikh-i-Yousufi*, better known as *Ajaibat-i-Firang* Yousuf Khan presents an important, but pleasing character for study. A wandering mendicant who, for some time played the rôle of a soldier and later on took to travels, is certainly a character that claims the admiration of early observer of men and their affairs. Through him the temper of the age, in the last part of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, in India, reflected itself in a characteristic manner. Yousuf Khan, at an early period of his life, ceased to be an orthodox Muslim; and his study of the lives of the religious men among Hindus, Christians and Muslims compelled him to break away from the old and find out a new religion for himself. This new religion of which he was both the originator and the follower, is called Lyhim, Sulaymani, after Solomon the prophet. He does not expound its tenets in detail but from what he has said on this subject, it appears to be a religion of simple hedonism. He had shaken off the trammels of the rituals and of the dogma of an orthodox creed. All that he wished for was an unrestricted enjoyment of the pleasure of the senses. A travel in the western countries, wherein now materialism was to hold the sway, was the fittest means for securing the desired end. The question of language too did not prove an obstacle in his case, as he had learnt English and was able to make himself intelligible, at least, in England.

On his arrival in England, probably in the beginning of 1837, Yousuf Khan was engaged chiefly in sight seeing. Historic buildings

and churches were visited by him first. He mentions in his book all places of interest to which he went. He was, however, very much pleased when he saw a railway train on the London suburban line. The sight of a railway train, for the first time in his life, threw him in a state of ecstasy. He has given a good description of the railway line, the engine and the carriage, and he enjoyed a journey for several miles in the suburb. Yousuf Khan spent most of his time in enlarging the circle of his friends among English men and women with whom he became very soon familiar and from whom there was no dearth of invitations. A good description of Queen Victoria's accession procession to the Guild Hall is to be found in his book. As a soldier he was also interested in seeing the arsenal and in observing the great military equipment of England for which he has nothing but every word of praise. For a short while he left London and went over to France.

In France Yousuf Khan visited Bologne, Paris, and Amien. He also went to Versailles. The notable fact which he mentions is this that he found the shops all over the country amply provided with Cashmere Shawls. The gardens of France pleased him very much. The historic buildings erected by the French Monarchs, their mausoleum and palaces were all visited. The rural life of France has been observed by him very keenly. In the matter of building roads he, however, gives preference to England.

Yousuf Khan left England on the 18th of January, 1838. On his return from England he saw some more countries of Europe in the south. Some time he spent in the Portuguese capital of Lisbon. From Lisbon he passed on to coastal towns of Spain. Having hurriedly seen Gibraltar and Malta, he came over to Alexandria and Cairo where he had the opportunity to observe the state of affairs under Mohamed Ali's strong rule. He has described the slave market in Cairo.

From the last named place he went over to the Suez to make a short tour in the Sinai peninsula, where he visited many sacred places of religious and historic interest. After crossing the peninsula he took a ship in some parts of the Red Sea and reached back to India towards the close of 1838.

Yousuf Khan may not have been appointed to a political mission to England like I'tisamuddin, he may not be a *littérateur* like the author of *Masir-i-Talibi*, but he was gifted with a strong common

sense and true desire to profit by the voyage he took. His book is written in a homely style and is interspersed with an intelligent appreciation of the social institutions of the English. The road to progress on which England was fast marching was quite visible to him, and the industrial development, especially in the field of manufacture of articles to be sold in the foreign markets, has been studied by him very intimately. He has not failed to give a description of the huge spinning machineries that were just set up in various centres of industrial life in the Island. He also admires the training which English homes and schools give to the children. And, as for the liberty which the women enjoyed, he is not tired of showering his encomium on this social side of English life. His comparison with the conditions that obtained in India in those days in this respect are worthy of a social reformer.

ARMENIA AND INDIA.

MESROOB J. SETH, M.R.A.S.

Armenians, the enterprising sons of a noble but ill-fated fatherland, have, from time immemorial, been trading with India by the overland route, *via* Persia and Afghanistan, long before the advent of any European traders into the country. It will not be possible, in this brief paper, to say much about the commercial pursuits of the Armenians in India, suffice it to say that by their probity and integrity, to say nothing of their commercial acumen, they always found favour in the eyes of the Hindu and the Mohammedan rulers of the land from the days of Mar Thomas, the Armenian merchant who landed on the Malabar coast in 780 A.D. (when one Sheo Ram was the Hindu King of Cranganore) to the glorious reign of Akbar the Great, who was a great patron of the Armenians, some of whom held high offices at his court, the Chief Justice (Mir Adl) Khwajah Mir Abdul-Hai, being an Armenian.

Mirza Zul-Qurnain, a grandee of the Mogul Court during the reigns of Akbar, Jehangeer and Shah Jehan, was likewise an Armenian, being a grandson of Abdul-Hai, the Armenian, according to Jehangeer in his famous 'Tuzak-i-Jehangeeri'. In the paper which I read before the 'Indian Historical Records Commission' at Lucknow, in December, 1926, on 'Hindoos in Armenia 150 years before Christ,' I stated that Armenians had been connected with India for over 2,000 years being the *first* foreign traders to come to this country by the overland route. According to Armenian historians, two Hindu princes of Kanauj fled the country for having conspired against Dinakspal, their king, in the year 149 B.C. and found an asylum, with their adherents and followers, in far-off Armenia, where they were accorded a welcome worthy of their princely dignity by the Armenian King Valarsaces of the Arsacidæ dynasty which ruled in Armenia from 149 B.C. to 428 A.D.

But it may be asked, and quite rightly too, why did these two fugitive Indian princes seek refuge in far-off Armenia when they could have very easily fled to Ceylon, Burma, Siam, China, Tartary, Afghanistan or even Persia? The reason is not far to seek. They were already acquainted with the Armenian merchants whom they

had met in India, and acting on their advice, no doubt, they went so far and found a safe asylum in a country on the hospitality of which they could count.

For a period of 450 years, the Hindu colony flourished in heathen Armenia, but with the advent of Christianity in Armenia, in the year 301 A.D., the Hindus, after a desperate struggle for the preservation of their ancestral faith, accepted, *nolentes volentes*, the Christian faith which had become the State religion in the country by virtue of a royal edict issued by King Tiridates—the Asoka of Armenia—at the instance of St. Gregory, called the ‘Illuminator’, the apostle of Armenia. The Hindus, it may be added, had, during the halcyon days of the heathen Kings of Armenia, built fine cities, erected magnificent temples, where they had put up their national gods for the worship of God in their own way, in the country of their adoption.

That the people of distant Armenia were, by reason of their commercial intercourse, acquainted with the geography and the different races in India, can be clearly seen from the ‘*Compendium of Geography*’, compiled by Moses of Khorene,—the Herodotus of Armenia—who flourished in the 5th century of the Christian era.

Speaking of India in the course of his geographical work, the father of Armenian historians and geographers says that ‘India is situated south-east of Asia and verges also on Scythia and is divided into two regions, separated by the river Ganges. The western part is inhabited by 55 tribes and the eastern by 72. Some of these are cannibals and others eat the flesh of wild beasts, some are deformed, some are dwarfs, flat-nosed, broad-faced and white. There are also naked philosophers (gymnosophists) who do not perform works of dishonesty and do not eat the flesh of animals. India contains mountains, rivers and many islands. In India a wild beast is found like a wild goat with sharp horns with which he kills the lion. There is yet another monster which is very much like a lion, except that it has a sharp and long snout. Besides these, there are found camels, leopards (giraffes), lions, tigers, dragons and unicorns, the largest of wild beasts who have horns on their heads and kill the elephant with their tongue. There are also griffins, musk-deer and asses with horns.

There are found gold, silver, brass, tin, pearls and precious stones, as also many kinds of spices and medicinal herbs.’

Of Ceylon, the 5th century Armenian geographer says that 'Tabrobane, the largest of all islands, extends in length 1,100 miles and in breadth 510 miles, and has other small islands around it about 1,372 in number. It contains also many mountains and rivers and is inhabited by 12 tribes. There are found gold, silver, precious stones, aromatic herbs and also elephants and tigers. The men of this island adorn their heads with the hair of the females. It is said this was the place where Satan fell.'

It may be mentioned that the Armenian geographer and historian of the 5th century never visited India and he must have therefore heard accounts of that distant country from the Armenian merchants who had been trading with India, for in his detailed list of the various Indian spices, he even gives the prices, per Indian maund and he could only have obtained such first-hand information from persons who had been engaged in the trade of those commodities in India and were conversant with the names and the prices of the different spices which India produced then.

For the information of historical students, I may mention that the '*History of Armenia*' by Moses of Khorene, with his '*Compendium of Geography*' in ancient Armenian, from which the above extracts are taken, was translated into Latin by two English Armenists, George and William Whiston, and printed by them, with the Armenian text, at London in 1736, under the title '*Moses Chorenensis Historiæ Armeniacæ*'. A copy of this exceedingly rare publication—the first Armenian book that was printed in England—is to be seen amongst my Armenian exhibits at the Historical Exhibition of the 'Indian Historical Records Commission' at the Patna Museum.

For fuller information regarding the Armenian Colonists in this country, see my '*History of the Armenians in India*' and the various Papers read by me before the 'Indian Historical Records Commission' at Lahore, Lucknow, Rangoon, Nagpur, Gwalior and at Patna.

RAGHU'S LINE OF CONQUEST ALONG INDIA'S NORTHERN BORDER.

PROFESSOR JAY CHANDRA VIDYALANKAR.

Despite the labours and the ingenuity which modern scholarship has liberally bestowed upon the study of Kālidāsa and his works, the geography of the countries along the northern border of India, which the great poet makes Raghu march through in course of his 'conquest of quarters' remains, with the exception of two items, still unexplained. An attempt is made in the following pages to locate all the items in that march which have as yet baffled identification, and trace the whole route of Raghu along India's northern border. The new elucidation has also led to a new appreciation of the ideas and ideals of Kālidāsa disclosed in its light.

I. The Conception of the North

After conquering the East and the South, Raghu turned towards the West, where having subdued the Trikūṭa country, he started via the land-route on the conquest of the Pārasikas. Then he went to the North, where his first encounter was against the Hūnas on the Oxus. So far we have no difficulty, but we must have, if possible, a clear idea where the boundaries of the West and the North met. The East, the South, the West and the North are all with reference to the Madhyadeśa. Rājasekhara informs us that by the West was meant the country to the west of Devasabhā and by the North that to the north of Pṛthūdaka.¹ Pṛthūdaka is the modern Pehowa (Dt. Karnāl) on the Saraswati, situated almost exactly on lat. 30° N. Now I interpret these boundary-marks thus: all the countries to the north of the latitude of Pehowa, i.e. 30° N., were included in the North, while similarly these to the west of the longitude of Devasabhā if they were not north of lat. 30° N. were included in the West. I cannot find where Devasabhā was, but on the principle mentioned above I presume it was somewhere on the longitude of Adarśana or Vinaśana, the place where the Saraswati disappears in the desert, and which is the traditional

¹ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 94.

western boundary of the Madhyadeśa. In short, I take the towns of Devasabhā and Prthūdaka when mentioned as boundary-marks, not as particular points but the particular longitude and the latitude represented by them. The utility of this interpretation will be found when dealing with countries which to our modern eyes look north-western, and when we want to assign them definitely either to the North or to the West. Thus Bolan Pass is just a little south of 30° N. lat., and so it must be included in the West, while the Afghan country bordering on its north is to be included in the North. A good deal of confusion will thus be removed. One of India's greatest Sanskritists, who does not seem to have accepted Prof. Pathak's point that the Hūnas were on the Oxus, but would prefer to keep them on the Indus, has with great ingenuity tried to show how the Indus was, according to the ancient Indians' conception, to the north of Mesopotamia, which, according to him, was one of the western countries alleged to have been conquered by Raghu.² According to my interpretation the North, is with reference to the Madhyadeśa, and the first country in the northern course need not be due north of the last country in the western course. But for this explanation we could have supposed the Pārasikas to be the ancestors of the modern Parsiwans of Afghanistan, though personally I think, there were no Parsiwans there in that remote age. Now we must take the Pārasikas to be the Sassanians of the Sind-border.

The next item, the Hūna-country, has received careful attention at the hands of scholars more competent than my humble self, and has been definitely located in the doab of the modern Waksh and the Aksu, the two tributaries of the Oxus.³ Beyond that everything is indefinite and shrouded in mist till we reach the final point—the Lauhitya river and the Prāgiyotisa country.

II. The Kāmbojas

Next after the Hūnas, Raghu subdued the Kāmbojas. Now where was the country of the Kāmbojas? Though a very important country of ancient Indian history and literature, it is still wrapped up in mystery. Foucher following the Nepalese tradition took it to

² *J.B.O.R.S.*, VI, 334 ff.

³ *The Hun Problem in Indian History* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, pp. 65 ff.

be somewhere in Tibet, while Sir George Grierson indicated long ago that it must be an Iranian country.⁴ If someone had taken up the indication of Sir George Grierson and worked it up, the Kāmboja country would perhaps have been rightly identified long ago, but, instead of that, scholars have so far generally interpreted it vaguely as the eastern Afghanistan. Now where in the eastern Afghanistan shall we locate it definitely? Does it represent the modern Kafiristan? It cannot, as that is the ancient Kapiśa, the Ki-pin of the Chinese, and not Kāmboja. Then Lamghan?⁵ No, for that is Lampāka. Then Ningrahar? But that again is the ancient Nagara-hāra. Then the Pathan-country from Afridi Tirah to the Zhab valley? That also was the Paktha-country proper and not Kāmboja. Shall we then turn towards the north-east, and put our finger on Wakhan? But Wakhan is not Afghanistan proper, and I do not think when anybody equates Kāmboja with the eastern Afghanistan he means Wakhan by it. So the Kāmboja country flies from us like a will-o'-the-wisp when we try to catch it definitely in any part of the eastern Afghanistan.

Dr. Ray Chaudhuri has, to his own satisfaction, set an end to this indefiniteness by equating it with the modern Chhibhāl country of the north Panjab, and Dr. Bhandarkar has accepted that unfortunate identification⁶ made on the basis of a doubtful explanation of a vague reference in the Mahābhārata VIII, 4, 5. It reads thus:

कषं राजपुरं गत्वा काम्बोजा निर्जितास्त्रया ।

and in the opinion of the two eminent scholars, its Rājapura is no other place but the modern Rajauri in the Chhibhāl country to the south of Kashmir. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri is satisfied that that is the Kāmboja of the epics and the Kāmboja Mahājanapada of the early Buddhist literature, while Dr. Bhandarkar has accepted it as the Kambujiya or the Kāmboja of the inscriptions of Darius and Aśoka. But the modern Chhibhāl has always been called Abhisāra or Dārvābhisāra in ancient Indian documents, and I am confident there is not an iota of evidence to equate Abhisāra with Kāmboja. In the

⁴ Smith—*EHI* 3, p. 184 n. and *J.R.A.S.*, 1911, p. 802.

⁵ It is often spelt Laghman, but Lamghan is the local pronunciation, and it also tallies with its ancient form, Lampāka.

⁶ *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 94-95;—'Aśoka' (Carmichael Lectures, 1923), p. 31.

time of Alexander, i.e. exactly between the age of Darius and that of Aśoka, it was called Abhisāra, and there is no reason to take that name as having been given to it temporarily. In the great epic itself in the northern conquests of Arjuna Dārvā and Abhisāra are mentioned separately from Kāmboja,⁷ and so they cannot be taken as its synonyms. Abhisāri is named there just before Uragā, a clear mistake for Uraśā or the modern Hazārā district, i.e. exactly where we should expect it. As from the inscriptions of Darius and Aśoka and also from the early Buddhist literature the Kāmboja country seems to have been contiguous to the western Gandhāra, while the territory of Rajauri is to the east of the Jhelum, the two learned doctors have assumed that the hilly district between the Jhelum and the Indus was also included in Kāmboja. That district, however, was always called Uraśā, and was never included in the territory of Rājauri. Again in the whole range of Indian literature and tradition Kāmboja is always a country of the frontier, while this identification would bring it not only to the east of the Indus, but to the east of the Jhelum, and to the south of Kashmir in the sub-mountainous Panjab!

The veteran scholars ought at least to have considered the evidence of Kalhana, before proposing any such identification of a territory of Kashmir. Now what does Kalhana tell us on the point? In the digvijaya of Lalitāditya, he places the Kāmbojas to the north⁸ of Kashmir, and not to the south of it in Abhisāra country, which Lalitāditya inherited from his grandfather, and had no reason to conquer. Similarly Kālidāsa tells us in the passage we are considering that Raghu ascended the Himalayas after taking tribute from the Kāmbojas, and descended into the plain of India after having subdued the Kirātas, etc., on his way on the Himalayas. Now he could have ascended them from the side of Rajauri, i.e. from the south, but then he would have descended not in the plain of India but in that of Chinese Turkestan!

It was with the help of the guidance supplied to us by Kalhana that I made my first attempt in 1928, for the purpose of my as yet unpublished book *Bharatīya Itihās Ki Rūparekhā* (Outline of Indian

⁷ *Sabhā Parvan*, ch. 28 (Kumbhakonam ed. which is used throughout this paper).

⁸ *Rājataranginī* (ed. Stein), IV, 163-176.

History in Hindi, hereafter styled the *Rūparekhā*) to find out the real Kāmboja country; and Kalhana has been my chief guide since then until, I think, I finally succeeded in the attempt recently. Kalhana's description of Lalitāditya's digvijaya is for the most part mythical, but when he writes of the hill-countries in the neighbourhood of his own land his details are such that seem to have been derived from historical facts. I intend to show on some other occasion that the whole of Lalitāditya's digvijaya was confined to the hills, that his war against the king of Kanauj was for the sake of the Himalayan districts to the south-east of Kashmir, and that the Kālī river to which he finally extended his frontier at the expense of Kanauj-empire was not the rivulet of that name in the plains which could not be a natural frontier; but the Kālī on the border of the modern state of Nepal. However that may be, my present point is only that Kalhana's description of Lalitāditya's northern conquests is generally based on facts, and that is exactly what Sir A. Stein has said.⁹

Now in that description¹⁰ the people and countries of the North are mentioned in the following order: the Kāmbojas, the Tuhkhāras, the king Mummuni, the Bhauttas, the Daradas, Prāgjyotisapura, the Bālukāmbhudhi (sand-ocean), Strī-Rājya and the Uttara Kurus. Of these, Kāmboja, Strī-Rājya and the northern Kurus are the three countries¹¹ which have not been identified definitely, and the kingdom of Mummuni has only vaguely been inferred. Now Kāmboja

⁹ Introduction to the translation of *Rājataranginī*, p. 90.

¹⁰ IV, 163-176.

¹¹ Of the three, Kāmboja is now identified *infra*, for the Uttara Kurus see Prof S. Krisnaswami Aiyangar's paper, the Hun Problem in *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, pp 65 ff. Strī-Rājya also is not mythical; Kalhana mentions a detail about it (*ibid.*, 135) from which it would seem to have been a real country. But the conclusive evidence comes from Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-Sūtra*, which tells of a custom 'गोयूयिकम्' of Strī-Rājya which could not have been known except through frequent communication and very close familiarity with the country. From what my honoured friend Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana Tripiṭakācārya of the Vidyālaṅkāra College, Kelaniya, Ceylon, who has recently returned from Tibet after a stay and travels extending over an year and half in that country where he was busy with the first-hand study of Kan-gyur and Tan-gyur and in securing till now unknown and rare Tibetan MSS. and works of art, told me about the Tibetans' mode of sleeping, it would seem that गोयूयिकम् is nothing but a common habit of theirs. It is a most natural thing amongst a

is mentioned here just before Tuḥkhāra which is the Tukharistan of the Arab geographers, modern Badakhshan. The only country near about Kashmir of which the ancient name is not known is Chitral: it is to the north-west of Kashmir, and opens the main route to Badakhshan from Kashmir through Dorah and the adjoining passes. I therefore provisionally identified Kāmboja with Chitral in 1928, as it seemed to satisfy all requirements, though I had this much doubt in my mind that Chitral might have been a part of the Darada country as even to-day its population shows.

In the introductory chapters of the *Rūparekhā*, dealing with India's territories, languages and people, I have arrived at the conclusion that the linguistic territories of India as defined by Sir G. Grierson in his survey, generally correspond with the primary settlements of tribes as marked out by the late Mr. Pargiter from Indian tradition or as exhibited in the references to the *soḷasa-mahājanapada*-period in the early Buddhist literature. According to that principle, if Chitral were the ancient Kāmboja, the people called Kho whose speech is styled Khowār and who inhabit the territory surrounding Chitral, would represent the ancient Kāmbojas. According to Sir G. Grierson, Khowār is a Dardic speech with a mixture of *Ghalchā* from beyond the Hindukush, whose shade differentiates it from Dardic proper. The Khos are thus a bit different from the Daradas proper, but their speech has a clear and definite Dardic base, and we are told at the same time that the *Ghalchā* strain now running through it is later importation. It was this fact which made me sceptic about my first proposal, because, firstly, in ancient times the ancestors of the Khos would not be different from those of the Daradas, and secondly, nowhere in Indian tradition have we any clear authority for believing a relation between the Daradas and the Kāmbojas.

Moreover it occurred to me recently that Chitral might represent

polyandrous people not used to the self-imposed restraint of the Pāṇḍavas, 'one at a time,' and to the luxury of sleeping dresses, whom cold and scarcity have made accustomed to sleep in herds, the whole polyandrous family getting inside one big soft woollen blanket—called *thulmā* in Kumaun, and *gudmā* in Kullu and Kanaur, perhaps the Skt. 'kutapa,'—I forget its Tibetan name which Rev. Rāhula told me when presenting a specimen—stitched on all sides but one in the manner of a bag. I conclude, therefore, that Strī-Rājya was either the whole or a part of Tibet.

the ancient Kāraskara country. The river, the town and the district of Chitral still bear the optional name, Kāshkār. The celebration of the -s- can easily be explained through the influence of the -r- which might have disappeared later. Kāraskara is mentioned in the list of those countries a visit to which makes a Madhyadheśa brahmin liable to prāyaścitta¹² and that is exactly what we might expect about a country of the north-western border.

There were thus serious doubts about my first proposal to equate Chitral with Kāmboja. Recently while finally revising the introductory section of the *Rūparekhā*, my attention was turned to that speech, whose shade differentiates Khowār from its kindred Dardic. So far, although considering Afghanistan to have been a province of India throughout its history, I had taken the territory of the Ghalchā languages as lying beyond India's traditional borders. But then it suddenly occurred to me that if we equate the Ghalchā-territory with Kāmboja, it could satisfy all the requirements of the famous ancient janapada. The Ghalchā-territory is right to the north of Kashmir, and while only a corner of the Khowār-territory abutted upon Tukhāra, the whole western border-line of the Ghalchā-territory runs along the eastern border of that country.

Fully confident in my mind that it was the ancient Kāmboja—I wanted to see if the linguistic detail mentioned about it by Yāskā and Patañjali munis had left any trace of it. And to my most agreeable surprise I found that Yāskā's observation अवतिर्नैतिकर्मा कम्बोजेषु दृश्यते,¹³ is still true about the Ghalchā-territory after a lapse of at least twenty-five centuries! In the small passages given by Sir G. Grierson as specimens of the Ghalchā speech, all dialects except Wakhi employ the same root अवति for the verb, to go. In Shighni sut=went (p. 468);¹⁴ in Sarikali set=to go (p. 473), sūt=went (p. 474) and som=I will go (p. 476); in Zebaki, Sanglichî or Ishkashimî shud=went (p. 500); in Munjāni or Mungi shia=to go, and in Yūdgha shui=went (p. 524). No more conclusive proof will, I hope, be asked for this identification now.

According to Sir G. Grierson, the speech of Badakhshan also was Ghalchā till about three centuries ago, when it was supplanted by a

¹² Vide, e.g. *Bodhāyana Dharma-Sūtra* 1. 1. 29-30.

¹³ II, i, 3, 4.

¹⁴ This and the following references are to the *Linguistic Survey of India*, X.

form of Persian.¹⁵ The population of Badakhshan and of the Ghalchā-territory is ethnically identical, even geographically, at least the eastern portion of Badakhshan, i.e. the region between the Kokcha and the great northern bend of the Oxus is very similar to Pamirs to the east of that bend, i.e. the Ghalchā-territory. The name Kāmboja is much more ancient than the name Tukhāra. We learn from classical authors that the Tochari were a nomadic people whose movements were closely related to those of the Scythian tribes who set an end to Greek rule in the Oxus valley and wrested from the Greeks the territories of Bactria and Transoxiana in about 126 B.C. It has been recognised long since that the upper Oxus valley was called Tukharistan after the name of these Tochari. But what was the name of that country before the Tochari occupied it? I suggest it bore the same name as the Pamirs, i.e. was included in Kāmboja. For in the Mahābhārata we find the Kāmbojas frequently bracketed with the Vālhikas.¹⁶ When the Tukhāras occupied Kāmboja, the whole of it received their name, which, to some extent replaced the original one. With the break up of the great Tukhāra empire of the Yue-chi, the name Tukharistan also shrank down till it became restricted to Badakhshan only. That is the reason why we find writers like Kalhana employing both the names Kāmboja and Tukhāra for the two parts of the same country. In its original sense the western boundary of Kāmboja abutted upon the confines of Bactria, later on it shrank to the east of Tukhāra or Badakhshan. But the true significance of the name Kāmboja was not forgotten for a long time, as the following popular Persian lines show:—

اگر قحط الرجال آفتد ز آن کس انس کم گیري
یکے افغان دویم کمبوة سوم بدزات کشمیری
ز افغان حبله می آید ز کمبوة کینه می آید
ز کشمیری نمی آید بجز اندوه دلیگیری¹⁷

Without sharing the sentiments of the poet about his hilly neighbours, one can clearly see that he has named the three nations in an order which shows he knew their geographical positions.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5 and 7.

¹⁶ *E.G.*, VI, lxxv, 17; II, xxviii, 22-23.

¹⁷ I am indebted for this Persian poem to Pt. Ram Kumar Chaube, M.A., L.T., of Benares.

Let us now consider the particular passage Dr. Ray Chaudhuri has relied upon. Either it is to be interpreted to imply that the way to Kāmboja was via Rājapura, or, as I suggest, Rājapura here stands for Rājagṛha, the little Rājagṛha city, the capital of Bactria in Yuan Chwang's time.¹⁸ It might have been so named after the first Rājagṛha, i.e. not the Rājagṛha-Girivraja of the Māgadhas, but that of the Kekayas, identified by Cunningham with the modern Girjhāk on the Jhelum.¹⁹ The reason why the Nepalese tradition places Kāmboja in Tibet is also evident now. To one looking from Nepal, the Pamirs would naturally seem to be an extension of Tibet. They border on Tibet.

In the passage of the Raghuvamśa we are considering the Kāmboja country is mentioned just after that of the Hūṇas, i.e. the doab of the Vaksh and the Aksu. Now the very river Aksu may roughly be called the northern boundary of the Ghalchā speech to-day. So the northern border of Kāmboja quite abutted on that of the Hūṇa-country, and the identification of the two countries are supported by each other. And we may be pretty sure that like the southern, western and northern borders, the eastern border-line of Kāmboja was also identical with that of the Ghalchā speech to-day. And that boundary is the river Sita (Yarkand).

III. The headwaters of the Ganges

It was when I noticed this point that an idea occurred to me which solved the most serious difficulty that confronts us on our way as we proceed further to the next step. After conquering the Kāmbojas Raghu's army ascended the Himalayas where the breeze of the Ganges was felt by them. How could they have gone in one leap from the Kāmboja country to the head of the Ganges? It has been the most perplexing question throughout this passage. Yet it is explained now in a very easy manner. For was not there, in the Himalayas, according to the belief of the ancients, a central Anavatapta lake from which the Sita flowed north, the Ganges east, the Indus south and the Oxus west? ²⁰ All that Raghu had to do was to

¹⁸ Watters, I, 108.

¹⁹ *Ramāyaṇa* I, lxxix, 35-44; II, lxxi, 1 and lxxii, 1; *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 164.

²⁰ Watters—*Yuan Chwang*, I, pp 32-35.

march around that lake from the north to the east and reach the headwaters of the Ganges from those of the Sita.

But where should we locate lake Anavatapta? I cannot fully explain the facts which might have led to the belief of its existence. But the headwaters of the Sita and the Shyok tributary of the Sindhu do really approach each other at one point, from which the Sita goes to the north and the Sindhu (i.e. the Shyok) to the south. This is the water-divide of the Karakoram pass, large tracts of territory in whose neighbourhood remain still unexplored. And we are told by eminent authorities on the geography of this part of high Asia, that the catchment areas of the various streams in these mountainous tracts have changed in history owing to moraine formations in the courses of glaciers: there is no impossibility, they tell us, that lake Victoria of the Pamirs might have some day flowed to the east or Chakmaktin flowed to the west.²¹ Was there a stream in ancient times somewhere near the eastern side of the Karakoram water-divide, with an eastern course near its source, which might have been mistaken to have flown further into the Ganges? Such a mistake would be a most natural one in a state of imperfect knowledge of the territories: even late in the last century the modern geographers did not know positively if the Tsang-po of Tibet flowed into the Brahmaputra or into the Irrawaddy or the Salween.

Whatever the reason and the origin of the belief in the existence of Anavatapta lake, there is no question that the belief was there, and I am sure Kālidāsa had the lake in his mind when he referred to the river Ganges just after the Kāmboja country.

The path of Raghu was therefore from the valley of the Sita on the eastern confines of Kāmboja to the east of Karakoram pass, and then south-east.

IV. *The Kirātas*

He next passed through the Kirāta country, which I identify with Mar-Yul or the country of butter as the mediæval Tibetans called Ladakh, and Zanskar and Rupshu. The word Kirāta is used in a generic sense in Indian literature. The Purānas tell us that the non-aryans living along the eastern border of India were called Kirātas:—

²¹ *Enc. Brit.* 13. Article on the Pamirs, sub-heading: source of the Oxus.

द्वीपो ह्युपनिविष्टोऽयं क्षेत्रेऽन्तेषु नित्यशः ।

पूर्वे किराता ह्यस्त्रान्ते पश्चिमे यवनाः स्मृताः ॥ ²²

The Sapta-Kausiki country or the eastern-most part of the state of Nepal still bears the name Kirāta. It just touches that eastern border of India, i.e. Coochbehar, Assam, and the Bengal frontier, which according to the Purānas is the country of the Kirātas. Now these Kirātas of the east represent the various Tibeto-Burman tribes included in the North-Assam branch and the Lohitic or Assam-Burmese branch of that race according to the modern classification. And we see Kālidāsa here applying the same name Kirāta to tribes belonging to the third great branch of that race, the Tibeto-Himalayan. Thus all the three branches of the Tibeto-Burman race were called Kirātas, which word therefore is the exact equivalent of our modern Tibeto-Burman. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that the ancient Indians recognised the affinity of the ancestors of the Tibetans and the Burmans. Anybody who compares the first ten numerals of the two languages may begin to perceive that.

The Kirātas of Kālidāsa were positively the Tibetans of Ladakh, Zaskar and Rupshu, and not those of Baltistan or Bolor, for they are mentioned after and not before the Ganges, which was to the east of Karakoram pass. Moreover the Tibetans had not occupied Bolor by Kālidāsa's time. That Kirāta wedge between the Indian territories of the Daradas and the Kāmbojas dates from the beginning of the early eighth century A.C.—just the time of the Arab wedge's penetration into Sind—when Indian kings like Lalitāditya and Yaśovarman, alarmed at their aggression, sought the alliance of the Chinese whose interests in Kan-su and the Chinese Turkestan and in the great highway connecting China with the West which passed through them, were equally threatened by the Tibetans' westward advance.

V. The Utsava-Saṅketas and the Kinnaras

Raghu's next encounter was against the mountaineer gaṇas, the Utsava-Saṅketas and the Kinnaras. Having defeated them and made the Kinnaras sing the stories of his victorious arms, he descended from the Himalayas without having gone to the Kailāsa mountain. The last information is important. In the northern

²² W. G. *Vāyu*, xlv, 82, *Viṣṇu*, II, iii, 8. *Mark*, lvii, 8.

conquests of Arjuna also as described in the *Mahābhārata*,²³ we find after the country of the Kimpuruṣas (i.e. Kinnaras), the Hātaka-deśa of the Guhyakas, and then lake Mānasa. Thus the country of Kinnaras or Kimpurusas was positively to the west of Kailāśa and lake Mānasa. I identify it with the modern Kanaur in the upper valley of the Sutlej where the headwaters of the Chandra-bhāgā approach very near it.

The Kinnaras are associated in Indian tradition with the Yakṣas and the Gandharvas. The modern Kanauri speech belongs to the Tibeto-Burman or the Kirāta sub-family, but it has, along with some other speeches of its immediate neighbourhood and of the eastern Nepal, of which one bears the significant name Yākhā, and all of which belong to the pronominalised Himalayan group, some very definite un-Tibeto-Burman features, in which particulars it closely agrees with the Munda languages.²⁴ Now this retaining of definitely un-Tibeto-Burman or even un-Tibeto-Chinese features in a territory surrounded by Tibeto-Burman languages should lead us to think that the languages originally belonged to the Austric family, of which the Munda is a branch, while the Tibeto-Burman features were super-imposed upon them later on. This process is going on before our own eyes.²⁵

Their Austric affinity makes us look towards eastern India. And there is reason to believe that the affinity was to some extent at least perceived by and known to our ancestors. For while in the epic literature the Yakṣas are generally associated with the Himalayas, in the Jātakas we find them in Ceylon and the islands of the Bay of Bengal.²⁶ According to late Mr. Pargiter this relation between the Himalayas and the eastern India is known even to the epics and the Purāṇas.²⁷ There is another indication, which I stumbled upon by chance, of the ancients' knowledge of the affinity between some at least of the different groups of the Austric family. In the *Rūparekhā* I have used the word Kirāta to convey our modern sense of Tibeto-Burman, and while dealing with the Munda races, though Munda is an Indian word, I proposed that in Indian vernaculars, wherein it is not yet established in its generic sense, the word Śābara may be a better substitute, for that name like the

²³ *Sabhāparvan*, ch. XXIX, verses 1-5.

²⁴ *L.S.I.*, I, i, pp. 58-59.

²⁶ *E.G.*, II, pp. 127 ff., IV, p. 160.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

²⁷ *A.I.H.T.*, p. 299.

Munda, while still retained by one member of the race, is much older in Indian literature than the latter, and is more popularly known. Having made this proposal I felt some curiosity if the name was ever used in ancient India in a generic sense, and in this connection found at least one instance suggesting that it might have been. The part of the Bay of Bengal from the gulf of Martaban to the strait of Malacca is called Sinus Sabaricus by Ptolemy, while we have the Indian Sābara country and the river Śābari on the borders of Orissa and Andhra, exactly facing it. The coast of the Sinus Sabaricus was inhabited by Mons or Talaings of the Mon-Khmer branch of the great Austric family, while the Indian Śābaras belong to the Munda branch of the same race. If the name Śābara pertained to units belonging to both these branches, its derivative Śābara may now be used to denote not only the Mundas, but the whole of the Austro-Asiatic sub-family. Howsoever that may be, what I wanted to derive at present is simply that the affinity of some units of the Austro-Asiatic race living at great distance from one another, could have been perceived by and known to our ancestors, and therefore we should take such words as Yakṣa generally to imply definite people of that race and not simply goblins. Of course, primarily they were names of human races, and their later popular sense was only secondary.

And if the Yakṣas were an Austro-Asiatic people, the Kinnaras were so. The same relation is proved by modern philology, which shows that they are related to each other and different from the Kirātas though their close neighbours. This identification of the Kinnara country is further supported by a passage of *Therī-Apadāna*, relating to the life of the Therī Sāma in a previous birth, when she was a Kinnarī in the epoch of the Buddha Vipassī, which begins:

चन्द्रभागा नदी तीरे चक्षुषि किन्नरी नदा ।²⁸

As to the Utsava-Saṅketas, their association with the Kinnaras shows that they were the ancestors of modern speakers of Manchāṭī, Chamba Lāhulī, Bunān, Rangloi and Kanāshi, small dialects belonging to the same group and neighbourhood as Kanauri, and lying between Kanauri and the Kirāta district of Rupshu.

²⁸ Quoted in *Paramatthadīpuni*, Dhammapāla's commentary on the *Therī-gāthā*, XXIX (P.T.S. ed., pp. 45-46)

The expression Utsava-Sanketa, according to an interpretation cited by Pargiter from a commentary of the Raghuvamśa, is not a name, but a sociological term denoting 'people who have no marriage and practise promiscuous intercourse, Utsava meaning affection and Sanketa a gesture of invitation' ²⁹ This piece of information about the social condition of those northern people further supports my identification of them, as it tallies well with the looseness of marriage-forms still prevalent in Kanaur and its neighbourhood.

We have thus traced the whole northern route of Raghu in the mountains, and before I consider its effects upon our estimate of Kālidāsa's ideals, I will discuss some other hitherto misty points of Indian history upon which these identifications shed a new light.

VI. *Digression A.—Mauryan boundary-line to the North, and Aśoka's connection with Khotan*

The precise boundaries of Kambojadeśa now being known, the northern boundary-line of the Maurya empire can be drawn pretty accurately. So far it has been taken to have run along the Band-i-Baba and Hindukush ranges from Herat eastwards, while there were doubts as to how far it penetrated into the interior of the Himalayas. Now it has gone not only across the snow-line of the Himalayas to the north of Kashmir, but across the Hindukush and the Pamirs to lake Rangkul (the Dragon lake of the Buddhist pilgrims) and along Rangkul Pamir down westwards to the confines of Bactria. For Kāmboja was included in the Mauryan 'विजित' territories. Nay, we have to go further.

Tradition has long asserted Aśoka's connection with Khotan. A country Nābhaka is mentioned in his Rock Edict XIII. Dr. Hultzsch in a note on that inscription has cited a reference of the *Brahma-Purāṇa* mentioning a city Nābhakapura in the Uttara Kurus.³⁰ The latter, though a country wrapped up in myth, has been located along the Thian Shan mountains on the confines of Scythia and the original country of the Hūnas.³¹ Thus Nābhaka would seem to have been a country in Serindia, and its mention in the thirteenth rock edict would seem to be a piece of epigraphic evidence in support of Aśoka's connection with Khotan as asserted by

²⁹ Mark, P., p. 31d.

³⁰ C.I.I., I, p. XXXIX.

³¹ Vide Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar's paper referred to above.

tradition. I mentioned this fact to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, whom I regard as my *guru*, early in 1929, when I also noted it in my MS. of the *Rūparekhā*. Now the discovery of the real Kāmboja has brought the boundary-line of the Mauryas at least so far as the river Sita, from which down to Khotan city it is some four days' easy ride in plain country which the valley of the Sita opens into. Besides, while we know that Nābhaka country was included in Aśoka's territories, we cannot find it anywhere to the south of the Himālayas, while we have an indication to look for it somewhere in Serindia. Should we not consider Aśoka's connection with Khotan as almost established now?

VII. Digression B.—Arjuna's Conquest of the North The *Ṛṣikas* or *Yue-chi* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*

Having traced the route of Raghu's northern conquests, I made an attempt on those of Arjuna, as described in the *Mahābhārata*, with the result that I found out the *Ṛṣikas* or the great *Yue-chi* there in their original home.

Arjuna's conquest of the North forms the subject of the first three chapters of the *Digvijayaparvan*, being chapters XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX of the *Sabhāparvan*, each chapter describing one separate march in one direction. We are introduced to the first march thus:

यद्यौ तदा वशे कर्तुमुदीचीं पाण्डुनन्दनः ।

XXVII, 8.

The remaining verses of the first chapter describe his conquests beginning from 'Kuliṅga-viṣaya' (9)³² and ending at *Prāgjyotiṣa* (16-18). 'Kuliṅga' is clearly a mistake for *Kulinda*,³³ the *Kylindrine* of Ptolemy, i.e. the hilly region from the Beas to the Tons, the country of the *Kunindas* of the coins. They lived due north of the *Pāṇḍava* kingdom of Delhi, in its immediate neighbourhood. The countries intervening between *Kulinda-viṣaya* and *Prāgjyotiṣa* seem to have been only three. They were: *Sālvapura* of the *Sālva rāja* (10), *Dyumatsena* by name (11), *Kata deśa* where king *Sunābha* ruled (12), and *Śākaladvīpa* a large territory as it consisted of seven *dvīpas* or *doabs* ruled by many kings (14). I cannot identify any

³² Figures in brackets indicate Nos. of verses.

³³ Cf. *Pārgiter's note, Mark, P.*, p. 316.

one of these except indicating their general position in an order from west to east along or amid the Himalayas from the Tons to the Sun-Kosi.

The next chapter opens with a similar introductory remark again :

प्रययावत्तरां तस्मादिष्टं धनदपास्तितान् ।

XXVIII, 2,

and describes, as we shall presently see, Arjuna's conquests in the Himālayas west of Kulinda-visaya. It would appear as if the 'northern quarter protected by the lord of wealth' was especially the western portion of that quarter. Here we are first told in what I take to be generic terms that Arjuna conquered the Antargiri, the Bahirgiri, and the Upagiri (3). I take these terms to correspond exactly to our modern Inner-most range, Inner range and Outer range or the Great Himalaya range, the Lesser Himalaya range and the Sub-Himalayas. Follow the details. He goes to and defeats king Brhanta, a resident of Ulūka after a great battle (5-9). Then having easily over-powered Senābindu (10) and perhaps two other kings (11), he reaches the northern Ulūkas (11) and fixing his seat there sends his men to conquer the country of the five gaṇas (12). He turns back to Devaprastha, the capital of Senābindu, and hence a place between the northern and the southern Ulūkas, and makes his army-camp there (13). From that base he attacks and invests the capital of king Paurava (14), which he takes possession of after defeating in battle the garrison of the brave mountaineers (15). Then he subdues the seven 'dasyu' Utsava-Sanketa gaṇas (16), and proceeds to and conquers Kāsmīra and the ten districts of Lohita (17).

Here we may pause for a moment, for the Utsava-Saṅketa gaṇas are familiar to us. Between them and a point mid-way between the northern and the southern Ulūkas was only the kingdom of Paurana. Ulūka here seems to me to be a mistake for Kulūta,³⁴ the modern Kullu, and the kingdoms of Paurava would have been probably in Chamba.

³⁴ I could not consult Dr. Sukhthankar's text for *variae lectiones* if any on this point. The only edition available in the libraries of Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta, Kashi Vidyapitha and the Benares Skt. College where I prepared notes for this paper was Kumbhakonam's with Sorensen's Index.

On his way to Kaśmīr and Lohita, the Trigartas or the modern Kangra, Dārvas or the modern Dugar, the country of the Dogras, and Kokanadas submitted themselves (18), but Abhisārī or the modern Chhibhāl, the district around Rajauri and Punch, and Uragā, evidently a mistake for Uraśā, the modern Hazara, had to be conquered (19) and Simhapura or the capital of the Salt range had to be overtaken with great force (20). These were all districts adjoining Kaśmīra to east, south and west. Further we are told of the conquest of Sumha and Cola (21) which seems to be a clear mistake. I cannot definitely say what Loh⁴ta means, but most probably Afghanistan or Roh³⁵ is meant by it, for in the next verse (22) we are taken to Bālhika or Bactria, the direct route to which lay through it. But this interpretation is not without a difficulty, for Lohas are again mentioned (25) north-east-wards after Kām-bhojas. At present I cannot say who these later Lohas were.

From Bāhhika Arjuna turns east towards the Daradas and the Kāmbojas (23). Then, we are told in very clear terms that he conquered those Dasyus who lived in the east-north quarter and in forest (24). These were the Lohas, the Parama (i.e. the distant) Kāmbojas and the Ṛṣikas (25). A very fierce battle was fought in the country of the Ṛṣikas (26), after which they submitted and Arjuna brought as trophy from their country—eight horses of the complexion of a parrot's belly (शक्रोदरसम्पन्) (27). Having thus conquered the whole of Himavat mountain (28), he returned to Śveta Parvata (28), and crossing it reached the Kimpurusa country (Ch. XXIX, 1).

With this begins his third and the last great march, a mid-northern march as it should be styled, from Kanaur to lake Mānasa and then through Harivarsa and the mid-country Ilāvṛta, northwards (15) to the Mt. Meru, from where he first goes west and then turning back to Ilāvṛta goes east to, amongst others, the country of the Taṅkaṇas (44), the Taṅkaṇas of the mediæval inscriptions whose capital was near Badrinath. From that point he starts again on what appears to be a circuitous northern route emerging finally in Uttara Kurus (63-70).

³⁵ Elsewhere (*Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Patrikā*, III), I have shown that in a Skt. inscription of the 15th century we find mention of Rohelā Rajputs, long before the Rohilla Pathans of the later Mughal period.

For the present I have not attempted the third course, and have confined my attention only to the second which is almost identical with Raghu's northern march.

A special interest attaches to the name of the *Ṛṣikas*, for this is, as we shall presently see, the original Aryan name of the famous people whom till now we know by their Chinese appellation *Yue-chi*. They were, according to the *Mahābhārata*, fierce warriors, and their country lay to the north-east of the *Daradas* and the *Kāmbhojas*. These latter should have been in the northern-most Pamirs, as the first *Kāmbhojas* are bracketed along with the *Daradas*, from whose country the *Lohas*, *Parama Kāmbhojas* and *Ṛṣikas* were east-north. There is a *Ghalchā* dialect called *Yaghnobi* near the source of the *Zarafshan* to the north of the Pamirs and separated from them, viz. from the territory of the other *Ghalchā* dialects by some hill-states in *Bokhara* jurisdiction. There is some doubt as to its being *Ghalchā* for some scholars consider it to be of the *Ossetic* family³⁶. But if it is really a *Ghalchā* dialect, it is just probable that it may denote the country of the '*Parama*' *Kāmbhojas* mentioned here. Howsoever it may be, we get for the *Ṛṣikas* a position exactly where the original home of the *Yue-chi* is known to have been.

The history of the *Yue-chi* in its Chinese version is closely connected with that of the *Ta-hia*. The *Yue-chi* are said to have become the rulers of the *Ta-hia* in *Bactria* in second century B.C. The identity of this people with the *Ta-hia*, who in the oldest period of Chinese history lived in the desert on the confines of China, has been proved by *Marquart* and *Francke*. Some of the greatest authorities on Central Asian history have further identified them with the *Tokharas* of the Arab or the *Tochari* of the classical writers, which in fact is a natural consequence of the first identification. Closely related to these is *Dr. Sten Konow's* further equation of the *Yue-chi* of the Chinese writers with the *Asiani* of *Strabo* or *Asiani* of *Pompeius Trogus*.³⁷ He considers the statement of the latter writer that the *Asiani* became kings of the *Tochari* as equivalent to the statement of the Chinese historians that the *Yue-chi* conquered the *Ta-hia*.

³⁶ *L. S. I.*, X, pp. 455-456.

³⁷ *On the Ind.-Scythian dynasties and their place in the history of civilisation*. *Modern Review*, April, 1921.

The close relation between the Tukhāras and the Yue-chi has been known and its exact nature been a matter for speculation and investigation since the days of Lassen, V. de St.-Martin and Yule. Its true nature has been suggested, in my view, by the shrewd observation of the illustrious Swedish savant that the language which the Uigurs called Tokhari is called in its own manuscripts Ārsi, and though the two names represented different tribes, yet the name of the latter was applied to the former exactly in the way in which the name of a Zentonic tribe, the Franks, was applied to a nation of Latino-Keltic blood and its speech, or as that of another Norse tribe, the Ros, to a Slavonic people and their language.³⁸

Thus if the equations Asiāni=Yue-chi and Tukhāra=Ta-hia were true, it could be easily explained why the speech of the Tukhāras was called Ārsī. It received the name from that of the ruling clan of the Tukhāras. The missing link is now supplied by the passage of the Mahābhārata, which places the Rśikas exactly where the Yue-chi are known to have lived before they started on their eventful migrations, and which therefore dates from a period not later than, say, 176 B.C. when the Hiung-nu king, Moduk sent the news to the Chinese emperor of his having conquered the country of the Yue-chi and driven them westwards. The derivation of the name Ārsī is thus fully explained, and we have found out the real name of the tribe which directed the destinies of high Asia for centuries, and gave Kaniska to civilisation.

VIII. Kālidāsa's ideal of India's National unity

Let us now revert to Kālidāsa. In the first introductory chapter of the *Rūparekhā* I had to mark India's natural boundaries. I accepted the dictum of the Purānas that India stretched from the Cape Comorin to the source of the Ganges,³⁹ and from that source eastwards up to the river Lohit I traced the border-line along the most natural frontier, the snow-line of the Himalayas. Of course, our ancestors included in the Himalayas what the modern geographers call the Zaskar range and the Ladak range beyond the great Himalaya range; even the source of the Ganges according to modern terminology is in the Zaskar range. Westwards the boundary goes along the same snow-line, but only up to Zajī-la pass to the north

³⁸ Op. cit.

³⁹ *Vāyu Purāṇa*, XLV, 81.

of Amaranath in Kashmir, whence the ethnic border of India, which includes the Darada country turns north-east to a point on the watershed of the Indus and the Shyok. It was while trying to trace it further that I stumbled upon the equation *Ghalchā*=*Kāmboja*, and skirting round the proper Afghan country which is historically a part of India I made the boundary-line pass by *Hingulāja Tirtha* ⁴⁰ on the Hingol down to the Ras Malan on the Arabian sea.

Now after the northern route of Raghu was fully traced out I found to my most agreeable surprise that his whole course on east, south, west and north ran precisely along the borders of India as I had marked them, with this difference that I had included Ceylon in and excluded Bolor from India. *Kālidāsa* reminded me that Bolor formed a part of India in ancient history, and in that particular I corrected and rounded off my boundaries.

It is to be noticed that unlike the *Mahābhārata* and for the sake of brevity, *Kālidāsa* refers only to the border-states and countries, never making any mention of the interior. But his border-line indicates precisely what the moderns call the 'scientific' frontiers of India determined by the modern sciences of geography, history, philology and ethnology. We cannot but wonder at the far-seeing perception of the great poet. Clearly he had the ideal of India's national unity in his mind, and believed in and preached a strong frontier policy.

It has generally been taken for granted that the imagination of *Kālidāsa* was stirred by the successes of Chandragupta II and Samudragupta, an echo of whose conquests is to be heard in Raghu's *digvijaya*. Apart from such references in his works, as to the *Trikūṭa* kingdom of *Koṅkaṇa* and to the *Hūnas* of the upper Oxus valley, which offer the true criterion for his date, scholars have woven a network of arguments from what they allege to be allegorical references to the Gupta emperors in *Kālidāsa's* works. It is as fine and elaborate and at the same time as strong or weak as a spider's web; for can we not conceive things in an exactly opposite direction? Could not the far-reaching idealistic vision of a poet-prophet have aroused the energies of active statesmen and soldiers? Could

⁴⁰ For which see *Devī Bhāgavata*, P., VII, 38; *Brahmavaivarta*, P. (*Kṛṣṇajana-makhanda*), LXXVI. Hindu pilgrims starting from Karachi on camels still visit it.

not a literary renaissance have been the fore-runner of a political regeneration, and a poet be the harbinger of what Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar would call the Vikramādityan revival? The genius of Kālidāsa felt ages ago through inborn intuition that unity of India which we after a century and half of modern indological research can only vaguely perceive.

If the tracing of Raghu's northern course as worked up here can lead to this right appreciation of the great poet's idealism, I will consider this paper to have achieved its object.

MANER AND ITS HISTORICAL REMAINS.

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I.

Maner, a village about twenty miles west of Patna. is a place of great historical and archæological interest. It is situated between the District Board road which runs from Patna to Bihta on the one side and the river Son on the other. The great river once flowed just beneath it but has since receded two or three miles away to the west, leaving a dry bed of sand ; but during the rainy season, its waters still touch the foot of the great mound on the north-west which once was the citadel of Maner. Situated on a high strip of land, and enshrined among mango and guava groves, the climate of Maner is cool and healthy ; and with its great *pucca* tank flanked by the beautifully situated Inspection Bungalow on the one side and the noble edifice of Chhoti Dargah on the other, it is one of the finest beauty spots in the District of Patna and well worth a visit.

The greater part of Maner is now in ruins ; but it must have been a large and well-populated town in ancient times ; as its remains, scattered over a large area, indicate. It is at present the centre of a Pargana with a Police Station, a Post-office and a Charitable Dispensary attached to it ; but in ancient Persian records it is invariably mentioned as a 'Balda', i.e. a town ; and old legal documents refer to its Adalat-ul-Alia, a High Court, with signatures of two Qazis on them, which points out unmistakably to the fact that during the Muhammadan period, it must have been a place of great political importance. It was more or less an important place during the Hindu period also ; for in the account of the conquest of Bihar by the Muhammadans, the historians mention Maner along with Bihar as a separate entity. This importance of Maner was, no doubt, due to its topography. Situated just at the junction of the two great rivers, the Ganges and the Son, it was on the high way of commerce and must have been a trade centre ; while with a high and strong fortress on the river side to protect it, it must have commanded a position of great strategic importance in those times.

It is difficult to trace the origin of Maner. Farishta declares, on what authority we do not know, that the town was founded by Feroz Rai, son of Kesho Rai, who was a descendant of Noah, eight degrees removed. So, it appears probable that its origin dates back to some Pre-Christian era, and it is not unlikely that it was a centre of Buddhistic culture, for, the local tradition says it contained some temples thousands of years old, which were demolished by the Muslim conquerors. We have a few mutilated remains of that period left, such as the stone Lion called Singh Sadaul, near the north-eastern entrance of the Bari Dargah. The lower jaw of the lion is gone, while the elephant held between its fore-paws has lost its trunk.

The early history of Maner is shrouded in the dark. Its earliest mention is in connection with the conquest of Bihar and Bengal by Bakhtiyar Khilji. It is commonly believed that Bakhtiyar was the first man who opened Bihar for the Muslims, and that before him no Muslim invader had stepped on the sacred soil of Magadha. According to the local tradition, however, Maner was first conquered by Sultan Mahmud's men, and the grave of Prince Tajuddin Khandgah said to be Sultan Mahmud's nephew, in the courtyard of Bari Dargah, also lends strength to this story. Whether Maner was conquered in Sultan Mahmud's time or in the time of his successors, it is certain that it had fallen under the sway of the Muhammadans long before Bakhtiyar Khilji came. There exists a copperplate in the possession of a Brahmin in Maner, named Rijhangir, which throws some light on this point. This copperplate was produced in a court as a piece of evidence and was brought to the notice of Professor (now Sir) Jadu Nath Sarkar who translated it into English. He made over the translation and the transcript of the said copperplate to late Pandit Ramavtar Sharma of Patna College, who got it published with his foreword and translation and the transcript of the same in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Volume II, Part 4 (1916). This copperplate records the grant of a village Padali in the Pattala (Division) of Maniyara (Maner) to a Brahmin by king Govinda Chandra of Kanauj (Grandfather of Jaya Chandra, the well-known rival of Prithvi Rāja) and is dated 1126 A.D. Among other things, the plate has the following :—

‘Obedient to my command, you shall give all dues as given now including the revenue, the trade duties and the Turk's duty.’

Professor Sharma in his foreword expressed his surprise at the mention of 'Turk's duty', and it is really incompatible with facts heretofore known. It is well-known that Bakhtiyar Khilji, the so-called first Muslim conqueror of Bihar, came here in 1197 A.D. but seventy years before this date the people of Maner were paying Turk's duty as a regular payment like other State dues such as trade duties and the revenue. It may not consistently be argued that this might be a sort of blackmail exacted by the Turks during their sporadic incursions: for, the very mention of it along with the most important State dues, namely, the trade duty and the revenue, at once takes it out of the casual and places it on the basis of a regular and permanent State duty. In the light of these facts we are driven to only one conclusion, namely, that long before Bakhtiyar's advent in Bihar, some part of the Province including Maner had fallen under a sort of suzerainty of the Turks (the Ghaznavite emperors) who used to receive regular tribute from these places.

The local traditions of Maner say that at this time a single Muslim used to live in this place. His name was Hazrat Momin Arif. He was an Arab by race and had migrated from his native country Yemen to India and settled in Maner. He is regarded as a great saint and a large section of the inhabitants of Maner trace their descent from him. His grave lies to the north-west of the Inspection Bungalow in Maner. The Raja of Maner, probably a feudatory Chief, had a religious antipathy to this peaceful and holy denizen of his realm and began to persecute him in various ways so that he might depart from his dominions. When life at Maner became intolerable to him, he left for the Muslim world and told the tale of his persecution wherever he went. Here perhaps it may not be out of place to suggest that this Momin Arif was probably a representative of the Ghaznavite rulers to receive duty and that when the Ghaznavite rule grew weak the Raja tried to stop payment by persecuting and driving him out. To resume, however, the narrative, he arrived ultimately to the centre of Islam, i.e. Madina, and there Hazrat Taj Faqih, an inhabitant of Jerusalem, joined him with his party and they returned to India. On their way to India they were supported and joined by many Muslim warriors and princes till their small party swelled into a fairly large army. This army entered India through the usual route from the north-west and passed quietly through the greater part of India till it arrived

at the boundary of the dominions of the Raja of Maner, which is said to be the river Karamnasa near Buxar, on the western side. It may be objected how this army of Muslim warriors could penetrate into the heart of Hindu India without coming into conflict with anyone of the then ruling kings. The reply is that this was really an army of Dervishes and Mendicants rather than soldiers, with their peculiar dresses and ways of life and might have been taken to be a caravan of Dervishes travelling to the east. But why even they were allowed to pass is explained by the fact that Sultan Mahmud's campaigns in India, though usually described as merely looting expeditions, were not really of this nature and had permanently opened Northern India to the Muslim travellers and religious propagandists. Besides, some time after this Bakhtiyar Khilji also over-ran Bihar and Bengal with a ludicrously small party of soldiers. So it is evident that there was practically no resistance to the invaders. Any way, it is said that when this army crossed the Karamnasa, it was met with the Raja's forces and fought a pitched battle with them. The Raja's army was routed and hotly chased to the very gates of Maner. There the Raja made his final stand, and after a brave struggle was defeated and killed. The large number of the graves of Shahids (Muslim Martyrs) at Maner proves to a certainty that the resistance offered by the Raja was very great and the Muslims got possession of Maner after the greater part of the Raja's army was destroyed. The fort was dismantled, and its site is now indicated by the great mound on the north-west of Maner which probably still contains many archaeological treasures within its womb. The great temple, reputed to be thousands of years old, was razed to the ground, and later on, Bari Dargah was built on its ruins. The broken lion statue at its gate was left to celebrate the Muslim victory to the future generations. The house of the Raja in the fort was also taken possession of and converted to the use of the conquerors. The male apartment of it, now known as Rivaq, is said to consist of a large colonnade having forty stone pillars out of which only a few are now left, and a piece of stone called Takia is still pointed out, attached to one of the pillars, where Hazrat Taj Faqih, the leader of the Muslim army, reclined a little after his victory and washed his sword. The date of this victory which marks the permanent establishment of Muslim rule in Maner is contained in the chronogram *شَد دین مَعبد قوی* (Tr. the religion of

Muhammad has been strengthened) which is equal to 576 A.H. (1180 A.D.). The very wording of this chronogram indicates that this was not the first conquest of Maner by the Muslims. This event happened seventeen years before Bakhtiyar Khilji came. It appears that the victory of the Muslims in Maner was not of a very local character, for, we find several comrades of Hazrat Taj Faqih to have fallen and buried in places quite far off from Maner; for example, Shah Burhan Roshan Shahid is buried in village Kumhrar south of Patna, and Chandan Shahid is buried on a hillock in Sasaram. So, Bakhtiyar must have found it smooth work to run over the greater part of Bihar, as history proves.

It is stated that after Maner was conquered and Muslim rule established there, Hazrat Taj Faqih left his sons and grandsons to rule over it and himself went back to Madina. Hazrat Makhdum Yahya was one of his grandsons, and came to rule Maner in his turn. But he was very much given to Sufistic devotion, and when a Muslim conqueror arrived at Maner, he made over the kingdom to him and retired into a private life of devotion and mystical practices. Now, who can this conqueror be? Hazrat Makhdum Yahya died in 690 A.H. (1291 A.D.) as indicated by the chronogram *مخدوم*. He is said to have lived about 110 years. Thus in the year 1197, the year which saw Bakhtiyar Khilji enter Bihar, he was about sixteen years old, and in his youthful ardour for religious devotion, he might have made over the kingdom of Maner to him. Since then, his whole family adopted the life of religious devotees and produced a large number of well-known saints. His son was the celebrated saint Hazrat Makhdum Sharafuddin Ahmad of Bihar who is regarded almost as great as Khwaja Moinuddin of Ajmere. His father-in-law was Shaikh Shahabuddin, also known as Pir-Jag Jot, the famous saint buried in Kachi Dargah, east of Patna; and one of his sisters-in-law was Bibi Kamalo, the well-known female saint, who rests in the village Kako, District Gaya. Hazrat Makhdum Shah Daulat, whose remains lie in the beautiful mausoleum, called Chhoti Dargah in Maner, was one of his descendants in the eighth degree. In fact all the holy orders of saints in Bihar, whether at Phulwari-sharif, Bihar-sharif or elsewhere, trace their descent, lineal or spiritual, to this one great source of spiritualism.

II.

Though the tombs of the saints and other archæological remains connected with Maner lie scattered over a very large area extending many miles on all sides, yet the most important of these are the two Dargahs, the Bari Dargah and the Chhoti Dargah, and the beautiful tank that lies at their feet; and so they claim our attention first. Before, however, I give a description of these I must relate briefly the life story of the man who was mainly responsible for the construction of these fine works. It was Ibrahim Khan Kakar. He was an Afghan by race, and was a disciple of Hazrat Makhdum Shah Daulat of Maner. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, the renowned general of Akbar and Governor of Gujrat, also was a disciple of the same saint. Ibrahim was a poor man and in very straitened circumstances. Once, he was recommended by the saint to Khan Khanan who took him along with himself to Gujrat and employed him in his army. Ibrahim proved his worth and valour, rose in the Imperial service, and in Emperor Jahangir's time, the title of Dilawar Khan was conferred on him. He remained during the rest of the life in Kishtawar and Gujrat, and did excellent service there; as has been mentioned in the Memoirs of Jahangir. He died in 1028 A.H. (1619 A.D.). While in Gujrat, he planned the construction of the tank and the mausoleums at Maner and deputed a certain engineer, Tangur Kuli Khan of Badakshan, to make the project and prepare the drawings of the proposed buildings. This engineer made his plans, and probably started the construction of the tank, but he did not live long enough to see his whole project materialise. Ibrahim Khan Kakar was, however, more fortunate in this respect; for he saw the construction of all his proposed buildings, so close to his heart, fairly started; though he also died before the completion of the best of them. He died in the year 1619 A.D., as mentioned before and was buried beside his spiritual guide, Hazrat Makhdum Shah Daulat of Maner.

1. *The Tank*

It is a very big tank covering an area of many acres of land. According to the traditions, this tank was *cutcha* during the Hindu period, and a large temple overlooked it on the eastern side. It was beautifully designed and made *pucca* with masonry and stone, during the Muhammadan period, under the orders of Ibrahim Khan Kakar. My father, who was a very good architect and engineer, used

to say that during his extensive travels throughout India he never saw a tank more beautifully designed. It is rectangular in shape, stretching north and south. It is connected with the river Son on its north-western corner by a subterranean channel about six feet in diameter, and during rainy season, draws the greater part of its supply of water from the river Son through the same channel. All the four sides of the tank, throughout their entire length, are made *pucca* with masonry work, the upper portion having the form of walls, while the lower portion, from the water line downwards, consisting of stairs or steps going to a great depth and running parallel to the four walls throughout their entire length. In the middle of each side, is a beautiful *ghat* consisting of projected steps and a small two-storied building, the ground floor touching the water line and the first floor on a level with the road. The lower story is a masonry building consisting of two separate rooms on the two sides of the *ghat*, while the upper story has two beautiful canopies, each on one of the lower rooms, consisting of stone pillars with a domed roof on them and open on all sides. These buildings at the four *ghats* are not only very useful and convenient to the bathers, but are also fine places for fishing, picnic and pleasure parties. We can very well imagine that during its palmy days, this tank with its *ghats* and canopies, must have afforded ample pleasure to the inhabitants of Maner. But it is to be regretted that now, a great part of this fine tank is in ruins; some of the canopies and *ghats* have disappeared, others are slowly yielding to the ravages of time, and unless great efforts are made to preserve it, it will not be long before it becomes a pit with a heap of ruins on all sides. A road runs on three sides of the tank, and beyond the road there is high ground or mound on each side, forming a base for the buildings that stand on it. On the eastern side is Bari Dargah; on the west a few tombs; on the north the fine shrine of Chhoti Dargah and on the south the Inspection Bungalow of the District Board.

2. Bari Dargah

Bari Dargah claims our attention first, not only because of its name, but also because it is of very ancient origin and is regarded as the most sacred of all the shrines at Maner. If you want to enter the Dargah from the tank side, a long flight of steps will take you to its door facing the west. It has, however, another door on the

northern side, and outside the door there are some tombs and the lion statue called Singh Sadaul mentioned above. The building consists of a very extensive boundary wall with many tombs inside, and a Mosque on the west, and a small varandah on the north. This is called Bari Dargah (the great shrine) because the great saint Hazrat Makhdum Yahya of Maner, the same who, during his early career, made his kingdom over to a Muslim conqueror, and who, later on, became the father of such an illustrious son as Hazrat Makhdum Sharafuddin of Bihar, lies buried there. The visitor will observe, just east to the Mosque, a small platform surrounded by a railing containing a few tombs, one of which is the tomb of the great saint mentioned above. There is no canopy or dome over his tomb, for it was his express desire that the vault of heaven only was to serve as a canopy over his grave. The construction of the Dargah was undertaken centuries after his death. Before the erection of the building of the Dargah, the ground was probably a mound consisting of the heap of ruins of the great temple of the Raja of Maner, which was razed to the ground by the Muslim conquerors, and on this mound was Hazrat Makhdum Yahya buried after his death in 1292 A.D. The tradition that Bari Dargah was erected on the site of a great temple appears to be correct. The stone lion called Singh Sadaul looks very like a piece of sculpture usually found at the gate of large temples, and probably in times of vore, it used to keep watch at the gate of the great temple, as it now does, at the gate of Bari Dargah. Within the courtyard of the Dargah, there are certain stone pillars which appear to be of very ancient origin, look like remnants of a demolished building and apparently serve no useful purpose there. Probably these pillars also were left to point out that there was a temple there. During my enquiry, I learnt that formerly there were several pillars of this type, but some of them were removed by unscrupulous persons and only a few of them are now left. Then, the stone-lintel of the northern gate also deserves attention. It is a very solid and thick piece of granite stone, and has certain grooves in it, which show it was formerly a base or platform on which some other piece of stone (may be a statue) was fixed; and from underneath this stone peeps another black stone looking very like a carved piece of stone, and may be the statue itself put there by the bigoted builders to be permanently trodden by visitors. It is, however, a mere guess and cannot be ascertained or verified unless the

lintel-stone is removed from its place. Due south from Hazrat Makhdum Yahya's tomb, is the tomb of Prince Tajuddin Khandgah, said to be a scion of Sultan Mahmud's family. Outside the northern gate, there is an open Mosque said to be built by two Khwaja Saras (eunuch chamberlains) of a king of Delhi, who were later on, buried there at their express injunction, saying that as they had spent their whole life at the court of a temporal king, they wanted, after death, to be attached to the court of a spiritual king.

The main Mosque already mentioned is a three-domed building with a *pucca* platform outside. The Mosque is in a very dilapidated condition, and almost on the point of crumbling down to the ground. This Mosque and the boundary-wall of Bari Dargah were built under the orders of the same Ibrahim Khan Kakar who effected the construction of the tank and the Chhoti Dargah. The inscription at the door of the Mosque gives 1014 A.H. (1606 A.D.) as the date of its construction, and runs as follows:—

ای خوش آنکس کاندربین دار فنا	کشت احسان کاشت در کشت بقا
خاصه کو کرده بنائی مسجدی	بر طریق کعبه بیت الهدی
همچنین بر مرقد سلطان دس	شیخ یحیی سر گروه اولیا
ساخت ابراهیم خان کاکر ز دل	مسجد عالی بنا بهر خدا
بندد عاصی چو در تاریخ آن	جستجو بنموده و میرد دست و پا
ناگهان در گوش هوش او سروش	بهر این دار الامان دوسرا
گفت این مصراع از الهام عیب	”کرد ابراهیم بیت الله بنا“

سنه ۱۰۱۴ هـ

“Happy is he, who in this mortal world,
Sowed the seed of goodness in the field of eternity.

Specially he, who built a Mosque

Like Kaaba, the House of the True Path.

Similarly, on the tomb of the King of Faith,

Shaikh Yahya, the leader of God's Friends,

Ibrahim Khan Kakar devoutly built

A noble Mosque for God's sake.

The slave Asi, in search for its chronogram

Made attempts and tried his wits,

When, suddenly, an angel in his ear of wisdom,

For this sanctuary of the two worlds,

Said this line through inspiration:—

‘Abraham built the House of God’.”

This inscription expressly mentions Ibrahim Khan Kakar, and in the closing line which forms the chronogram, there is a pun on his name, for he happens to be the name-sake of Prophet Abraham who first built the House of God in Mecca. This pun has been preserved in other inscriptions of Mosques built by Ibrahim Khan Kakar as we shall later on see. Another name, Asi, also occurs in this inscription. This is the poet who composed the inscription. He is said to be an inhabitant of Sandila, near Lucknow, and was contemporary with Ibrahim Khan Kakar, and his fellow disciple of Hazrat Makhdum Shah Daulat of Maner.

3. *Chhoti Dargah*

This is by far the finest and grandest mausoleum in Maner. It is on the northern side of the tank. It stands on a very extensive, high, square platform enclosed in high brick walls which rise up to the level of the platform, with octagonal turrets at the corners and the entrance, and presents the imposing appearance of a fortress. In the middle of the platform stands the main building, the shrine of Hazrat Makhdum Shah Daulat, a very great saint among the descendants of Hazrat Makhdum Yahya, and the spiritual guide of Khan Khana and Ibrahim Khan Kakar. The latter also is sleeping with his master under the same dome in this shrine. The mausoleum is a square building constructed entirely of stone, which according to the local tradition, was brought all the way from Gujrat for the construction of this building. It is a fine quality sand-stone and has preserved the greater part of the carving done into it several centuries ago. The building consists of a central room opening southward, with varandahs running on all the four sides. The plinth of the building is about four feet high. The central room is covered with a large central dome. The varandahs have flat roofs with four smaller domes at the four corners. The building is a beautiful piece of architecture, both in its conception and execution. It is bold and majestic in outline, and perfect in detail; and is a fine specimen of Indo-Saracenic, or, what may more particularly be termed, Moghal style. The central room is enclosed by walls which contain fine lattice-work in stone, and its great dome is supported on eight pilasters which are equally distributed in the four walls of the room, the base of the dome thus being octagonal in shape. The ceilings of the varandahs present fine carving work in stone, some

of them having large passages of the Quran carved out in them in fine Naskh characters, while others having beautiful floral designs. The varandahs are open outside and are supported on stone pillars. The whole building entirely made of stone, with fine carving and lattice-work, high plinth, long airy varandahs, stately domes. presents a magnificent and imposing appearance.

There are two inscriptions in this building, one indicating the date of the death of Hazrat Makhdum Shah Daulat of Maner, whose remains lie buried in this building, and the other indicating the date of the construction of the building. The inscription containing the chronogram which indicates the date of the saint's decease, is as follows :—

قطب اقطاب زمان قدوۀ دین آنکه از مهر و مه انور بودہ
شاه دولت کہ سوی عالم قدس چون ز گیتی بسر در بودہ
سال هجرتش خرد علمی بانث "وارث حال پیمبر بودہ"
سنہ ۱۰۱۷ھ

"The Holiest of the Holy saints of the time; the spiritual leader

Who was brighter than the moon and the sun;

Shah Daulat, who towards the world of spirits

Journeyed from this world.

His (death's) year of Hijra, the mind of Asi found out:

'He was the inheritor of the Prophet's state'."

The last line forms the chronogram and is equivalent to 1017 A.H. (1609 A.D.).

The other inscription indicative of the date of construction of the building is as follows :—

از بهر نثار این بنامی آباد از درج دلم دو در تاریخ فساد
اول شمر "روضۀ احباب" و دویم "مانند بہشت جاودان ایمن باد"
سنہ ۱۰۲۵ھ سنہ ۱۰۲۵ھ

"As an offering for this auspicious building,

Two pearls of chronogram fell down from the casket of my heart:

First, regard it as 'the garden of friends'; secondly

'May it remain safe like the eternal Heaven'."

Each of the last two lines gives out the date 1025 A.H. (1617 A.D.).

Just in front of the mausoleum, on the western side, stands the beautiful Mosque, centrally situated between the two long varandahs which run north and south along the whole length of the great platform. The most striking feature of the Mosque is the absence of the usual domes in it. Instead of domes, a long arched roof has been provided, the exterior of which has been beautifully moulded into a roof slanting thatch-like on both sides, while the interior reveals a fine arched ceiling which is supported on the pilasters that rise along the walls in relief and bend inwards, presenting an appearance of ribs in the ceiling. The designer of the building probably did not like to detract from the grandeur of the domed mausoleum, and so, designed a new type of roof for the Mosque. The inscription which this Mosque bears is as follows:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله اللهم صل على محمد و على آل محمد نارك
و سلم اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له و اشهد ان محمدا عبده و رسوله قال
الله تعالى "ان اول بيت وضع للناس للذي ببكة مباركا و هدى للعالمين فيه آيات
بينات مقام ابراهيم و من دخله كان آمنا و لله على الناس حج البيت من استطاع
اليه سبيلا و من كفر فان الله غلي عن العالمين" *

چو این عالی بنای کعبه ثمال جهان آرا بقیض صانع قادر تمامی اقتضا کرده
دل عامی همی جست ار خرد سال بنای او خرد گفتا "چو ابراهیم بیت الله بنا کرده"
سنه ۱۰۲۸ هـ

"In the name of God, kind and merciful. There is no God but Allah; Muhammad is his Prophet. O God, bless Muhammad and his progeny and make them fortunate and safe. I testify that there is no God except Allah the One Who has no equal; and I testify that Muhammad is His slave and Prophet. God, the Exalted, hath said:— ' Verily, the first house built for people which is in Mecca is auspicious and a guidance for the worlds. There are manifest signs in it, the place of Abraham, and he who entered it became safe. And for God's sake it is incumbent on people, who can afford to travel, to perform pilgrimage at this house; and whoever denied, then verily God is indifferent to the worlds.'

As this noble edifice, Kaba-like, world adorning,
Was completed by the grace of the Mighty Maker,

The heart of 'Asi asked his intelligence as to the year of its construction,
His intelligence said, 'Like Abraham he has built God's House'."

The last sentence above, enclosed within inverted commas, forms the chronogram and bears the date of 1028 A.H. (1619 A.D.), which is also the date of the death of Ibrahim Khan Kakar. The last portion of the inscription bearing the chronogram is in Persian verse, while the first portion is in Arabic prose, part of it, enclosed within inverted commas, being a quotation from the Quran (Chapter Al-'Imran).

The varandahs, running north and south, are supported on stone pillars and are open towards the east. At the southern-most corner, there is an underground cell, supposed to be the place where Hazrat Makhdum Shah Daulat used to retire for prayer and meditation. The turrets in the walls, already referred to, have stone lattices beautifully carved, and show other signs of artistic work, such as enamelled tiling in blue which has almost faded away. On the northern side, there is a grand entrance gate, beautifully designed after the usual Moghal style. A wide flight of stone steps from the ground leads to it, and the top portion of the gate has the following inscription:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله
كنت في فكر من هذا الباب	كان قلبي يحوله سكنا
قال عقلي على طريق الامر	قل "من دخله كان آمنا"

چو درین روضه مقدس شاه	روی زینت نهاده بر اتمام
سال تاریخ من ازو جستم	خردم بهر این خجسته مقام
بدعا لب کشوده و گفتا	"در دولت کشاده باد دوام"

"In the name of God, kind and merciful. There is no God but Allah: Muhammad is his Prophet.

I was thinking of the date of this gate,
My heart was living in its vicinity:
My intelligence said, by way of command,
Say, 'Whoever entered it is safe'.

When in this sacred shrine of the king
 The face of decoration was completed,
 I searched for its date ;
 My intelligence, for this auspicious place,
 Opened its lips in prayer and said :—
 ‘ May the gate of Daulat (Fortune) remain always open ’.”

The first part of the inscription is in Arabic, while the second part is in Persian. Both the Arabic and Persian passages are in verse, the last line of which, in each case, contains the chronogram giving the date 1032 A.H. (1622 A.D.).

4. *Other buildings around the tank*

Further west from Chhoti Dargah, across the passage from the village to the tank, is the tomb of Makhdum Shah Baran Malikul-Ulama, another well-known saint, who was the Pir of Sher Shah Sur. According to the local tradition, Makhdum Shah Baran once told Sher Shah that the throne of Delhi was vacant for him. Sher Shah took the hint and prepared for attacking Hamayun, who at this time happened to be away from his capital on a hunting trip. Sher Shah, however, took a long time in making his preparations, and when he proceeded to attack Hamayun, the latter had returned and was fully prepared to meet him. The result was that Sher Shah failed in his attempt and became furious that his Pir had made a false prediction. So, he returned to Maner and killed Makhdum Shah Baran. Later on, however, when he succeeded in wresting the throne of Delhi from Hamayun, he recollected the prediction of his Pir and repented of his hasty action. So he sent a large amount of money to his Pir's successor and asked for pardon. The latter, however, refused to take the money, but declared that, as Sher Shah was a just king, he would go to paradise after his death ; but for his great sin of killing his Pir, instead of burning in the fires of hell, he would burn to death in this world. And so it happened, for Sher Shah was burned by an explosion of his magazine while supervising the siege of the fort of Kalinjar and died shortly after.

On the western side of the tank, there are a few buildings of little importance. One of them is the tomb of Meer Qitai Abdal, who is said to be a nephew of Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani of Bagdad, a very great saint, known as Bara Pir Sahib. Another tomb, a

little west to the above, is that of Husain Khan who was one of the comrades of Hazrat Taj Faqih, and was a great wrestler. There is also an arena or wrestling ground at the foot of the tomb, supposed to be his wrestling ground, where even now the wrestlers go and offer prayer and homage when they first begin to learn wrestling. There is another tomb of Hazrat Jalal Maneri, a cousin to Hazrat Makhdum Yahya Maneri. There is also a small Mosque there, known as 'DHAI KANGURA KI MASJID' (Mosque of two and half minarets). Nothing more could be ascertained about this Mosque; and it is difficult to say when and by whom it was built.

5. Other buildings and tombs at Maner

At some distance on the north from the building mentioned above, there is on the plain ground, the tomb of Hazrat Momin Arif, about whom a good deal has already been said. It is a plain tomb without any building or canopy over it. The anniversary of Hazrat Momin Arif is celebrated in the month of Rabiul-Awal with due ceremonies every year.

South-east from the Inspection Bungalow, just at the point where the road from the Inspection Bungalow joins the main District Board road, is the tomb of Tangur Kuli Khan of Badahshan. He has already been referred to as the engineer who designed the tank, the Chhoti Dargah and other important buildings at Maner; though he did not live long enough to see their completion, for he died in the year 983 A.H. (1556 A.D.). His tomb is a beautiful construction. It is surrounded by an enclosure wall; on the western side there is a Mosque. The writer was informed that the tomb was formerly covered by a beautiful stone-canopy which, however, fell down by wear and tear of time; and the stones were removed by persons requiring them for private purposes. The inscription on the tomb gives the date mentioned above, and quotes the following two very pathetic lines from Saadi:—

دیرغا کہ بی ما بسی روزگار بر وید گل و بشگفت نو بهار
کسانیکہ از ما بغیب اندر اند بیانید و بر خاک ما بگذرند

“Alas! after us, for many a day,

Flowers will grow and the spring will bloom:

Those that are behind us, in the unknown,

Will come and pass over our dust.”

Between the tomb of Hazrat Momin Arif on the west and the tomb of Tangur Kuli Khan on the east, there are a few tombs on a raised ground in the south-east corner from the Inspection Bungalow. Two of these are more prominent and are frequently resorted to by the people supposed to be possessed by evil spirits. During the particular season of the year when a fair is held for the celebration of the marriage of the martyred Ghazi Mian, who is buried in Bahraich, but whose marriage is celebrated at the occasion of his anniversary all over the country as he died unmarried in the cause of his religion, a large number of people, mostly women-folk, visited by evil spirits, collect at Maner, and after making a plunge in the great tank, they rush to the above-mentioned tombs, with clothes dripping water, and there begin to show signs of possession by the spirit, on which the attendants of the tomb thrash them soundly and they are cured of their trouble. These two tombs under discussion are said to belong to two brothers named Haji Safiuddin and Haji Nizamuddin, while other tombs close by are those of their nine unknown comrades in the path of mysticism. But the inscription on the tomb-stone gives entirely a different story. It runs as follows:—

شہ محمود سلطان مہذب	بعہد اللہ کہ در عہد شہ انجب
جلیل الحق ز اقطاب مقرب	بہین مسجد کہ بدبانی اول
عمارت کرد باز از سر مرتب	چو حماد خطیر نو زیرست
بعصیت دار نیادش تو ای رب	ز ہجرت مقصد و ہشت و نود بود

“God be praised! for during the reign of the king of high lineage,

Shah Mahmud, the good-mannered Sultan,

The fine Mosque whose first founder was

Jalilul Haqq, one of the great Qutubs (Saints),

Hammad Khatir Bu-Zubair

Built the same afresh.

It was in the year 798 of Hijra;

O Lord keep its foundation safe.”

This inscription apparently belongs to a Mosque and is not, in its nature, an epitaph or anything of the kind. It says that a certain Jalilul Haqq, one of the great saints, first founded it. In the reign of Sultan Mahmud, however, it was re-built or completed.

by a certain Hammad Khatir Bu-Zubair. Now, this Sultan Mahmud can be no other than Sultan Mahmud Tughlaq, who ascended the throne in 1393 A.D. ; for, the date of the above-mentioned inscription is 798 A.H., which is equivalent to 1396 A.D. But we do not know who this Hammad Khatir Bu-Zubair is. The said Jalilul Haqq, to whom is attributed the construction of the Mosque in the first instance, is probably the son of Hazrat Makhdum Yahya. But how this piece of stone bearing the inscription, came to be set up at the tombs of Haji Safiuddin and Haji Nizamuddin is inexplicable, except on the assumption, that it originally belonged to a Mosque which fell into ruin, and later on, men interested in the improvement of the two Hajis' tombs, where they earned a good deal of money from persons resorting for their dispossession by the evil spirits, set it up at the said tombs to give them an air of greatness and sanctity.

If we go from this place to the main road which lies not very far in the east, and walk on that road northward to some distance, we shall meet a half-broken tomb on the road itself. It is said to belong to a Shahid (a martyr), and it is related that when the road was under construction, the engineer ordered the demolition of the tomb in order to clear the road, but that at the first stroke of the pick-axe, it began to bleed, on which he was frightened and allowed it to remain as it was. Nothing more could be known about it. If we proceed on the same road further on till we arrive near the Police Station, we find a place south of the road and west of the Police Station which is called Barah Gor (twelve tombs), and it is supposed to be the place where certain twelve martyrs were buried. This place is said to possess the efficacy of curing persons bitten by dogs; and men suffering from hydrophobia are often taken to that place and it is said they are cured of their malady.

If we go back again to the site of the Raja's palace already referred to, we shall find certain things of interest there. First there is the Riwaq or the male apartment of the palace which has already been mentioned. Then there is a female Riwaq or apartment, and between these two, there is a gate with two massive brick pillars. The female Riwaq consists of a varandah facing west, a large hall in the centre, with two-side rooms on the north and the south. This part of the building was used by the Muslim conquerors as the female apartment of their house, and Hazrat Makhdum Yahya is said to

have been born here. In the hall, there is a very old and curious piece of furniture. It is a wooden *Choki* or low table on which the mother of Hazrat Makhdum Sharafuddin of Bihar used to say her prayers, over six hundred years ago. Besides its great antiquity, it has another curious feature about it,—it is made of a single piece of wood throughout. It is really a wonderful thing and worth seeing. The southern room is said to be the place where Hazrat Makhdum Yahya used to spend his time in prayers and meditations.

If we proceed from this place towards the river in the west, we meet several other tombs of Martyrs such as Lurbek Shahid, Taj Shahid, Ali Shahid, Masum Shahid, etc. The tomb of Ali Shahid is situated near the *ghat*, called Ali Shahid *ghat*, after him. The narrow passage leading to the *ghat* has vestiges of old brick work here and there, and in one place, there are unmistakable signs of a large gate. Probably this was one of the gates of the Raja's fort opening towards the river.

There is another tomb of some importance at Maner. It belongs to Hazrat Makhdum Ruknuddin Marghilani who was a teacher of Makhdum Yahya. His tomb is made in the peculiar fashion characteristic of the tombs of Chishtia order of the Sufis. Though the saints of Maner belonged to Firdausia order of the Sufis, yet it is just possible that the Chishtias also had some connection with this place. At some distance south-west from Maner, there is a place called Baba Farid-Ka-Chilla. Now Baba Farid, known as Shakerganj, was the disciple and successor of Hazrat Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, a disciple of Khawja Moinuddin of Ajmere. He died in 1265 A.D., i.e. twenty-seven years before Makhdum Yahya's death, and was buried, as is well-known, at Pakpatan, a place in the District of Multan. Probably, he came to Maner and spent a *chilla* (forty days) in meditation there; and so the place is known after him. He may have converted some of the people of Maner to his own Chishtia order, and this Hazrat Ruknuddin may be one of them. The tomb of Hazrat Ruknuddin is situated in the quarter called Qazi Tola. It stands on a small mound of earth and has an open mosque attached to it.

There are many tombs which lie scattered around Maner for miles and miles. Some of them are of importance, such as the tomb of Hazrat Qutub Salar at Mehdawan. He is said to be the standard-bearer of Hazrat Taj Faqih. The tomb is situated in the village behind the Mosque. There is another tomb of a Shahid (Martyr)

named Burhanuddin, at Sharafuddinpur which is a village near Bahpura. This Burhanuddin also was one of the companions of Hazrat Taj Faqih and fell in the battle. Some three miles east from Maner, on the *pucca* District Board road, there is a place called Gauria-Asthan, a sort of temple with a *Neem* tree over it. Close to this is a tomb of another Shahid (Martyr), and the travellers think it their duty to go to the tomb and place a piece of earth over it. The ground in which the Asthan and the tomb are situated is probably the site where a palace stood in the times of the Raja. The cultivators, while tilling the land, have occasionally found small snakes, made of pure gold. There was a custom among the Hindu Rajas and Princes that they buried gold snakes in the foundations of their houses, in order to make them auspicious; and so the snakes found in the ground prove the fact that there was a princely house there. As we know of the Raja of Maner only that lived in the vicinity, we conclude that the house must be his. It is not improbable that the fort of Maner on the river side, with its fortifications and palaces, extended up to this place.

ECLECTICISM BEFORE AKBAR.

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It is well-known that Akbar was the founder of a new Faith embodying principles drawn from various religions and diverse sects. His biographers describe him as the father of an eclecticism in religion. A study of the original sources reveals that there was a tendency to eclecticism already before his reign and that it was by no means confined to religion. It was characteristic of the time spirit, and is traceable in Architecture, Art, Social life, Literature and Religion.

Mussalman Architecture in the period of the Delhi Sultanate shows an increasing adoption, and in some cases an adaptation, of Hindu principles and elements. The Mosque of Ala-ad-din has all its entrances embellished with lotus cusplings. In the palace of Firuz at Delhi the Hindu column and the arch are combined. Hindu influence is visible in features like pillars, brackets and balconies; and the flat lintel usurps the place of the pointed arch. The Tilangani tomb is not square but octagonal in plan. Hindu influence is even more marked in the provincial styles. In Bengal the arches were constructed on the Hindu corbel system, as are the domes of the Jami Musjid in the Gujerat style at Ahmedabad, which is merely a pillared hall constructed on purely Hindu principles. The Mosques in Champanir reveal the Hindu trabeate system only modified by the use of structural domes in place of the older corbelled roofs. The Lal Darwaza of Jaunpur is in markedly Hindu style. Abul Fazl expressly mentions that Akbar's earliest buildings at Agra were erected 'after the beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujerat, which masterly sculptors and cunning artists of form have fashioned as architectural models.' (*Ain*. Blochmann's trans., Vol. II, p. 180.)

The eclectic movement in Architecture reveals itself on every side in the first half of the 16th century. It is probable that Sher Shah learnt his lessons from Gujerat. We find the use of the Hindu bracket as a characteristic feature of the decoration in his Mosque of Purana Kila at Delhi. In this respect also Akbar was

the political heir of Sher Shah and not of Humayun for Humayun's Mosque at Kacchpura¹ is marked by poverty of design as contrasted with the picturesqueness of the buildings of Akbar. The Stone-cutter's Masjid finished before 1554, contains an extensive use of 'S' brackets which have been copied later in the tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti at Fatehpur-Sikri.

This eclecticism is traceable also in South Indian architecture of the early 16th century. The Bijapur style combines Indian and foreign elements and stands unequalled for grandeur of conception and boldness in construction. The ruins of Hampi reveal a judicious combination of Hindu and Islamite elements in plan and structure. In the Lotus Mahal, for instance, the pillars and arches are Persian and the roof, cornice and stucco ornament are Hindu. The roof of the Watch Tower in the north-west corner of the Danāyak's enclosure is supported by Saracen arches and little domes. Similar to these are the domes and the gate-way to the east of Hampi. These arched gate-ways strike the visitor as being in sharp contrast to those in the usual Hindu style of construction, which are spanned by stone lintels supported from below by corbels. The arches in the Queen's Bath contain stucco work similar in style to that which adorns the Lotus Mahal. The octagonal Bath and pavilion are in the same style. (Longhurst: *Hampi Ruins*, Figs. 16 and 33; and pp. 55 and 84.)

It will thus be clear that the synthesis of Hindu and Muhammadan elements in Architecture before Akbar's reign is a fact, evidence of which is traceable in Hindustan as well as the Dekhan, and among dynasties Hindu as well as Mussulman. The evolution of an Indo-Persian style was therefore the logical outcome,² stimulated by certain circumstances in the decade after 1560. In that year the Arab Sarai was put up by Akbar's mother Hamida Banu Begum. This structure has numerous carvings on capital and base, and beautiful brackets. To 1561 belongs the Mosque near Delhi built by Maham Anaga, Akbar's foster-mother. This is built without the usual flanking towers or minars. In 1562, were put up the tomb of Nizam-ud-din at Delhi and of Muhammad Ghaus at Gwalior. The former shows beautiful balustrades, and the latter square

¹ *Arch. Sur. Ann. Rep* for 1923-24, p. 6.

² See the illustrations in the Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details:—
II. 41, 43, 47, 59, 60; IV. 25-28; V. 54-58; VI. 18-27.

columns and bracket capitals. The latter is also square and not octagonal in plan, and has an outward screen of trellis-work which is far more elegant than the open arcade till then in fashion. This transition from the Persian to the Indo-Persian style is most noticeable in the tomb of Humayun finished by Haji Begum in 1569. It has numerous brackets and balustrades and reveals two innovations. There are towers attached to the four angles of the main building whose ground-plan is purely Indian. We meet also here for the first time with the narrow-necked double dome, much more beautiful and effective than the low-pitched pre-Mughal dome, which was afterwards adopted in all buildings in the Mughal style. Thus the main features of the Indo-Persian style had been already evolved by this date. It is not possible to plead, as does Fergusson,¹ that any of these buildings can be ascribed to the 'invigorating touch of Akbar's genius.' It can be proved that Akbar had no artistic genius or even taste at this time. When he sacked Chitore in 1568 he allowed the fine Hindu monuments to be razed to the ground. The Ranga Mahal at Fatehpur-Sikri which he put up in 1568-69, to house the mother of the future Jahangir, is a building singularly devoid of decoration. At Salimgarh² his building shows elaborate paintings and clumsily-drawn geometrical figures like those of the Jami Masjid at Fatehpur-Sikri. On the other hand Akbar's Red Palace in the Agra Fort, then known as the Bengalee Mahal and now as the Jahangiri Mahal, marks the first employment of the new style by him. Here Hindu ornamentation and the horizontal style of construction supersede the Saracen arches. The building was apparently put up soon after 1579 when, we learn from the *Akbar-Namah*,³ Akbar halted in this place. Similar eclecticism in Architecture can be traced about this date in the Hindu buildings of Muttra and Brindaban commencing from 1570 A.D.

Indian painting of the period discloses a similar eclecticism. This is revealed in the products of the various schools of Rajput painting in the 15th century. When Humayun returned to India after his wanderings in Persia, he brought a school of Persian and Kalmuk artists in 1555. They were trained in the Timurid style and were employed in illustrating the romance of Amir Hamza.

¹ *Arch. Sur. Ann. Rep.* for 1910-11.

² *Architecture*, p. 576.

³ (Beveridge's Translation), II, 247.

Abul Fazl says that 12 volumes were projected and only 4 of them were finished in seven years. The Hamza paintings¹ show a medley of Persian and Indian elements engrafted on the *safavid* style of Mir Sayyad Ali. This style was skilfully imitated by Akbar's drawing master Khwaja Abdus Samad. It is characterised by a rich glow of colour and graphic delineations, and an æsthetic treatment of foliage, trees and flowering plants. There is realism in the features of faces, in attitudes and gestures, as contrasted with the conventional style of Persia. Indian handiwork is revealed in the narrative method of wall-painting, in details like the banana tree (plate 34), the peculiar and difficult pose of the elephant (plate 29), the *upavita* mode of wearing the *chaddar*, in head-forms, etc. The pictures illustrate therefore a period of collection of forces—a synthesis without a syncretism. Akbar's painting was no improvement on this, his pictures being drawn by one hand and painted by another, and showing a mechanical industriousness and admixture of diverse details without the dominance of an æsthetic purpose. Similar considerations apply to the music of Akbar's court, a medley of elements without the soul of art.

There were social relations between Hindus and Mussulmans in the pre-Mughal period. Muhammad of Ghor employed Hindu legends on his coins. Some of the Muslim nobles came to be known by Hindi nicknames. Muslims adopted Hindu customs in the reign of Firuz Shah. The Emperor had to suppress the Tantric practice of drinking and promiscuity which characterised the nocturnal intercourse of Hindus and Mussulmans in some places. In one instance, Muhammadan women worshipped Hindu idols and Firuz Shah ordered the Brahmin in charge to be hanged, and the wooden tablet covered with images to be destroyed. Muhammadan women followed the example of their Hindu sisters and went out of cities in large parties on pilgrimage to tombs on foot and on horse back. Firuz Shah sought to suppress these. A son of the Governor of Lucknow was accused of becoming a convert to Hindu doctrines. Poets like Amir Khusru were ardent admirers of Hindu learning and philosophy. Sher Shah's arrangements in every *sarai* show regard for the convenience of the Hindus who had separate lodgings. Brahmins were settled there for entertaining them and providing hot or cold water,

¹ See *Rūpam*, April, 1927.

food and other conveniences. (Elliot and Dowson: *History of India as told by her own Historians*, Vol. III.)

Such influences were natural results of social intercourse and had their reaction on religion. They could not be suppressed by political authority. As early as the eleventh century we have the foundation of the sect of the Pacha Piriyaṣ which dates from a nephew of Mahamud of Ghazni and included Hindus and Muslims among its followers (E. and D., *Vol. II*, 513 ff.). In the reign of Sikandar Lodi a holy Mussulman protested publicly against the Sultan's interference with the religion of his Hindu subjects. When a Brahmin claimed equality for all religions the Qazis of Lucknow were divided as to his guilt. The Nur Bakshis considered the path of devotion (bhakti) as much more important than the law of the Prophet. On the Hindu side we have the formation of the Bhakti schools in Kashmir and Bengal which culminated in Lalla, Kabir, and Chaitanya, and schools of unification or unitarism associated with Nanak in the Punjab, Tulsidas in west India and Appayya Dikshit in the South.

The most prominent of these religious movements were those of Sufism, Mahdism and Epicureanism. In 1571 died Abdul Gaffur the Epicurean founder of the Postinus, whose new drink of poppy-pods numbed and freezed the desires of the flesh, and Akbar was among his admirers. Shiaism grew apace since it was founded by Ismail of the Safavi dynasty in 1523 (*Malcolm: Vol. I*, 500), and spread over India down to the extreme south. Montesquieu of the Arabs, Ibn Khaldun, records how the Shias were longing for the return of the Mahdi even since the 14th century. The Mahdi movement spread to Persia and India. Mir Sayyad Muhammad of Jaunpur, Miyan Abdullah and Shaikh Ali of Biana were Mahdis about 1550. The work of the Mahdavi preachers was furthered by the spread of Sufism. The free opinions of the Sufis regarding the dogmas of Islam, their contempt for its form and their claim to a distinct communion with the deity were all calculated to subvert that belief for which they outwardly professed respect. In 1537 Shaikh Salim Chishti settled at Sikri and founded a monastery, school and mosque. Akbar fell under his influence. It is interesting how in far off Bengal the cult of Satya Pir was founded early in the 16th century by Hussain Shah of Gaur with the object of uniting Hindus and Muslims in religious worship. In the religious literature of Bengal

there are several poems dedicated to the worship of Satya Pir, several of them by Muhammadans. The very name Satya Pir is a Hindu-Islamite amalgam (Sen: *History of Bengali Literature*, p. 797).

It will be clear from the foregoing that there was a pronounced movement towards eclecticism in the early 16th century and that Akbar's career and policy are typical of the times. It was an age of a gathering of forces, of collection of diverse details without a purposive attempt at a fusion or blend or at the creation of a new force. Akbar's experiment cannot be said to be an improvement on the spirit of the age. His religion has been characterised as a hotch-potch of philosophy, mysticism and nature worship. His Art was a synthesis without the emergence of a new beauty or force. The latter was reserved for the 17th century. His religion did not furnish a new dynamic of the kind provided by Tulsidas or a new philosophy of the kind propounded by Appayya Dikshit, nor a combination of the two as was attempted by Vedānta Deśika.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF RECONVERSION INTO HINDUISM IN ANCIENT INDIA.

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The problem of reconversion first arose before Hinduism when it came into contact with the Islam. Earlier in its history, Hinduism had come into very close contact with a number of foreign religions and cultures, e.g. Persian, Greek, Scythian, Hūna, etc. Though the followers of these religions belonged to the conquering races, there is no evidence forthcoming to show that any of the followers of Hinduism had been converted to the creeds and cultures of the conquerors. On the other hand, all the available evidence tends to show that Hinduism soon succeeded in converting the conquerors : they were very soon assimilated to the original followers of the religion.

At the advent of the Islam the state of affairs was however different. Islam was too strong, aggressive and clear-cut a religion to be assimilated ; and Hinduism, too, had lost her old power of assimilation. The problem of reconversion, therefore, arose in an acute form when thousands of Hindus began to be converted, mainly by force, subsequent to the conquest of Sind in 712 A.D.

Unlike their present day descendants, the Hindus of the 8th century had realised that they could not afford to look with serene complacency on mass conversions that were being effected by the conquerors. A perusal of *Devala-Smṛti*, which, as its preface shows, was composed in Sindh on the banks of the Indus, makes it clear that even the orthodox section of the society was prepared to readmit the converts, if the conversion was due to force or fraud and the convert had sought readmission within a period of 20 years. It is noteworthy that this writer unhesitatingly recommends the readmission even of women, who had the misfortune of being ravished by the Mlecchas, even if the ravishment had resulted in conception (*Devala*, vv. 47-8). *Ātri-saṃhitā* (vv. 200-202) also agrees with *Devala* in this view, though the date of the work is difficult to determine. The *Bṛhad-yama Smṛti*, Chapter V, vv. 5-6 also lays down that persons

who have been enslaved by the Mlecchas and compelled to commit irreligious acts like the killing of the cow, etc., should be readmitted within the fold of Hinduism after a suitable *prāyaścitta*.

These views of the above-mentioned Smṛti writers have been well known to the students of the Smṛtis for a long time. No definite historical evidence has been, however, so far adduced to show whether these doctrines of the thinkers of the age were actually followed by the society, and if so, to what extent. It can be now definitely shown that these theories were followed in Sindh and the Punjab down to the 11th century. The witnesses to the fact of reconversion are Muslims themselves and therefore their testimony can hardly be brushed aside.

Al Bidauri, while describing the general condition of the Muslim power and religion in India towards the end of the 8th century, states that the Muslims were by that time compelled to retire from several parts of India and that 'People of India had *returned to idolatry* except those of Kassa'.¹ The words in italics show that in the latter half of the 8th century, reconversions on a mass scale had been effected in several parts of north-western India. Devala was evidently not crying in mere wilderness.

From Al 'Utbi, we learn that Hinduism continued its programme of reconversion down to the first quarter of the 11th century. This writer gives us a specific individual case of reconversion.² Nawās Shāh was one of the Indian chiefs, who had been re-established by Maḥmūd of Ghazni in the government of his district as a reward for his embracing the religion of the conqueror. Al 'Utbi proceeds to narrate: 'The Satan had got the better of Nawās Shāh, for he was again apostatising towards the pit of plural worship, *had thrown off the slough of Islam* and held conversations with the chiefs of idolatry, respecting the casting off of the firm rope of religion from his neck. So the Sultan went swifter than the wind . . . and turned Nawās Shāh out of his government, took possession of his treasures . . .'. The reference to the conversations with the chiefs of idolatry *anent* the reconversion shows that the Brāhmanas of the 11th century were prepared to readmit within the fold of Hinduism persons who had left it through the bait of temporal advancement.

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, I, p. 126.

² Elliot, *History of India*, II, pp. 32-33.

It seems almost certain that if the conversion were due to force or fraud, there would have been encountered still less opposition, as such cases were provided for by the *Smṛtis* of the age.

As the 11th century advanced, the reconversions began to become less and less popular. Alberuni informs us that he was repeatedly told that when Hindu slaves in the Muslim countries escaped and returned to their country and religion, they were readmitted after an expiation—an expiation which as described to and by Alberuni bears a sufficiently close resemblance to that prescribed by Devala. Alberuni, however, states that when he enquired from the Brāhmaṇas whether the reports of reconversions were true, they denied them, maintaining that there was no expiation possible for such individuals.¹ It is thus clear from the testimony of Alberuni that towards the middle of the 11th century, the masses were still for reconversion, though the orthodox section among the Brāhmaṇas was seeking to interdict the practice.

The main reason for this attitude of the orthodoxy was its growingly puritanical notions of purity. Ample evidence is available to show that at about this time interdining and intermarriages among the various Hindu castes had begun to become unpopular. As a result, grave difficulties about the social position of the reconverts must have begun to arise as they do to-day. Alberuni disbelieves the reports of reconversions and accepts the information of his Brāhmaṇa reporters for a very significant reason. He says: 'How should that (i.e. reconversion) be possible? If a Brāhmaṇa eats in the house of a Śūdra for sundry days he is expelled from his caste, and can never regain it.' It is thus clear that growing notions of excessive purity, which were responsible for the prohibition of the once current practice of interdining and intermarriage were also responsible for the cessation of the most useful and necessary practice of reconversion. It is very doubtful whether the present efforts of conversion and reconversion into Hinduism will be crowned with appreciable success unless the intercaste social relations are reorganised on a different principle.

¹ Alberuni, II, pp. 162-3.

RAO CHANDRASEN, A FORGOTTEN HERO OF RAJPUTANA.

PANDIT BISHESHWARNATH REU.

The name of the magnanimous hero, Maharana Pratap of Mewar, and the memory of his noble deeds thrill the heart of every true Indian—young or old—with emotion even to this day. But the name of Rao Chandrasen, the first hero of Rajasthan, who, in protecting his independence against the covetousness of the great Moghal Emperor Akbar, sacrificed his ancestral throne and took all the calamities upon himself; and whose trodden path was followed by Maharana Pratap after a period of about 10 years, looks quite new to history. Aye, the very name of such a great hero is lost in his own domains by circumstances.

Short summary of the life of Pratap

Maharana Pratap was born on the 3rd day of the bright half of Jyeshtha Vikram Samvat 1597 (9th May, 1540 A.D.) and ascended the throne of Mewar in V.S. 1628 (1571 A.D.), when many districts of his country had passed under the sway of the Moghals and his own brothers had rebelled against him. In spite of all these calamities he opened life-long hostilities with Emperor Akbar, to deliver his ancestral capital Chittor from him and missed no opportunity of breaking down from his impregnable mountain fastness upon the imperial odds. The Islamites, too, left no stone unturned to compel him to subjugation. On one occasion the imperial army being defeated either took to their heels or dispersed; while on another the Maharana had to seek shelter in the impregnable mountains. This state of affairs lasted up to A.D. 1586 (V.S. 1643), when Akbar's attention was diverted to the affairs of Punjab. And the Maharana getting some rest regained some of his lost districts, but he could not acquire the possession of Chittor in his life-time and took away this sorrow to the grave.

Such is the brief summary of the noble deeds of Maharana Pratap, and for such inflexible honour, bravery and patriotism, he, in

spite of the lapse of over three and a quarter of a century,¹ is honoured in the hearts of all the lovers of freedom.

But now scholars will judge for themselves how the nature of our hero, whose life we are going to narrate here, compares with that of the Maharana.

Life of Rao Chandrasen

Rao Chandrasen, the hero of this biographical sketch, was born on the 8th day of the dark half of Shravana, V.S. 1598 (16th July, 1541 A.D.). He was the fourth² son of Rao Maldev,³ the well-known and powerful ruler of Marwar, who, by the force of his arms, had acquired supremacy among all the contemporary rulers of Rajputana, with whom shelter was sought by Humayun,⁴ the Emperor of India in his days of adversity and by whose overwhelming might the pride of Sher Shah,⁵ the Pathan Emperor of India, had been crushed. Towards the close of the reign of this eminent Rao a large part of his dominion had gone out of his possession due to family discord.

On the demise of Rao Maldev, Rao Chandrasen, in accordance with the wishes of his father, was installed upon the throne of Marwar on the first day of the dark half of Margashirsh, V.S. 1619 (11th November, 1562 A.D.), shortly after which some of his nobles, being displeased with him on an insignificant incident,⁶ began to intrigue

¹ Maharana Pratap died on the 11th day of the bright half of Magh, V.S. 1653 (15th January, 1597 A.D.).

² When only a child of three, i.e. in V.S. 1600 (1543 A.D.) he was granted the big fiefship of Sewana and Bisalpur, where he used to live when of age. A day after his father's death he hastened to Jodhpur to try his luck in taking the reins of government in his hands according to the wish of his father. When a king, he granted that fief of Sewana to his elder brother Rao Rayamal (the 2nd son of the deceased Rao).

³ In the preface to the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* it is stated 'Rao Maldev was a very great and powerful Raja whose army consisted of 80,000 cavalry. Although Rana Sanga, who had fought with Babar, possessed equal wealth and ammunition yet in respect of dominions and arms, Rao Maldev surpassed him. Whenever Rao Maldev fought with Rana Sanga the former was victorious.'

⁴ In the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* it is stated: 'The Emperor Humayun, obliged by circumstances, started towards Maldev who was, at that time, among the big Rajas of Hindustan and to whom no other Raja was equal in respect of power and army.' (Page 205).

⁵ Sher Shah on his victory was obliged to utter these words:—'Thank God, at any cost victory has been attained, otherwise I would have lost the Empire of Hindustan for a handful of millets' (*Tarikh Farishta*, part I, page 228 and *Muntakhibul Lubab*, part I, page 101).

⁶ An offender, having deserted the court of the Rao, took shelter with one

with his three elder brothers.¹ They persuaded them to raise trouble in different quarters. His eldest brother Ram rebelled in Sojat, the second Raymal towards Dundara, while the third Udaisingh having made a surprising attack took the two villages Baori and Gangani. At this Rao Chandrasen immediately marched against Udaisingh who, relinquishing the possession of his newly acquired villages, retreated towards Phalodi. At Lohawat, however, he was overtaken and wounded by the Rao in a battle which resulted in a victory for the latter. After some time Rao Chandrasen again prepared to invade Phalodi at the time when the power of the Moghal Emperor Akbar was fast rising. But some considerate nobles intervened and made peace between the two brothers, as they (nobles) apprehended danger to the Rathor power through family dissensions at such a time.

In 1620 V.S. (1563 A.D.) the Rao led an army against his eldest brother Ram. At first Ram came out and opposed the army of the Rao at Nadol.² But seeing no chance of victory he went to Husain Quli Begh, the imperial Hakim at Nagaur, stated his prior claim by primogeniture to the throne of Marwar; and asked for help. Husain Quli seeing a chance of benefitting himself by this internal discord readily accepted the proposal and suddenly laid a siege to Jodhpur. The Rao fought for some days, but being obliged by the shortage of provision had to make peace,³ and agreed to restore

of the nobles named Jaitmal (son of Jaisa). When he was arrested and brought back, the said noble requested the Rao to punish him in any way other than death. Incensed at this uncalled for interference the Rao ordered the unfortunate wretch to be instantly put to death. Jaitmal and his colleagues did not like it.

¹ At this time the three elder brothers of the Rao were in their respective Jagirs. The eldest Ram was at Sojat, the second Rayamal at Sewana and the third Udaisingh at Phalodi.

² Another version is that it was Rao Ram, who, with the assistance of Maharana Udaisingh, had at first marched out in order to obtain the throne of Marwar.

³ It is stated in *Tarikh-i-Palanpur* (part I, page 77) 'That Mirza Sharfuddin rebelled against Akbar and invaded Merta after the demise of Rao Maldev, and that Rao Chandrasen saved Merta by concluding a peace with him in 1615 V.S. (1559 A.D.)'. These facts are doubtful, for Merta had been made over to Jaimal by Sharfuddin during the life-time of Rao Maldev. After this when Sharfuddin rebelled Akbar took Merta from Jaimal and made it over to Jajmal. Sharfuddin rebelled in 1620 V.S. (1563 A.D.—971 A.H.) while Rao Maldev died in 1619 V.S.

Sojat to Ram and to pay indemnities of war to Husain Quli Begh. As a consequence of this the possessions of the Rao were limited to the districts of Jodhpur, Jaitaran and Pokaran only. But after the return of the Mohamedan army the terms of the treaty were not fulfilled to the satisfaction of Ram. He, therefore, approached the Emperor in 1621 V.S. (1564 A.D.) for help. As this was a good chance for the Emperor (Akbar) to avenge his father's¹ wrongs, he accepted the request of Ram and sent an army under Muzaffar Khan.

Simultaneously he ordered Husain Quli Begh to dispossess the Rao of Jodhpur and settle Ram at Sojat. Husain Quli, accordingly, laid siege to Jodhpur, but the Rao bravely defended the fort. When the imperial army failed to take the fort by open attack it attempted to enter it by an inlet² towards the Ranisagar tank, but in vain.

As the siege continued for many months the provision failed, the leading sardars therefore prevailed upon the Rao to escape from the fort. He, reluctantly, went to Bhadrajan³ with his family, while his sardars, who remained behind, fought in open battle and died glorious deaths. The imperial army then got the possession of the fort.

The following is an extract from *Akbarnama*⁴:—

'After the accession of Chandrasen to the throne Husain Quli Begh and the imperial army besieged Jodhpur. Hearing this, Ram, the eldest son of Rao Maldev, came and joined them. The officers of the army sent him to the Court where he was received by the Emperor with due honour. The latter sent him to Husain Quli Begh with a fresh army under Muinuddin Khan and others. The imperial army soon took the fort.'

The Rao collecting men and money began to harass the Mohamedans now and then.

In 1627 V.S. (1570 A.D.—978 A.H.) when the Emperor after visiting Ajmer reached Nagaur, many princes of Rajputana attended

¹ When Humayun had sought the assistance of Rao Maldev against Shershah his followers had slaughtered a cow in Marwar. Displeased with this the Rao (Maldev) had desisted from helping him and Humayun had to turn back disappointed.

² This inlet was meant for carrying water to the fort from the tank.

³ This event is stated in the chronicles to have occurred on the 12th day of the dark half of Margashirsha, V.S. 1622 (19th November, 1565 A.D.).

⁴ *Akbarnama*, Vol. II, page 187.

his court¹ there. The Rao, too, went there to read his mind, and was received by the Emperor with due honour. His intimate desire was that if the Rao were to own his allegiance even in name he might restore Jodhpur to him. But the unbending nature of the Rao defied all courtly allurements and he returned to Bhadrajan rejecting the offers of the Emperor.

Soon after this the imperial army laid siege to Bhadrajan while the Rao defended it for some time. As the provision here, too, failed he went to Sewana.

In 1629 V.S. (1572 A.D.) he made a recruiting tour and on his way when encamped at Kanuja (district Jaitaran) Ratan, son of Khinva, the chieftain of Asarlai, disregarded the summons of his court. The Rao, therefore, marched on Asarlai and laid it waste.

Next year (1630 V.S.—1573 A.D.) the inhabitants of the town of Bhinaya (district Ajmer) approached him for protection against the depredations of Madalia, the Bhil chieftain. Accepting their appeal the Rao attacked the residence of the Bhil. As many other Bhils of the neighbourhood happened to be at his residence to join some ceremony, they all took up arms to repulse the attack. But as soon as Madalia was killed they all fled² away leaving the place and the district in the possession of the Rao.

¹ Udaisingh, the third son of Rao Maldev, and Rao Kalyanmal and his son Raisingh of Bikaner, etc., had had an interview with Emperor at this place. The Emperor deputed Udaisingh to suppress the Gujar rising in Samaoli and kept prince Raisingh in the court, to whom afterwards the administration of Jodhpur was also entrusted. Prince Ram was also appointed in Jodhpur to participate in guarding the highway to Gujrat.

It is stated in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* that Akbar reached Nagaur on the 16th Jamadiul Akhir, 977 A.H. (3rd day of the dark half of Paush, 1626 V.S.—26th November, 1569 A.D.) and sojourned there for 50 days (page 289). But in the 'Akbarnama' this event is said to have occurred in 978 A.H. (1570 A.D.). (Vol. II, pages 357-58).

² From that day the following proverb is prevalent in Marwar:—
'सादलियो सादियोनै गोठ बीखरी,' i.e. as soon as Madalia (the Bhil chief) was killed the guests to the feast dispersed.

Bhinaya is in the possession of the descendants of Rao Chandrasen up to this day.

It is stated in the chiefs and leading families of Rajputana; 'Chandrasen, the grandson of Rao Maldev of Marwar, (1531) came to Ajmer and, having by stratagem intoxicated Madalia, the chief of a band of Bhils who ravaged the country near Bhinai, slew him and dispersed his followers. For this service

The same year (i.e. 1630 V.S.—981 A.H.) Akbar despatched a strong army to take Sewana.¹ Besides, the Mohamedan commanders Shah Quli etc., Hindu princes and chiefs like Raysingh of Bikaner, Keshavadas of Merta, Jagat Raya etc., were also deputed to accompany it. As the Emperor was very anxious that somehow the Rao might own allegiance, he had, therefore, instructed his commanders to try to subdue him by promises of imperial favour. At first the army went towards Sojat where it defeated prince Kalla,² a nephew of the Rao, whence they set out for Sewana taking his (Rao's) relatives Keshavadas, Maheshdas and Prithviraj with them. When this large army came near Sewana,³ plundering the surrounding country, and defeating those, who opposed them, the retainers of the Rao suggested him to take refuge in the neighbouring hills and to wait there for an opportunity.

Chandrasen, accordingly, went into the hills leaving the defence of the fort to his Commander-in-chief, Rathor Patta, but he let slip no opportunity of breaking down upon the besieging army and pressed it hard by destroying its flanks and rear at times. The garrison, too, gave a good account of its deeds. Though the besieging army was immense and formidable, yet neither the Rao nor his retainers were discomfited and missed no opportunity of attacking the opponents. In 1631 V.S. (982 A.H.) disappointed at the state of affairs Rao Raisingh, who then administered the affairs of Marwar on behalf of the Emperor, left Sewana for Ajmer and informed the Emperor, that the army deputed by him at Sewana was not adequate to capture the fort and reinforcement was necessary.⁴ The

Bhina and seven other parganas were bestowed on him in Jagir by the Emperor Akbar,' (1916, pages 96-98).

¹ *Akbarnama*, Vol III, pages 80-81.

² Prince Kalla, at first, bravely opposed the imperial army, but was eventually obliged by his far outnumbering assailants to leave the fortress of Sojat and to take refuge in the fortress of Sinari. The imperial army finding it difficult to take this latter place set fire to it which obliged Kalla to retreat to Korna. But when he was pursued by the army to this place too, he had to conclude peace, and though by some pretence he exempted himself from accompanying the army, he had to send his relatives with it.

³ The allies of Rao Chandrasen Raval Meghraj, Sukhraj, Suja, and Devidas had bravely fought with batches of the imperial army that had been out to plunder in the neighbourhood. (*Akbarnama*, Vol. III, page 81).

⁴ *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pages 110-111.

Emperor, therefore, sent Tayyab Khan, Sayyad Toqbai, Subhan Quli Khan Turk, Khurram, Azmatkhan, Shivdas, etc. with a large army to help the imperial forces at Sewana. The strength of the imperial army being thus redoubled, the Rao at the request of his Sardars escaped via Rampura to the impregnable hills, the Emperor was much resented to hear the escape of the Rao and reproached his commanders.

Next in 1632 V.S. (993 A.H.) Jalal Khan was deputed¹ to suppress the Rao and Sayyad Ahmad, Sayyad Hashim, Shimalkhan and other nobles were also ordered to accompany him.

As the previously sent army suffered continued failure it became disheartened; and as they had no good provision of fodder and had to wander fruitlessly in the hilly tracts the horses, too, became weak and unserviceable.² The Emperor, therefore, instructed these newly appointed nobles to relieve it. Accordingly the nobles went to their respective Jagirs to make preparations.

When Jalal Khan reached Merta Ramsingh, Sultansingh,³ Ali Quli, etc. nobles of the Sewana army, sent him words, that, though they were trying their best to suppress the Rao, yet they had not been able to win him, for being himself a brave warrior, surrounded by retainers, brave alike, and finding an impregnable shelter in the mountains, he was invincible. But if Jalal Khan would instantly help them with his army they would achieve some success. So Jalal Khan immediately marched on Sewana. Hearing this the Rao arranged an ambush to surprise and rout Jalal Khan in the way, but somehow the latter got scent of his movement, he, therefore, advanced forward and attacked the Rao. This surprising attack upset all his (Rao's) projects, yet for some time, he continued the conflict with the imperial army from his mountain fastness.⁴ Afterwards anticipating destruction of his handful brave soldiers in thus falling upon an immense army he again had to take refuge in the mountains.

As the imperial army had had a bitter experience of entering into the mountains in pursuit of such a dangerous enemy as the Rao this time they retired to the fortress of Ramgadh, and from

¹ *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, page 158.

² *ibid.*, Vol. III, page 167.

³ These were younger brothers of Rao Raisingh of Bikaner.

⁴ *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pages 158-159.

there they tried their best to find out his whereabouts, but all their efforts proved fruitless. In the meanwhile they learnt through a person, who called himself Devidas,¹ that the Rao was with his nephew, prince Kalla. At this they went with him to Kalla who positively denied their information. The army had to return in despair and Shimalkhan was much displeased with Devidas. Therefore inviting the latter to his camp under some pretence he tried to take him prisoner, but at the right moment Devidas effected a brave escape to the disappointment and shame of Shimalkhan. Further, thinking his stay, in the imperial camp, unsafe, Devidas went away to Kalla and as he was determined to avenge himself on Shimalkhan, he together with Rao Chandrasen fell upon the imperial army. But, as they were in a hurry, they mistook Jalal Khan for Shimalkhan. However, the former was killed. They then proceeded to attack the latter (Shimalkhan) but, by that time, Jaimal² at the head of a fresh imperial army happened to come there and the Rao and Devidas thought it wise to retire to their residence.

This last attack had much reduced the strength of the imperial army, which afforded a chance to prince Kalla (son of Ram) once again to try his lot. He collected men and money, garrisoned the fortress of Devkor³ and prepared for battle with the imperial army.

To overcome the new difficulty the imperial army was obliged to give up the siege of Sewana and began to prepare for an attack upon Devkor. The Emperor, seeing his prestige thus endangered, sent more men under Shahbazkhan to put down the anarchy in these

¹ The strange story related by this man at Ramgadh was that he was the same Devidas who was supposed to have been killed in the battle with Sharfuddin at Merta. That when he had been left on the field in a senseless state, an ascetic picked him up, took him to his hermitage and healed his wounds. That he remained with the ascetic for some time and had come there with his permission to try his fortune by serving under the imperial banners. He was believed by some of the imperial commanders, while others disbelieved him (*ibid.*, Vol. III, page 159).

² In *Akbarnama* this man is named Jaimal, while in some other histories the name of Meritia Jajmal occurs instead (*ibid.*, Vol. III, page 159).

³ (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, page 167). The site of this fortress remains yet unexplored.

parts This new general, on reaching Devkor, saw that the imperial army besieging the fortress, was engaged in fruitless attempts. He, therefore, advanced ahead and attacked the fort. This reinforcement greatly added to the strength of the imperial army and the handful and fatigued retainers of Prince Kalla could not stand its charges for long. The fortress was captured and Shahbazkhan left some portion of the army in the fortress under the Sayyads of Barah, while he himself proceeded to Sewana. On his way there were some Rathor warriors, stationed in the fortress of Dunara,¹ to whom the commander of the imperial army (Shahbazkhan) proposed subjugation and imperial service. But these brave Rathors preferred death to loss of independence and engaged the great Moghal army in a furious battle till each of them had fallen on the field. The Moghal army then took possession of the fortress (of Dunara), proceeded further, laid siege to Sewana, and relieved and sent back the old army, as instructed by the Emperor. The new general, after some days' strenuous efforts, perceived that it was very difficult to take the fort by fighting in the open field with the brave Rathors. He, therefore, began to press the garrison by employing stratagems, and cut off all supplies to the inmates of the fort. Seeing further defence impossible the commander of the garrison proposed to evacuate it on condition of being allowed to retire peacefully. Shahbaz welcomed the proposal as he foresaw only loss in pressing them any further. After great and prolonged difficulties the fort of Sewana came in the possession of Akbar in 1633 V.S (984 A.H.) and the surviving Rathor defenders retired to the mountains of Piplun where the Rao resided. But still they did attack the Moghal army whenever possible.

The same year in the month of Kartik (October, 1576 A.D.) Raval Hans Raj of Jaisalmer, seeing the Rao engaged with the imperial army invaded Pokaran, which was defended by Pancholi Anand Ram, the fort officer of the Rao, for about 4 months. But in the end both the armies, seeing no advantage, concluded a treaty by which the Raval was to advance a loan of one lakh of Phadias (Rs. 12,300) to the Rao and the Rao was to hand over the district of Pokaran to the Raval on the condition to return it on the repayment of the said

¹ At present there is no fortress in Dunara.

loan. Consequently the fighting was stopped and the draft treaty was submitted to the Rao for his approval. Rao Chandrasen, being engaged in war with the Moghals, was in need of money, he therefore welcomed the treaty

When the imperial army pursued the Rao even in his mountain fastness of Piplun, he, after fighting for a time, was obliged to retire towards Sirohi:¹ Dungarpur² and Banswara.

After some time, when Sojat also fell in the hands of the Moghals on the death of Kalla in the battle field, Kumpavat Sadul, son of Maheshdas, Jetavat Askaran, son of Devidas, and other sardars of Marwar went to the Rao and requested him to return and protect his native land. Accepting this, he set out for Marwar via Mewar and routing the imperial post at Sarwar took possession of the district in 1636 V.S. (1579 A.D.) Later he overran the adjacent districts of Ajmer also. At this the Emperor³ sent an army against him under his nobles like Payanda Mohammad Khan, etc. The Rao, after fighting for some time with this odd, thought it inadvisable to remain in the open field and retired to the nearest mountain in 1637 V.S. (1580 A.D.—988 A.H.).

Shortly after this the Rao again collected men and money, invaded Sojat and took possession of it on the 11th day of the dark half of Shravana, 1637 V.S. (7th July, 1580 A.D.). He then established his residence in the hill fortress of Saran close by, but he could not enjoy it for long as he died on the 7th day of the bright half of Magha, 1637 V.S. (11th January, 1581 A.D.) at Sachiya. Thus ended the thorny but brilliant career of this unyielding hero of

¹ Rao Chandrasen is said to have stayed here for about a year and a half.

² It is said that though Rao Chandrasen, owing to the dissension between the Raval and his son, had acquired the possession of the Dungarpur fort, but was obliged to vacate it on arrival of the imperial army.

³ In 988 A.H. (1637 V.S.—1580 A.D.) it was reported that Rao Chandrasen (son of Maldev) in spite of his (formerly) attending the imperial court had rebelled. But as he was afraid of the imperial army, was waiting for an opportunity in his hiding place. And now finding a chance had begun to plunder the district of Ajmer (*Akbarnama*, III, page 318).

But Rao Chandrasen had only once met Akbar at Nagaur in 1627 V.S. (1570 A.D.). His subsequent interview with Akbar is neither stated in any of the Persian Chronicles, nor in the Khyats. This statement, therefore, merely alluded to his meeting with the Emperor (Akbar) in 1627 V.S.

Marwar¹ On the spot where he was cremated there stands a marble tablet² to this day.

Rao Chandrasen was a ruler of very inflexible and independent disposition. He took upon himself the calamities of a wandering life in mountains after being deprived of his paternal state of Marwar. He continued to fight for 16 long years with the armies of Emperors like Akbar, and never thought of ending his miseries by yielding to the supremacy of the great Moghal. Even from *Akbarnama* it is evident that it was an ardent desire of the Emperor to bring the Rao in his allegiance like other rulers of Rajputana, he, therefore, used to give special instructions to all his nobles sent against him to try their best to subjugate the Rao by temptations of imperial favours. But this desire of the Emperor had never been fulfilled. Rao Chandrasen³ had three sons, Ugrasen, Raisingh, and Askaran.

Comparison

At that time Maharana and the Rao were the only two thorns pricking at the heart of Akbar. A contemporary poet has very well expressed this fact in the following couplet:—

अण्डगिया तुरी अजला असमर, चाकर रक्षण न डिगियो चीन ।
सारे हिंदुस्तान तपे मिर, पातल नै चंद्रसेण प्रवीन ।

¹ It is stated in the chronicles of Marwar that when Rao Chandrasen had taken possession of Sojat a large number of Rathor Sardars from far and near had flocked under his banner. But Rathor Bairsal and Kumpavat Udaisingh paid no heed to him out of pride. Rao Chandrasen, therefore, marched upon Dudor the Jagir of Bairsal. On the way as Askaran, son of Rathor Devidas promised to negotiate with Bairsal and to bring him in the service of the Rao the latter gave up the idea of invasion. But when Askaran saw Bairsal for the purpose, the latter feigning terror, requested the former to assure him of the favour of the Rao by bringing him (the Rao) to his house for dinner. It was done accordingly. But soon after his return from there the Rao suddenly expired; hence treachery on the part of Bairsal is generally suspected.

² In this tablet there is an image of Rao Chandrasen on horse back along with five ladies standing in front of him to show that five of his wives became Satis. This fact is also borne out by the inscription below the image which runs as follows:—

“ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । संवत् १६३७ शके १५[०]२ माघमासे सू(शु)क्लपक्षे सतिव (सप्तमी) दिने राय श्रीचंद्रसेणजी देवीकुला सती पंच उई ” ।

³ Rao Chandrasen made a charitable grant of village Arathnadi to a Brahman named Sanga.

i.e. at that time there were only two renowned rulers throughout India, viz. Rana Pratap and Rao Chandrasen, whose horses could not be enslaved by the imperial brand, who could never be tempted by imperial services and whose arms ever remained drawn against the imperial armies.

In the following we shall note some similar events that happened in the reign of the Rao and the Rana —

1. Though the rulers of Marwar and Mewar had from the past been at daggers drawn with the Mohamedan Emperors yet the Rao, defying the offer of service had positively declared war with Akbar in 1621 V.S. (1564 A.D.). And a discord between the Rana and Kanwar Mansingh arose in 1630 V.S. (1573 A.D.) as a consequence of which Akbar began his invasions of Mewar.

2. Though Rana Pratap was the eldest son of Rana Udaisingh yet the latter had nominated his younger brother, Jagmal, as heir to the throne of Chittor. And when Rana Pratap ascended the throne against the right of his brother, there ensued discord between these two. With the advice of the Subedar of Ajmer Jagmal went to Akbar via Jahazpur and the Emperor granted that district to him in Jagir. After a time Sagar, another brother of the Maharana, also deserted him and went to Akbar.

On the other hand, the Rao was nominated heir-apparent by his father in spite of his three elder brothers. His eldest brother Ram, being displeased with him, went to Akbar as advised by Husain Quli Khan and received Sojat in Jagir (as stated in the Khyats). In 1627 V.S. (1570 A.D.) his second brother Udaisingh, too, went to the opposite side.

3. At the time of the accession of Pratap to the throne, Chittor, Mandalgarh, etc. (districts of Mewar) were under the possession of the Moghals; similarly at the time of the accession of the Rao to the throne, Ajmer, Merta, etc. (districts of Marwar) were also under the possession of the Moghals.

4. Prior to the accession of Pratap most of the great generals of Mewar had fallen in battles, fought with Babar and other Mohamedan kings; in the like manner, prior to the accession of Chandrasen the great generals of Marwar had been killed in the battle with Shershah.

5. The Rana opposed the great Moghal armies to protect his and his country's independence, taking shelter in the mountain range

between Gogunda and Khamnor; similarly the Rao fought with the great Moghal armies from his sheltering place in the mountains of Sewana.

6. Obligated by the continued attacks of the Moghal armies, the Rana had to wander away towards Banswara¹ and in Chhapan-ka-Pahar (in Mewar), similarly the Rao had to go to Dungarpur and Banswara, while Chhapan-ka-Pahar near Sewana was his main place of shelter for a long time.

7. Maharana Pratap could not take Chittor, though he regained the possession of some of his lost districts; similarly the Rao could not regain the possession of Jodhpur, though Sojat was taken by him in his last days.

8. Abul Fazal says (*Akbarnama*, Vol. II, pages 357-58), 'In 978 A.H., i.e. in the 15th regnal year, when Akbar came to Nagaur, Chandrasen, son of Maldev, presented himself and received many imperial favours.'

But from the chronology of events it appears, that, though Akbar had a wish to bestow favours on Chandrasen, the latter rejected his proposal of allegiance. This fact is proved by the following version of the same history.²

'Early in the 19th regnal year (981 A.H.) when the Emperor came to Ajmer, he heard that Chandrasen, son of Raja Maldev, had rebelled; that he had repaired the fortress of Sewana, one of the strongest forts in Ajmer "Suba" and had made it his abode. Hearing this the Emperor was moved to pity for the subjects of the district and deputed Shah Quli, Rao Raisingh, Shimalkhan, Keshavdas (son of Jaimal) and Jagat Rai (son of Dhan Chand) with a powerful army to punish him. He also instructed the generals that, should the Rao repent for his actions, he may be assured of imperial favours.

After the former narrative of A.H. 978, the foregoing one of 981 A.H. is the first containing mention of the Rao in the *Akbarnama*. Under the circumstances, as stated by Abul Fazal, if the Rao had acquired imperial favour at Nagaur, what then had been the cause of rebellion by him? Moreover, there appears no mention of the Emperor's favour to the Rao in the History.'

¹ *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, page 238.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 80-81.

The author of the *Akbarnama* further adds¹ :—

‘In the 25th regnal year (i.e. in 988 A.H.) Chandrasen in spite of his attending the imperial “Darbar”, again rebelled as has been mentioned hitherto.’

But in the history there appears no mention of the meeting of the Rao with the Emperor excepting the one at Nagaur. This version, therefore, alludes to the same meeting

Following are the similar statements for Maharana Pratap in *Akbarnama*² :—

‘According to the imperial orders Mansingh with other nobles went to Udaipur. The Rana came to receive them and respectfully wore the “Khilat” He took Mansingh to his palace as a guest and begged pardon for his mischief. The nobles did not agree. The Rana making promises saw Mansingh off and adopted mildness.’

‘In the 18th regnal year (981 A.H.) Raja Bhagvantdas, Shah Quli Khan, and Lashkar Khan together with a large army were ordered to go into the Rana’s land via Idar to suppress all the landlords of those parts, chastising those who dared to oppose.’³

‘Within one month Bhagvantdas with his army came to the court and brought the son of Rana Pratap with him’; the details are as below :—

When the imperial army reached Gogunda, the place where the Rana lived, the Rana came and saw Raja Bhagvantsingh. He repented for the faults done in the past, and prayed to be recommended to the Emperor. At the same time he took Mansingh to his palace, entertained him and sent his son with him. He further said that, unfortunately, he was hitherto awe-struck, but that now through him, he was entertaining the Emperor and sending his son to the court. After a time when his mind would be pacified he would present himself in the court personally.⁴

A perusal of the various histories of Rajputana shows that the above statements are only the products of the author’s fertile brain. He (the author) at least, has branded both the unyielding horses with the imperial slavery. But this is far from truth.

9. There is a further statement concerning Rana Pratap in *Akbarnama*⁵ :—

‘The Emperor ordered Kutubuddin Khan, Raja Bhagvantdas,

¹ *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 318.

² *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 40.

³ *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 64. ⁴ *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 66-67. ⁵ *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 191.

and Kanwar Mansingh to go with a small imperial army to hunt out the Rana in the mountains. But when the Rana was not found they went to Gogunda.'

'As Raja Bhagvantdas and Kutubuddin Khan returned without obtaining the permission of the Emperor; he was much displeased and refused them audience which was allowed when they begged his pardon and expressed repentance for their mistake.¹

Similar statement in *Akbarnama* regarding Rao Chandrasen² :—

'In 982 A.H. when the Emperor came to Ajmer, Rao Raisingh coming singly from Sewana prayed that Chandrasen, son of Maldev, had raised much disturbance in the boundaries of Jodhpur: that the imperial army at Sewana was not adequate to suppress him, and that he can be suppressed if a strong reinforcement be despatched. The Emperor very kindly accepted his request and deputed Tayyab Khan, Sayyad Begh Tokbai, Turk Subhanquli, Khurram, Azmat Khan, and Shivdas with some brave warriors for this purpose. Chandrasen retreated in the mountain via Rampura. The imperial army went in pursuit of him, many surrendered and many were killed. Chandrasen could not resist. Taking his retreat for his defeat the imperial army, through foolishness, returned. When the Emperor heard this he was much incensed and lost confidence in those nobles.'

Both the above narratives of Abul Fazal narrate similar events.

Again, in the *Muntakhibut-tavarikh*,³ it is stated :—

'But they did not go after the Rana and he escaped alive; the Emperor took it ill.'

This event is much more similar to that of Rao Chandrasen.

A Special Event

The following story of Rana Pratap is current in Rajputana.

On one occasion the Maharana greatly distressed by the miseries of his children, thought of acknowledging the supremacy of the Emperor. But Prithviraj, brother of Raisingh (of Bikaner), being informed by Akbar, addressed the Maharana in the following lines :—

पटकूँ मुँहाँ पाण, के पटकूँ निज तन करद ;

दौजे लिख दीवाण, इपदो मरहलौ बात इक ।

¹ *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, page 195. ² *ibid.*, Vol. III, pages 110-111.

³ *Muntakhibut-tavarikh*, Vol. II, page 235.

i.e. should I feel proud on your account or kill myself, kindly let me know the alternative I should adopt.

The Maharana being encouraged by it sent this couplet in reply :—

हुश्री ह्वंत पौथल कमध, पटको मूखों पाए ;

पकटण है जेतै पतौ, किलमों सिर केवों ।

i.e. right gladly you should feel proud, as long as the lance of Pratap shines over the head of the Moghals.

But no similar tale about Rao Chandrasen has been heard

The Probable Causes of the obscurity of the Rao

Why the name and history of such a memorable hero are forgotten? The chief cause of it seems to be that, unlike Maharana Pratap, the throne of Marwar was lost to the descendants of our hero—Rao Chandrasen. Some time after his death his elder brother, Udaisingh (alias Mota Raja) got the possession of the throne in 1640 V.S. (1583 A.D.). This new sovereign was not on good terms with our hero. The poets and historians of the time, therefore, thought the recital and narration of his heroic deeds to be fruitless and a cause of displeasing the contemporary rulers.

We hope true Indians and specially the Rathor Rajputs will cherish the memory of the magnanimous Rao in their hearts like that of Maharana Pratap.

THE JAIN TRADITION OF THE ORIGIN OF PĀTALIPUTRA

PURAN CHAND NAHAR, M.A., B.L.

Like many other ancient cities of India, Pātaliputra has also a tradition of its own, about its origin. It is beyond any shadow of doubt that at one period, this city was in its most flourishing condition like Paris or New York of to-day with all its splendours. Much has been written by various scholars of the East and West about several traditions, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain, associated with this great city. Here I am giving only the Jain version of the origin in a few words and hope the same will not be out of place at the present happy moment when the All-India Conference of Oriental Scholars from different parts of the country meets here in this ancient site of Pātaliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks.

ORIGIN OF THE CITY PĀTALIPUTRA.

King Śrenika was reigning at Rājagṛha. He was also known as Bimbisāra and was succeeded by his son Kunika or Aśoka Candra and better known as Ajātaśatru. He removed his capital from Rājagṛha to Champā and was followed by his son Udāyi. After the death of Kunika, Udāyi was ruling in Champā; he did not like the city owing to several deaths in his family and was therefore advised by his ministers to found another city; his own father had given up Rājagṛha and had founded Champā for the same reason.

Udāyi then sent round some *nimittakas* (omen-readers) to discover an ideal place where he could lay the foundation of a new city. They selected a place on the shores of the Ganges, where a Pātal tree stood majestically with a number of protruding branches. Worms flying themselves into the mouth of a Chāsh bird on the tree indicated the place as the most auspicious. In due course the *nimittakas* informed the king of their selection of the place, when an aged Nimittaka recited the following story about the Pātal tree :—

‘Formerly there were two cities, one Southern Mathurā, the other Northern Mathurā. One Devdatta a trader of Northern Mathurā went to Southern Mathurā and became a friend of one

Jayasimha of that city Once Devdatta was dining with his friend where he saw Annikā, a sister of Jayasimha and fell in love with her. Ultimately he married her, promising her brother that he would not leave the city until he had a son by Annikā. Years passed by, but no child was born to her; meanwhile Devdatta received a letter from his parents requesting him to return to Northern Mathurā to see them. The conflict between his promise to stay and his desire to see his parents brought tears to his eyes, however, his wife Annikā got him relieved of his promise and they both started for the place. In the course of their journey Annikā gave birth to a son named Sandhirana but better known as Annikāputra. Some years after Annikāputra renounced the world and became a Jain Sadhu (monk). Later this Annikāputra Muni came to a city, on the banks of the Ganges, called Puspabhadra. Pushpaketu was the king and the beautiful Puspāvatī was the queen there. She gave birth simultaneously to one son and one daughter called Puṣpacula and Puṣpaculā. When they grew up, they were married to each other by the king entirely against the will of her queen Puṣpāvatī, who was a Jain. Later Puṣpāvatī, by her austere penance and meritorious actions was re-born as a Deva and decided to save her daughter from future hell-life. She showed her in dreams the misery and pain of hell and the blessings of heaven. None could read her dreams aright but Annikāputra Muni wonderfully depicted her dreams and explained them satisfactorily. Consequent upon this explanation, she renounced the world and became a Sādhvī (Nun), after promising her husband that she would accept food only from his house.

Years after Annikāputra Muni foresaw a long and disastrous famine and sent away his disciples, but himself stayed there with Puṣpaculā Sādhvī. Shortly after by her austere penance, she obtained "Kevalajñāna" (absolute knowledge). Annikāputra Muni inquired of her when he shall have his final emancipation. She informed him that he would attain it immediately in course of his crossing the Ganges. Being eager for the purpose, the Muni started at once to cross the river. While he was thus crossing it by a ferry boat, it began to sink; therefore his co-passengers pushed him off the boat; while thus being drowned he only thought of the Apkāya (water) lives he was harming and thus obtained his final emancipation. Later the skull of the material body of that

Muni drifted ashore at a certain place and there a Pāṭal tree grew from his skull.'

King Udāyi thereupon founded a city on the spot and called it *Pāṭaliputra*.

The references to the above story of the origin of the city of Pāṭaliputra according to Jain tradition, may be found in :—

1. Hem Candra's '*Parīṣiṣṭa Parva*', Canto VI, verses 22-180.
2. *Āvaśyaka Nirṇukti*, XVII. 11. 27.

For other references, see,

3. *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, Vol. V, p. 823 '*Pāḍaliūṭṭa*'.

MALAKŪTA OF YUAN CHWANG.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Yuan Chwang's Account.—Yuan Chwang's account of Malakūta has baffled many commentators and though the balance of opinion has been in favour of the identification of Malakūta with the Pāṇḍya country, there still hangs some amount of uncertainty about the question, and no apology is needed for an attempt to re-examine the subject in the light of the evidence from the literature and epigraphy of the Tamil country. The main facts in the pilgrim's account of the country are well-known, and from the point of view of this discussion they may be summed up as follows:¹ (1) the country of Mo-lo-kiu-tcha (Malakūta) was 3000 *li* or so south of Kāñcipura (Kin-chi-pu-lo). (2) It was about 5000 *li* in circuit, (3) the capital was about 40 *li*, the soil brackish and barren, the temperature hot, and the men dark-complexioned, but firm and imperious in disposition. Some followed the true doctrine, others were given to heresy. They did not esteem learning much, but were wholly given to commercial gain. Hinduism and Jainism (Nigranthas) were more flourishing than Buddhism of which many old convents were in ruins, including one built by Mahendra 'not far to the east' of the capital. (4) On the south of this country, bordering the sea, are the Mo-la-ye (Malaya) mountains on which is found the white Sandalwood tree. (5) To the east of the Malaya mountains is Mt. Po-ta-lo-kia (Potalaka), on the top of which is a lake; its waters are clear as a mirror. From a hollow proceeds a great river which encircles the mountain twenty times as it flows down and then enters the Southern sea. (6) Going north-east from this mountain, on the border of the sea, is a town whence they start for the Southern sea and the country of San-kia-lo (Ceylon). Sinhala is commonly said to be 3000 *li* to the south-east of this port.

The portion of the Chinese text corresponding to the foregoing summary is apparently not as trustworthy as the bulk of the itinerary², and it would be well not to look for even as much

¹ See Beal, *Buddhist Records*, II, 230 ff. ² Watters—*Yuan Chwang*, ii, 233.

precision here with regard to bearings and distances as is to be found for the rest of the pilgrim's journey.

Did Yuan Chwang visit Malakūṭa?—One question that has caused a considerable amount of discussion is whether the pilgrim actually visited the country of Malakūṭa or gave an account of it only from hearsay. Watters expresses himself with great caution, and his views are entitled to the consideration that is due to the latest and one of the most searching students of the records of the pilgrim. Referring to the statement in the *Life* which has led to the belief that the pilgrim did not visit Malakūṭa, this is what Watters says: ¹

‘As this is not very clear and as the direction is not given we should not lightly accept this statement. There is nothing in the pilgrim's account of the country to show that he did not visit it and see its capital and the district around, although he may not have gone to remote objects of interest.’

Again, referring to Yuan Chwang's description of the monastery near the capital of Malakūṭa, Watters observes: ²

‘The account of this monastery and its Asoka *tope* of which only the dome remained visible is apparently that of a visitor at the time of the description.’

Lastly: ³

‘If we had only the records we should be at liberty to believe that he proceeded to Ceylon and returned thence to Drāviḍa.’

Watters, however, adds: ⁴

‘But it is perhaps better to regard him as writing about Malakūṭa and Ceylon from information given to him in Drāviḍa, and from books.’

The halting tone of Watters' observations appears to have arisen partly from his oversight of the political condition of Southern India at the time of the pilgrim's visit. His remark ⁵ that the pilgrim does not tell us anything about the nature of the country between Drāviḍa and Malakūṭa is perfectly correct; but there is nothing in this to point to the inference that ‘he may not have gone to Malakūṭa’ (Watters). In the middle of the seventh century A.D., the only considerable power in Southern India besides the Pallavas was that

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 230.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

of the Pāṇdyas whose sway extended over all the territory that lay to the south of the Pallava dominion. If we accept the view that Yuan Chwang's Drāviḍa and Malakūta were the Pallava and the Pāṇdyas countries respectively,¹ there was indeed no intermediate country between these of which the pilgrim could tell us anything. It appears, therefore, right to follow the indication in the records to which Watters has drawn such pointed attention rather than the vague statement in the Life that Yuan Chwang was talking from hearsay

The interpretation of the data.—We are unable to say how far the indication of the distances and the bearings given by the pilgrim are to be accepted literally. Burnell who was among the earliest to discuss the identification of Malakūta² in the light of Tamil evidence felt that there was no means of controlling and checking these data given by the pilgrim. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography*³ remarked that 3000 *li* to the south of Kāñcīpuram would take us far out into the sea to the south of cape Comorin, and Hultzsch accepted that statement. On the other hand, Mr. S. N. Majumdar is quite content to accept the 3000 *li* and remarks that 3000 *li* to the south of Kāñcīpuram will not take us so much to the south. 'The ancient road to the South of Kāñchī passed through Tirukōilur, Trichinopoly (Uraiyūr), Tanjore district and Koḍumbai to Madura the Capital of the Pāṇdyas and this route makes up the distance of 3000 *li*'.⁴ These remarks of Mr. Majumdar are of course to be understood in the light of his discussion of the length of a *li* in his introduction, pp. xxxi-xxxiii. But whether the distances given by the pilgrim work out so nicely as Mr. Majumdar has it in this instance or not, one cannot have any hesitation in declining to follow the rather drastic emendation of the pilgrim's figures suggested by Cunningham. In a long and complex record such as that of Yuan Chwang's itinerary in a foreign country the indication of directions and distances must necessarily have been approximate.

¹ It is immaterial for the very limited purpose of this argument if the capital of Drāviḍa was Kāñcīpuram as is usually believed, or Negapatam as Fergusson and Watters are inclined to think *J. R. A. S. (N. S.)*, vi, pp. 265-7; Watters, ii, 227. But it is very difficult to accept Fergusson's view that the port of embarking for Ceylon to the N.—E. of Mt. Potalaka was identical with the capital of Drāviḍa.

² *Ind. Ant.*, VII, 39-40.

³ pp. 628-30 (ed. S. N. Majumdar Sastri, 1924).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 741.

With whatever defects of method Cunningham must be held to have arrived at a substantially sound identification of 'Malaya-kūta' (as he renders the name) in his statement¹ that 'the province of Malayakūta must have included the modern districts of Tanjore and Madura on the East with Coimbatore, Cochin, and Travancore on the West.' It must be observed that the area so indicated would roughly correspond to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom as it was in the days when Yuan Chwang came to South India.²

Burnell made an unfortunate attempt to upset this identification and identify Malakūta with a part of the Tanjore district round about the modern city of Kumbhakōṇam. Some years later Hultzsch, in his paper on the country of Malakūta,³ conclusively disproved Burnell's thesis and went far to establish Cunningham's initial identification in the light of South Indian literature and epigraphy. But even so Burnell's attempt has produced an aftermath long after his day. Venkayya⁴ equates Malakūta with Malaikūrṇam and draws attention to a passage in the commentary of the *Vīrasōḷiyam* where he found mention of a Malaikūrṇam. This is very unfortunate, for the only printed edition of the *Vīrasōḷiyam*, which is also the one to which Mr. Venkayya gives reference, mentions not Malaikūrṇam but Mālaikkūrṇam as the native district of the author of the *Vīrasōḷiyam*. As we do not know of a Malaikūrṇam from any other source, we cannot help thinking that the text of the commentary here is not correctly preserved. It must also be observed that *Mīlalaikkūrṇam* will fit perfectly into the stanza. My attempts to determine the correct reading by consulting MSS. of the work have so far failed as none of the MSS. in the Madras Library contains this part of the commentary. On the other hand Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar⁵ has tried to uphold the identification of Malakūta with Mīlalaikkūrṇam and has stated that there are reasons to believe that this division covered a large area surrounding Madura. Whatever the plausibility of the equation of Malakūta with *Mīlalaikkūrṇam*, there is absolutely no evidence for the statement that Mīlalaikkūrṇam covered a large area surrounding Madura. The evidence of Tamil literature and epigraphy taken together would show that Mīlalaikkūrṇam included

¹ *Op. cit.*, 629. ² *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, Ch. V.*

³ *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 239 ff.

⁴ *Annual Report, Epigraphy*, Madras, 1899, paragraph 50.

⁵ *Ancient Dekhan*, 115 ff.

within itself places like Kālaiyārkōvil, Tuñjalūr and others which shows that it was the name of a division of the country near the eastern coast on the border land between the modern districts of Ramnad and Tanjore.¹ As a matter of fact, the more one considers the matter the more it seems to be necessary to abandon the attempt to find in the latter part of the word Malakūṭa a rendering of the Tamil *Kūrṇam* or *Kōṭṭam*. It does not seem more likely either, *pace* Hultzsch, that the first half of the word 'mala' corresponds to Tamil 'malai'. There is more to be said, it would appear, for the suggestion of Cunningham that the Chinese pilgrim's Malakūṭa must be equated to Malayakūṭa. Watters has, indeed, suggested that the geographical names given by the Chinese pilgrim might have been drawn by him from his knowledge of Buddhist literature and that it may not always be possible to find geographical equivalents satisfying all the conditions of the narrative concerning Mo-lo-ku-t-cha. Watters says for instance ² of the Malaya Mountain: 'It was in reality a poetical creation to which the semblance of earthly reality was given by the use of well-known names, a district of Utopia with a topical definition'. Again of Potalaka of the scriptures ³ the same writer says that it 'is not to be identified with any one of the mountains by the sea-side in South India'. But it must be doubted whether in making these statements Watters does not carry scepticism beyond legitimate bounds. After all, if we take the general impression produced on the mind by the pilgrim's statement and compare with it the general impression which anyone familiar with the headwaters of the Tāmbraparṇi carries in his mind about the mountain range known as the Podigai in Tamil literature—special attention may be drawn to the mention of the sandalwood tree, the lake of clear water and the river which on its way to the sea flowed round the mountain⁴—there would be little room for doubt that in Malaya we have a reference to the southernmost portion of the Western Ghats and that in the Potalaka we must recognise, with Hultzsch, the well-known Podigai or Podiyil.⁵ Beal, indeed, thought of the identity of Potalaka with Tamil Podigai, but abandoned it rather

¹ See *Purāṇāṇṭaru*, p. 606 n; and my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 28 and n. 4.

² Watters—*Yuan Chwang*, ii, 230. ³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 231-2.

⁴ It is even now believed in the district of Tinnevely that the Tāmbra-parṇi flows round its source, the mountain of Agastya, before it reaches the plain.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 241.

hastily. Beal abandoned the idea because he thought that he had to look for Podigai somewhere in the Nilgris. He remarked:¹ '3000 li to the south of Conjeeveram and still south of that and east again of this cannot bring us to the Nilgiri hills. Nor do we know of any peak there sacred as a place of pilgrimage and the residence of a Bodhisattva or a dēva, with a lake on the top and a river flowing into the Southern sea.' In any case his suggestion that Potalaka must refer to Adam's Peak in Ceylon is impossible to accept if only for the reason that the pilgrim states that to the north-east of Potalaka on the sea-side was a city from which people embarked for Ceylon.

In Tamil literature the name Podigai or Podiyil is applied to the southernmost section of the Western Ghats; and although Ptolemy seems to apply his term Bittiga to the whole section of the Western Ghats extending from the Coimbatore gap to Cape Comorin,² still it is well to remember that Tamil literary usage confines the term Podigai to that section in the extreme south lying between the headwaters of the Tāmraparni and the Cape Comorin. Thus the *Śilappadikāram*³ mentions the *Podiyil* and the *Imayam*, evidently as mountains in the extreme South and North of India, and again refers to a pilgrim who goes round the sacred Podiyil mountain after bathing in Kumari. These indications from Tamil literary usage would go a long way to justify Yuan Chwang's location of Potalaka to the South of Malakūta; and when he says that Potalaka was to the East of Malaya Mountain we have perhaps to understand a distinction between parallel ranges of the Western Ghats in that part of the country. And there is a great deal of force in Hultzsch's suggestion⁴ that the pilgrim reports as legends relating to Avalokiteśvara what he heard of the popular beliefs concerning the sage Agastya. In fact it appears to have been commonly believed by the Buddhists of the Tamil land that Agastya learned his Tamil from Avalokiteśvara before he gave it to the world. This becomes clear from the opening verses of the *Vīrasōliyam*, a work of the eleventh century A.D., in which the author Buddhāmītra writes :

¹ *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), XV, p. 338.

² *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 337.

³ Canto i, l. 14 and xxvii, ll 68

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 241.

‘Āyungunattavalōkitan
pakkal Agattiyan kēt-
tēyumbuvanikkīyambiya
taṇḍamil’.

‘The sweet Tamil which Agastya expounded to a worthy world after learning it from Avalōkita of praiseworthy qualities.’ What was Agastya’s hill ordinarily might, therefore, have been regarded as Avalōkita’s hill by the Southern Buddhists.

The name Malakūṭa or Malayākūṭa is, indeed, unique and difficult to explain from the Indian side in that form; but in general, there seems to be no difficulty in accepting the pilgrim’s specifications as referring to different parts of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom as it was in the days of his pilgrimage. His references to the barren nature of that part of the country, its active sea-borne commerce, the Malaya mountain and the Potalaka and the lake of clear water and the stream flowing from it and his reference to the port of embarkation to Ceylon which lay to the north-east of that mountain—all these fit in well enough with what we know of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, of which the capital which he does not name but which was about 40 *li* in circuit was no doubt old Madura. It is quite likely that if a careful excavation is undertaken to the east of the site of the old city in the neighbourhood of the modern Madura, the pilgrim’s reference to the ruined *tope* and the monastery finds corroboration.

There is confirmation of the scheme of identifications upheld in this discussion from another Chinese writer. Writing towards the end of the 8th century A.D. Kia Tan says of Ceylon¹ that ‘its northern coast is 100 *li* from the south coast of Southern India. Then towards the west after four days’ journey we cross the country of *Mo-lai* which is the extreme southern part of Southern India’. In this Molai we may perhaps recognise Malaya, the first half of Yuan Chwang’s Malakūṭa, and Kia Tan’s testimony is valuable because of its definite statement that the country of *Mo-lai* was the extreme south of Southern India.

¹ *B.E.F.E.O.*, iv, p. 359.

AN INSCRIPTION OF ALAUDDIN HUSSAIN SHAH,
KING OF BENGAL OF 1509-10 A.D. AT
NAWADAH NEAR BARH IN
PATNA DISTRICT.

SYED MOHAMMAD, B.A., B.L.

Alauddin Hussain Shah who ruled from 1498 to 1521 was 'with the exception of Ilyas, the greatest of the Muslim kings of Bengal'.¹ 'This great and good king extended his empire into Orissa, into Assam, into Chittagong'² and ruled over Bihar. He is even now-a-days remembered by the people, the numerous legends and stories current in the villages of Bengal, refer to the times of Hussain Shah, the Good. Even the Geography of the country re-echoes his name. The Parganah of Husainabad in Gaur district, the Masjid Hussain Shah in Ghoraghat, Hussain Shahi in Sarkar Bazuha (Mymensingh), the Parganahs of Husainpur and Husain Ujyal in Sarkars Sharifabad and Sulaimanabad remind us of his name. In the south of Bardawan especially and in the north of the present district of Hugli, Husain Shah plays a leading part in the legends of peasantry. In Mayapur which lies west of Chinsurah in the Parganah of Bhairah about 7 miles from the right bank of the Damodar, a masjid and a tank still exist, which were completed by Hussain Shah, and about 12 miles north-east of Mayapur there is a village Shah Husainpur which was called so to perpetuate his memory'.³

Alauddin Hussain Shah was one of those Indian kings who were great builders. His mosques, madrasas and other works of public utility are found throughout his dominion. Various inscriptions of this king have been found at Gaur and Pandua, the mediæval capitals of the Muslim kings of Bengal. At Gaur the inscriptions are found on the gateway of the famous Qadam Rusal mosque,⁴ the gate of the fort,⁵ mosques of Sikandar Khan⁶ and of Wali Moham-

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 270.

² *Reazusalatin*, English translation, p. 130 notes.

³ *P.A.S.B.*, 1870, p. 112.

⁴ *E.G.A.*, Glazier—*Report on the District of Rangpur*.

⁵ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLII, 1873, p. 295.

⁶ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XI, part I, 1871.

mad Ibn Ali¹ and on doors of two tombs,² while of the two Pandua inscriptions one is from a mosque³ and the other could not be read.⁴ At other places in Maldah district, five inscriptions have been found in Maldah town⁵ and one each at English Bazar,⁶ Molnatali,⁷ Bholahat⁸ and Mahdipur.⁹

Even in far off Dacca district four of his inscriptions have been found at Sonargaon¹⁰ and one each at Dhamrai¹¹ Machain¹² and Azimnagar.¹³ Two of his inscriptions have been also recorded from Tribeni¹⁴ in Hughly district and one each from Birbhum,¹⁵ Gangarampur¹⁶ in Dinajpur district and Sylhet¹⁷ in Assam. One of his inscriptions is also preserved in the Calcutta Museum.¹⁸

Although his inscriptions are not so numerous in Bihar they have been found at some places. Two of them have been recorded from Cheran¹⁹ and Ismailpur²⁰ in Saran. The vault over the tomb of Shah Nafa at Monghyr²¹ has the inscription recording its construction by Prince Danyal, the son of Alauddin Hussain Shah. Another of his inscription has been found on the Bonhara mosque²² near Omarpur in Patna district while the oldest mosque in Patna city²³ is the one constructed by the king which has also an inscription.

¹ Ravenshaw—*Gaur*, 38; *A.S.I.*, Vol. XV, 75; *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXIV, 1895, p. 224.

² *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLII, 1873, p. 294.

³ *A.S.I.*, Vol. XV, p. 84.

⁴ Ravenshaw—*Gaur*, p. 82.

⁵ *J.A.S.B.*, 1874, p. 300; *J.A.S.B.*, 1873; *J.A.S.B.*, 1873; p. 303; *J.A.S.B.*, 1874, p. 305; *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 198.

⁶ *J.A.S.B.*, 1874, p. 303; Ravenshaw—*Gaur*, p. 80.

⁷ *J.A.S.B.*, 1874, p. 30.

⁸ *J.A.S.B.*, 1874, p. 306; Ravenshaw—*Gaur*, p. 83.

⁹ *E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 88.

¹⁰ *J.A.S.B.*, 1872, p. 333; *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 283; *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 295.

¹¹ *J.A.S.B.*, 1872, p. 109.

¹² *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 293.

¹³ *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 284.

¹⁴ *J.A.S.B.*, 1870, *J.A.S.B.*, 1909, p. 260; *E.I.M.*, 1914-15, p. 10.

¹⁵ *J.A.S.B.*, 1861, p. 390.

¹⁶ *J.A.S.B.*, 1872, p. 106.

¹⁷ *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 293.

¹⁸ *J.A.S.B.*, (N.A.) 1900, p. 260.

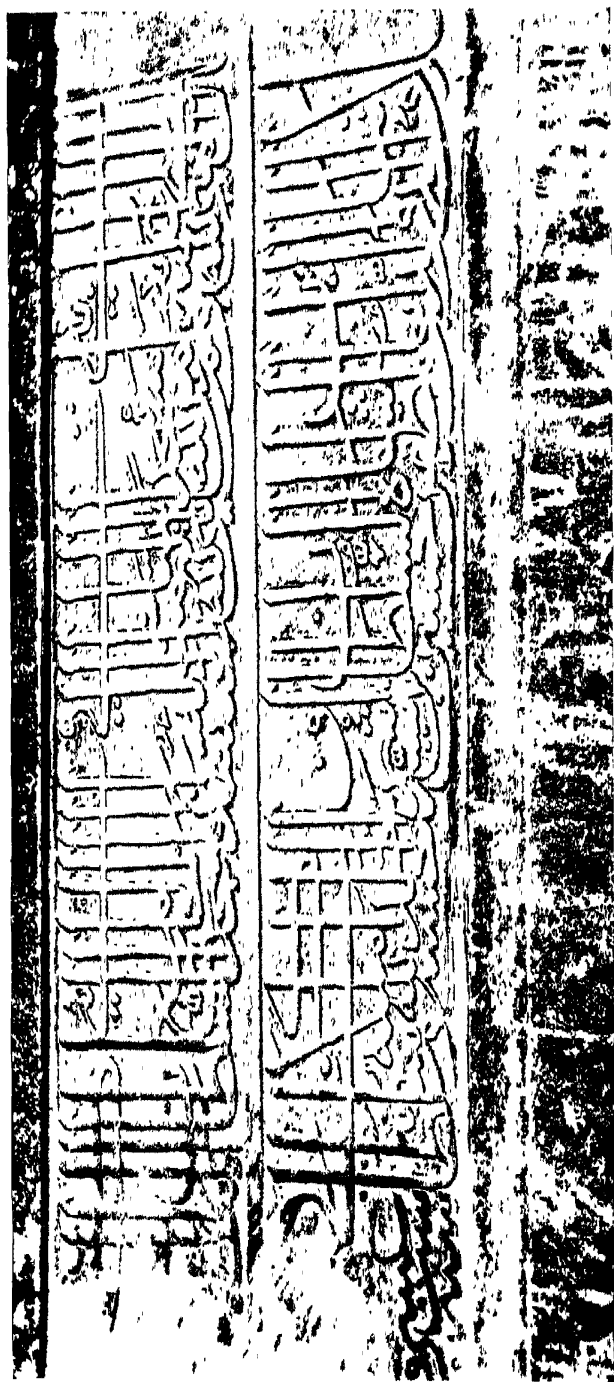
¹⁹ *P.A.S.B.*, 1870, p. 112.

²⁰ *J.A.S.B.*, 1874, p. 304.

²¹ *J.A.S.B.*, 1872, p. 335.

²² *P.A.S.B.*, 1870, p. 297. There is no such place in Patna district; there is, however, a place of this name in Bhagalpore district which was visited by Buchanan—*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XV, Pt. III & IV p. 319.

²³ Described in my article 'Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna' in *J.B.O.R.S.*, in the press.



Inscription of Alauddin Hussain Shah (p. 183)

The inscription which is given below is in a mosque at Nawadah, an insignificant village near old Barh and about a mile and a half from the present town of Barh in Patna district. It is not in the position where an inscription ought to be, but has been affixed indiscriminately outside the mosque towards the west. The present mosque measures only 44 feet by 15 feet, has a roof of corrugated iron sheet and occupies only a portion of the raised platform about 150 feet long by 110 feet broad. The platform now contains the tomb of a saint and there are several other graves on it. It seems that the whole platform formed the plinth of the mosque and the present structure was constructed after the original gave way. The roof of the present mosque being of iron sheets supported on wooden pillars, it was not possible to affix the slab in the front and as both the Hindus and the Muslims of the locality rub the stone frequently to apply in mumps and kindred diseases, it was found convenient to place it outside the mosque. It is unfortunate that thus they have disfigured the date portion of the inscription which could be deciphered only after a photograph was taken.

The inscription which is on a black stone 3 feet 4 inches by 1 foot 5 inches is in Arabic and Tughra character. It commences with the famous saying of the Prophet 'God will make for him a house like it in heaven, who will build a mosque for God' which with a little variation is found on all the inscriptions of Alauddin Hussain Shah's mosques. It is followed by the name of the king and has 916 A.H. = 1509-10 A.D. as the date of construction.

Inscription.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجداً لله بني الله له بيتاً مثله
 فى الجنة بنى هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان المعظم و المكرم علاؤ الدنيا والدين
 ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في
 سنة تسعمائة و ستة عشر *

Translation.

The Prophet may the blessing of God be on him and peace said 'God will make a house for him like it in heaven, who will make a mosque for God'. This Jama mosque was built by the great and gracious king, Sultan Allaudduni-a-Waddin Abul Mozaffar Hossain Shah, the son of Syed Ashraful Hossaini, may God perpetuate his dominion and rule—in the year 916.

The high platform on the portion of which the present mosque stands indicates that there was a big mosque before the construction of the present one to which this inscription refers. Its situation in the midst of high and old graves, big mounds of earth, and traces of old buildings proves the greatness of the place in the past. The large and deep tank to the south of the mosque must have been excavated during its prosperity. The fact that Alauddin Hussain Shah built the Jama mosque at such a distance from his capital shows the importance of the town in his time. When Emperor Sikander Lodi having subdued Bihar advanced against Hussain Shah and Prince Danyal, the son of the latter went to meet him, the plenipotentiaries selected the town of the Barh for the conclusion of the treaty by which the Emperor was allowed to retain 'Bihar, Tirhut and Sarkar Saran and all other countries he had subdued provided he did not invade Bengal'.¹ It is likely that the plenipotentiaries might have met in one of the then existing buildings which have given place to the mounds of the earth over a large area near the mosque.

¹ Charles Stewart—*History of Bengal*, p. 114.

VIŚVĀMITRA IN BIHAR.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.

Viśvāmitra is, perhaps, the most provoking figure in the Vedic literature.¹ He has stimulated a number of controversies. Alive, he foisted Triśanku² and brought on the latter's doomed head the wrath of orthodoxy dead and gone these millennia, his memory haunted Pargiter,³ and roused against him the ire of established Indology.⁴ After over forty years' unbiassed study of Vedic geography, Pargiter found no trace of the so-called Indo-Aryan invasion of the Punjab;⁵ instead, he founded his 'mid-Indic' beginning, and a Brāhmaṇa and Ksatriya tradition.⁶ Recent discoveries in the Indus valley and the Gangetic valley are crystallising opinion, and even Sir John Marshall⁷ is viewing with increasing concern an eastern direction of early culture.

Thus, the moment is not inopportune to investigate Viśvāmitra's testimony to pre-history in the Gangetic valley, with special reference to the remains recently excavated at Buxar by the present writer, under the auspices of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at the expense of the Local Government.⁸

This short note will raise only three questions:—

- I. What was Viśvāmitra's connection with Bihar?
- II. Who were the people whom he found already settled in Magadha?
- III. To whom belong the prehistoric remains at Buxar?⁹

I. It is not necessary to recapitulate old data, so conveniently summarised in the *Vedic Index* (by Macdonell and Keith), Vol. II, pp. 310-12. They may, however, be arranged in a new combination. Viśvāmitra's father was Gāthī (*Ait. Br.*, vii. 18; *Sarvānukramanī*), son of Kuśika (*Rv.*, iii. 33, 5; *Nirukta*, ii. 25), who gave the name to

¹ *Rv.*, Maṇḍala, iii.

² *Rv.*, i. 57; *Tait. Up.*, i. 10.

³ Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, pp. 301-2.

⁴ Keith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 1021.

⁵ Pargiter, *ibid.*, Preface.

⁶ Pargiter, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 411 ff.

⁷ Marshall, *The Times of India, Bombay*, 1928.

⁸ For a discussion on the finds, see Pathak Commemoration Volume, 1930: *Remains of a Prehistoric Civilisation in the Gangetic Valley*, by A. Banerji-Sastri.

⁹ *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Shahabad, 1906, p. 132.

the family as *Kuśikāśah* (*Rv.* iii. 26, 1; 29, 15. 30, 20; 33, 5. 42, 9; 50, 4. 53, 9, 10).

The people, among whom Viśvāmitra performed his sacrifices, he names as *Ime Bhojāh*. The *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to the use of Bhoja as designating the clan name of a princely family (*Āt. Br.* viii. 12, 14, 17) Their seat was at Bhojpur—‘A *pargana* lying in the north-west of the district of Shahabad in the Buxar subdivision, which derives its name’ from the Bhojas of Viśvāmitra, and not ‘from Rājā Bhoj of Ujjain in Malwa’¹ as stated in the Shahabad Gazetteer (*Ibid.*, p. 132). This proposed derivation is borne out by what is correctly recorded as the local tradition of Buxar on the Ganges (25 34 N., and 83 58 E.) the head-quarters town of the subdivision in which Bhojpur is situated. ‘Buxar is said to have been the home of many of the authors of the Vedic hymns and to have been called originally *Veda-garbha*, i.e. the womb or origin of the Vedas...Buxar is an old Brahmanical site and various parts of it have ancient names such as Rameswar, Viswamitra-kasrama...’²

II. To the east of Bhojpur and Buxar, lay the land of Magadha (*Ātharvaveda*, v. 22, 14), inhabited by the Kikatas (*Rv.*, iii. 53, 14), under their king Pra-maganda.³ Viśvāmitra was not favourably disposed towards his powerful neighbours. He invokes Indra to take away their treasures and cattle, and bestow the same on his people. That these Kikatas were not of the Aryan stock, is admitted by all.⁴

Kiṃ te kṛvanti Kikāṣeṣu gāvah

Of what use are these cattle in Kikata, to you, O Indra?

Nāśiram duhre na tapanti gharmam

They neither produce *āśira*, nor heat the *gharma* vessel at your sacrifice.

The request follows:—

Ā no bhara Pramagandasya vedah

Rv., iii. 53.

Bestow on us their possessions.

Who were these people Kikatas, living in Magadha, evidently from before the time of Viśvāmitra, in well-organised systems of

¹ *Shahabad Gazetteer*, *ibid.*, p. 132.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 133-4.

³ *Rv.*, iii. 53, 14; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 400, n.

⁴ *Nirukta*, vi. 32.

government under their own king, Pra-maganda, possessing riches, in cities like Naicā-sākhas,¹ that roused the prudently restrained cupidity of their Aryan neighbours:—

- (i) They were pre-Vedic:
- (ii) pre-Aryan.
- (iii) prosperous and peaceful.
- (iv) named their cities after trees.

Sir John Marshall claims all four characteristics for the discoveries in the Indus valley:—

- (i) 'a most important phase of Indian civilisation, which shows close affinities with the contemporary Sumerian civilisation of Mesopotamia... this great civilisation which is now being revealed was no mere provincial offshoot of Mesopotamian culture, but was developed for countless generations on the banks of the Indus itself and its tributaries. . . . of a pre-Aryan people . . . whose culture was largely destroyed in the second or third millennium B.C. by the invading Aryans from the north.'²
- (ii) 'a link between Vedic traditions and the chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus valley is suggested by the heads of the stone statuettes found at Mahenjo-daro, which represent magicians in a pose of *dhyāni-yoga*; the *Yoga* arose among the non-Brāhmanic or pre-Aryan peoples of the Indus valley, and was originally alien to Brahmans'.³
- (iii) 'the cult of the *Pipal* (*ficus religiosa*) tree' is proved by Mahenjo-daro terra-cotta tablets.

This leads to the next question.⁴

¹ An excess of ingenuity has been wasted on the word *Naicāsākha*, (*Rv.*, iii, 53, 4.), cf. *Vedische Myth.*, 1, 14-8; 2, 241-5; the latest being Charpentier, *J.R.A.S.*, 1930, and Thomas' interesting note, *J.R.A.S.*, 1930, p. 894. The most obvious meaning is given by Sāyana, in his *Introduction*, p. 4—as the name of a 'city associated with a tree' accepted by Macdonell, *Ved. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 38.

² Marshall, *Illustrated London News*, Sept., 1924.

³ Barnett on Chanda's *Survival of the Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus valley*, *Archæol. Surv. Ind.*, No. 41; *J.R.A.S.*, October, 1930, p. 938.

⁴ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.*, 1924-25, pp. 62, 65, Plate XXII, fig. a.

III. What connection had the prehistoric people of the Gangetic valley with the prehistoric people of the Indus valley?

The third characteristic under II is illustrated by Sir John Marshall¹ in his '*Secrets of Prehistoric Indus Civilisation*' under headings 'Polished gold' and 'peace-loving cities'. To the west, Vasiṣṭha invokes Indra to destroy the *pur* of these non-Aryans (*Rv.*, i. 53, 7; 58, 8; 131, 4; 166, 8; etc.) and bestow their wealth on his followers. Viśvāmitra prays for the same in the east.

Were these pre-Aryans the same people? What was the cradle or the radiating centre? From the west to the east, or the east to the west?

An answer at this stage may be premature. Perhaps, the yet-undeciphered inscriptions on the Indus seals will provide a clue. For the present, with one eye at Mahenjo-daro, with the other, Bihar may follow the trail of Viśvāmitra at Buxar.²

¹ Marshall, *The Times of India, Illustrated Weekly* (Bombay), January 22, 1928, p. 54.

² The Government of India in the Archæological Department have undertaken, this year, to continue the excavation at Buxar.

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE
MARATHA INVASIONS BETWEEN 1740 AND 1765
ON BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.

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The Maratha irruptions were perhaps the most calamitous events in the history of Bengal during these few years (1740-'65). Their influence was felt, more or less, in every sphere of life whether economic, social or political. It is a mistake to think that the depredations of the Marathas were directed only against important cities and towns, and that they ceased with the beginning of the rainy season. We have it on the authority of Gaṅgārām¹ and the authors of *Seir-ul-mutakherin*² and *Ryaz-us-salatin*,³ as well as certain letters to the Court of Directors preserved in the Imperial Records Department, that the interior villages in different parts of Western Bengal did not escape ravages and plunders at their hands. It is clear from these accounts that the cottages and dwellings of the poor and the middle class people living in villages were more miserably affected than the banking houses of Jagat Seth or the palace of Nowazish Muhammad in the metropolis. Jagat Seth's house had been plundered once only, but the houses of these poor villagers were burnt and their property and effects were looted from year to year.⁴ The Marathas used to stop their military operations only in the direction of actual fights and sieges with the outbreak of the rainy season, but their plundering activities were then carried on more vigorously than before.

The *economic effects* were varied, and may be studied broadly under two heads, firstly, the effects on the general economic life of

¹ *Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇ*, lines 447-461.

² Vol. I, p. 395.

³ p. 343.

⁴ 'Several bodies of them (the Marathas) appeared again about Radha-nagur and Midnapur plundering those places and adjacent villages'.—Letter to the Court, dated 8th January, 1742. *I.R.D.* (H.M.). 'The Nabob was within 3 coss of Muxadavad the 22nd December (1745) and the Marattoes had burnt the Towns over against the Muxadavad and several villages about them.'—Letter to the Court, dated 31st January, 1745. *I.R.D.* (H.M.).

the people of Bengal, and secondly, the effects on the Company's trade and factories. 'Every evil, attending destructive war, was felt by this unhappy country in the most eminent degree; a scarcity of grain in all parts, the wages of labour greatly enhanced, trade, foreign and inland, labouring under every disadvantage and oppression ' 'Insecurity of person and property overwhelmed the merchants and weavers, and the manufacture of the country was thereby greatly affected. Many of the inhabitants, weavers, husbandmen, fled, the Aurungs were in a great degree deserted, the lands untilled, and the wretched fugitives who had escaped with nothing but their wives and children, and whatever they could carry in their hands, thought there was no safety for them until they arrived on the Eastern shore' (of the Padma R.).⁵ Even Gurrahs (a kind of coarse cloth) and other similar piece-goods were available with great difficulty, and these became exceedingly dear.⁶ The price of cotton rose high,⁷ and many of the weavers left their work. The ruinous effects of the Maratha ravages were seen in the silk manufacture also; thus we are told, the 'weavers and inhabitants fled, silk (was) often carried away wett and on the Reels, and piece-goods before (being) manufactured—the one wound off and the other finished in utmost hurry and confusion'.⁸ So the few species of cloths that could be somehow manufactured were badly fabricated. Sometimes the Marathas 'fed their horses and cattle with mulberry plantations, which affected the supply of raw silk'.⁹ Thus the quantity of Bengal manufacture decreased, and its quality also underwent a deterioration, which brought it into 'disrepute at

⁵ Holwell's *Interesting Historical Events*, pp. 151; 123 *Seir-ul-mutakherin*, Vol. I, p. 395, *Ryaz-us-salatin*, p. 344; *Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇ*, lines 281-306.

⁶ Letter to the Court, dated 13 August, 1743, para. 10; *ibid.*, dated 3rd February, 1743, para. 91; *ibid.*, dated 4th February, 1746, paras. 16 to 34, *ibid.*, dated 22nd February, 1746, para. 13; *ibid.*, dated 30th November, 1746, paras. 7-9, *I.R.D.* (H.M.).

⁷ Letter to the Court, dated 8th January, 1742, para. 57; *ibid.*, 3rd February, 1743, para. 67; *ibid.*, dated 30th November, 1746, paras. 7-9.

⁸ Letter to the Court, dated 8th January, 1742, para. 61; *ibid.*, dated 30th November, 1746, para. 15. This topic has been treated in detail in another monograph I have written on the History of the East India Company's Trade in Bengal, 1740-65.

⁹ Holwell's *I.H.E.*, p. 121.

all the foreign markets, particularly at the Western ports of Judda, Mocha and Bussorah'.¹⁰

Agriculture also was not left unaffected,¹¹ and the prices of rice, grains and other provisions went up.¹² The Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on the 3rd February, 1746: 'Rice so excessive Dear, 30 seer only for a rupee, ordered the coarse not to be sold in the Buzar under a maund per Rupee, land Dutys on Grain and Rice taken off'.¹³ About the same time the weavers at Balasore 'could get only 10 seer rice for a rupee',¹⁴ and this state of things continued there for many years. In January 1753, Mr. McGuire, Chief of the Company's Factory at Bulrumgurrhy, wrote to the Council in Calcutta that 'several of the weavers who resided at Ballasore have brought their looms into the Factory, and the few who remain declare they shall be obliged to throw in theirs and quit the place on account of the great scarcity of rice and provisions of all kinds occasioned by the devastations of the Marattoes, on which account' he requested the Council to send him 15,000 or 2,000 maunds of rice on the Company's account.¹⁵ The native merchants were also put to great troubles and they were often chastised by the Company for their failure to supply the Company's investments according to previous contracts.¹⁶

The areas affected by the Maratha ravages suffered also some loss in ready money and bullion. The bank of Jagat Seth alone was robbed of two and a half crores; the amounts of realised rents were sometimes plundered by them on the way of their being carried to the Nawab's treasury¹⁷ and the important market places were, once and again, deprived of their cash and stock.¹⁸ The ordinary people had to protect their lives by paying money to the Maratha soldiers. (Gaṅgārām writes:—'Again and again they (the Marathas) demanded money of the people and poured water into the noses of some who failed to supply them with it, drowned others in the tank and instantly put many of them to death.'¹⁹ We cannot ignore Gaṅgārām's state-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹¹ *Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇ*, lines 305-306

¹² *Ibid.*, lines 231-241. Further details have been given in another monograph of mine on 'Markets and prices of articles in Bengal, 1740-1765'.

¹³ Para. 105, *J.R.D. (H.M.)*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 67.

¹⁵ *Consultations*, 1st February, 1753.

¹⁶ Letter to the Court, dated 30th November, 1746. *J.R.D. (H.M.)*.

¹⁷ *Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇ*, lines 269-270.

¹⁸ Holwell's *J.H.B.*, p. 195.

¹⁹ *Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇ*, lines 350-356.

ment as a piece of poetic exaggeration, because it is well corroborated by the author of *Ryaz-us-salatin*, who writes — ‘These murderous freebooters drowned in the river a large number of the people, after cutting off their ears, noses, and hands. Tying sacks of dirt to the mouths of others they mangled and burnt them with indescribable tortures.’²⁰ The Nawab had to buy off Balaji Raw’s alliance by paying him a huge amount and he had to maintain his troops in order, by presents of money and various other gifts.²¹ To meet these demands he took recourse to some extraordinary methods of raising money. The Zamindar of Rajsahy had to render him a substantial, financial help; Raja Ramnath of Dinajpur was heavily pressed for money when he had gone to Murshidabad, and he could only escape by giving a bill for twelve lacs of rupees in the name of Jagat Seth;²² and Mahārāj Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadiya had to pay twelve lacs²³ for which he was harassed. The Company also had to render heavy contributions on more than one occasion.’²⁴

The scarcity of money, thus caused by such big cash payments out of the country, was further increased by the fact that the shroffs and wealthy people had ‘transported their money across the Great River for fear of the Marattoes’.²⁵ Besides, the transference of the great part of Orissa to the Marathas (according to the terms of

²⁰ p. 344, ‘Bargite lutilā kata kata bā sujan, Nānāmate rājār prajāṛ gelā dhana’ — *Bhāratacandra’s Works*.

²¹ ‘.for though by his usurpation became possessed of the treasures of the three last Soubahs, yet so immense were his continual expenses and disbursements, that little of them remained; for notwithstanding what has been said of the treaty with Balaji Raw, it was pretty well known, he did not buy the absence and retreat of that General, for a sum of less than five korore of rupees, though the twenty-two lac for two years only were speciously published to the world to save the credit of the usurper and to afford an opportunity to the Maharattor of secreting from his followers all above that sum, which he appropriated to his own use, besides, the hon’s share of the twenty-two lac, therefore he was well enabled at his departure to present to Zyn-Adden, Hodjee’s second son a single compleat dress (for Seerpah) valued at two lac of rupees.’ Holwell’s *I.H.E.*, p. 153.

²² Sir Philip Francis’. — ‘*A plan for the settlement of Bengal, etc.*’

²³ *Bhāratacandra’s Works*; *Kṣitīsavansāvalicrita*.

²⁴ Letter to the Court, dated 3rd August, 1744, para. 24; *ibid.*, dated 8th November, 1744, paras. 12, 13, 14. *Ibid.*, dated 9th February, 1745, para. 76; Holwell’s *I.H.E.*, p. 152.

²⁵ Letter to the Court, dated 30th November, 1745, para. 33.

the treaty of 1752)²⁶ cut off an important part of the Bengal Subah, causing thereby a permanent loss to its revenues. We must be, however, careful to note that Eastern Bengal was not adversely influenced by the invasions of the Marathas, as their ravages did not extend so far. On the contrary, the transportation of their wealth and property by the people of Western Bengal and the migration of many of the traders and manufacturers of that part to territories beyond the Ganges rather increased the prosperity of the latter, though this was largely discounted by the losses and disturbances caused by Mag and Portuguese piracies and incursions from the N. & E. by various hill tribes.

Thus, in the light of these foregoing facts, it may be asserted that the economic degeneration of Western Bengal began since the days of Alivardi (if not earlier, from Murshid Kuli's time). To hold that the misbehaviour of the Company's servants and Gomasthas was alone responsible for the decline of Bengal's manufacture and industry, and that this began immediately after Plassey, is to look at the thing from one end of it only. Nobody will deny that their conduct exercised a destructive influence on the industry and manufacture of Bengal, and that their oppression increased as a result of the power gained after Plassey. But this also is to be admitted that there were already some cankers eating into Bengal's economic vitality. Her capital, manufacture and agriculture had been disturbed and had lost respectively, their original strength, purity and productivity, when the dreadful storm of the Maratha invasions had blown over her soil. What the Company's servants did was that they carried this bad state of things to a worse one by their unjust and cruel treatment of the native traders, manufacturers and weavers.

The trade of the East India Company in Bengal also took temporarily a downward course. The historian Orme says, 'the Marattoes during the war made only one considerable depredation on the English trade (directly). This was in the year 1748 when they stopped a fleet of boats coming from Cossimbazar to Calcutta and plundered it of 300 bales of raw silk belonging to the Company. But the advantages of the European commerce in general were much

²⁶ *Seir-ul-mutakherin*, Vol. II, pp. 112-113; Orme's *History of the Military Transactions, etc.*, Vol. II, p. 44.

impaired by the distress of the province, which enhanced the prices and debased the fabrics of all kinds of manufactures'.²⁷ His statement is fully corroborated by contemporary Government Records.

In May, 1742, the Marathas entered Murshidabad and plundered the houses of Jagat Seth and others, 'which put a stop to all business, the merchants and weavers flying wherever they can'.²⁸ The invasion of 1743 was also 'attended with all the unhappy consequences of the last, their route much the same, nothing but towns were actually burnt. The Nabob's troops also plundered greatly so that the people deserted the Aurungs where Gurrahs are made, and an entire stop was put to business for some time at Calcutta, Cossimbazar and Patna'.²⁹ The company suffered much loss in its 'Dadney' money advanced to the merchants, because the latter could neither pay anything in exchange nor could they return the money.³⁰ In June, 1745, the Marathas renewed their ravages with vigour, which occasioned great confusion and prevented the progress of the Company's business at several 'Aurungs'.³¹ This time they entered (probably from the direction of Bundelkhand) through Behar (via Patna), plundered Futwah, and pillaged 4,200 pieces of cloth belonging to the Company; they also burnt a godown wherein 7,168 maunds of saltpetre was deposited. Thus, in that season, the Company could not get any supply of saltpetre from Patna.³² The advance of the Marathas up to Katwah and their encampment near the 'Gurrah' Aurungs prevented the Company from providing 'Gurrahs' in sufficient quantity; and they could get only 12,151 pieces of the 60,000 pieces contracted for the year 1745.³³ When on the 8th of February, 1746, the Company had been

²⁷ *Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 46.

²⁸ Letter to the Court, dated 31st July, 1742, para. 10, *I.R.D.* (H.M.).

²⁹ Letter to the Court, dated 13th August, 1743, para. 10, *I.R.D.* (H.M.).

³⁰ Letter to the Court, dated 3rd February, 1743, *I.R.D.* (H.M.).

³¹ Letter to the Court, dated 11th August, 1745, *I.R.D.* (H.M.).

³² Letter to the Court, dated 31st August, 1746, paras. 111-114, *I.R.D.* (H.M.).

³³ Letter to the Court, dated 4th February, 1746, para. 16, *I.R.D.* (H.M.): 'Am sorry cannot send the quantity of Gurrahs ordered, Marattoes situation on the island of Cossimbazar preventing all intercourse and no goods received since these people have been there'. Letter to the Court, dated 22nd February, 1746, para. 13, *I.R.D.* (H.M.).

considering the merchants' balances for the last year (1745), there 'appeared due to them exclusive of their Gurrah contract Rs. 209,562-8-0, and there appeared due from them on their contract for Gurrah (1742) Rs. 16,149-12-9'.³⁴

The Marathas did not move from Cossimbazar till March, 1747, and the Chief of the Cossimbazar Factory wrote to the Council in Calcutta that 'the Marattoes still continuing near them, makes it impossible to send the bales down with safety'.³⁵ The resident at Balasore also wrote to the Council on the 25th January, 1747, that the encampment of Mir Habib at a distance of two miles from Balasore with 8,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry had put an entire stop to the Company's investment at that Factory because 'all the workmen had run away and the washermen were taken up to labour for Meerhabib, so that a great deal of cloth lies ready at the weaver's house and cannot be dressed'.³⁶ In 1751, a letter from Cossimbazar stated that 'the dearness of raw silk and silk piecegoods for some year past, they find, is owing to the Mahrattas constantly entering Bengal, plundering and burning the people's houses and destroying the Chief Aurungs from whence the workmen have fled to distant parts, and not to any malpractice in the gentlemen there'.³⁷ In the same year, Mr. Henry Kelsal, resident at Bulrumgurry, informed the Council that the disturbances created by the return of the Marathas in that year had made him unable to purchase any ready money goods as the weavers or the greatest part of them had been obliged to abscond.³⁸ A similar complaint was made by Mr. McQuire from Bulrumgurry in the year 1753 A.D.³⁹

In society the influence of the Maratha invasions was felt in two ways:—(1) on the composition of the population of the country, and (2) on the morals of the people. A large number of people, together with their belongings, had migrated from Western to Eastern Bengal or to the British settlement in

³⁴ Letter to the Court, dated 30th November, 1746, paras. 7 and 9, *I.R.D.* (H.M.).

³⁵ Letter to the Court, dated 22nd February, 1747, para 92, *I.R.D.* (H.M.).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 110.

³⁷ *Consultations*, 9th December, 1751 A.D.; Letter to the Court, 2nd January, 1752 A.D.

³⁸ Letter to the Court, 5th February, 1751 A.D.

³⁹ *Consultations*, 1st February, 1753.

Calcutta, where they expected better protection—but not to any other foreign settlement. Thus the desolation of the Western parts led to the density of population in the Eastern parts of the country, and in Calcutta also the population went up.⁴⁰ Besides this, some of the Maratha families settled about this time in certain parts of Bengal. Craufurd writes that ‘at five of the clock in the morning of the 4th of February, 1742-1743, died Rhaam Chand Pandit, of the Maharatta tribe aged twenty-eight years. His widow (for he had but one wife), aged between seventeen and eighteen, as soon as he expired, disdaining to wait the term allowed her for reflection immediately declared to the Brahmins and witnesses present her resolution to burn. As the family was of no small consideration, all the merchants of Cossimbazar and her relations, left no arguments unessayed to dissuade her from it’.⁴¹ Thus we see that, by the year 1743, several Maratha families had settled at Cossimbazar. The forefathers of the Maratha family, now settled at Karun, a village in the Deoghur Subdivision of the district of Santhal Parganas (Behar), came to Bengal in the train of Bhaskar’s followers, and did not return to their own country.⁴² I have also heard some others asserting, on the authority of tradition, that their forefathers came to Bengal from the Maratha countries. It is quite probable that some of the Marathas, who had come to invade and plunder Bengal, settled here permanently being tempted by her commercial and other advantages, as also by opportunities of employment in the revenue collecting departments of the State.⁴³ I think that if the old family registers and genealogies of these gentlemen are hunted up and carefully studied then their assertions may be found to be solid facts.

Regarding the second point, also, we have it on the authority of

⁴⁰ It is well known that many upper class Bengal Hindu families moved from West to East Bengal in this time, and a detailed study of family genealogies or papers might show interesting particulars.

⁴¹ Craufurd’s ‘*Sketches of the Hindus*’, Vol. II, p. 19.

⁴² I have personally collected some record of this Maratha family settled at Karun, from the study of which I hope to prepare in a near future the past history of this family.

⁴³ Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Rāya, one of the forefathers of the Maratha family now settled at Karun, came to Bengal in the train of Bhaskar; but after the treaty of 1752 between Raghoji and Alivardi he accepted the post of a cashier in the Nawab’s estate

Gaṅgārām that during their invasions of Bengal the Maratha soldiers had lost their old 17th century ideal of respect for women and indiscriminate violation was the lot of the womenfolk of the plundered or runaway families in the interior of the country.⁴⁴

The Maratha invasions produced three important effects on the Political History of Bengal. Firstly, it created an opportunity for the rise of another danger for Alivardi and his kingdom in the shape of the rebellion of his Afghan Generals and their kinsmen of Behar. These Afghan Generals had served Alivardi with all their power during the first few years of his Governorship, but when his position was somewhat endangered as a result of the repeated attacks of the Marathas, they demanded from him the redress of certain grievances, and at last broke into open rebellion and fought in conjunction with the Maratha invaders.⁴⁵ They were actively incited and helped by the renegade Mir Habib and associated Marathas. Thus it may be said that of these two movements, the Maratha invasions and the Afghan rebellions—the former encouraged and indirectly hastened the latter, if it did not indeed create it.

Secondly, it led to the establishment of Maratha rule in Orissa, whose history took, henceforth, a new turn under the rulers of a Maratha dynasty.⁴⁶ We know from a number of sources⁴⁷ that the Marathas in Orissa were very bad neighbours of the Company, not content within their own territory and sometimes carrying their arms into other parts of Bengal. They pressed the Bengal Government and the Company with the question of *charut* till Orissa was conquered by the English in 1803 A.D.

Lastly, the ready offer of shelter by the English to some of the ravaged and runaway inhabitants of the plundered areas of Bengal, within the bounds of the Company's settlement in Calcutta, engendered in the minds of these people a feeling of sympathy for and faith in the English Company. The English were able to raise a

⁴⁴ 'They capture the beautiful women and put ropes, tied with their thumbs, round their necks. When somebody leaves one of them, she is immediately caught hold of by another and *shout under the weight of consummation*.' *Māhārāṣṭrapurāṇ*, lines 331-336.

⁴⁵ For details, *vide* *Seir-ul-mutakherin* and *Ryaz-us-salatīn*.

⁴⁶ *Vide* Stirling, pp. 89-94; Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 30-36. Both the writers characterise Maratha rule in Orissa as 'fatal to the welfare of the people and prosperity of the country'.

⁴⁷ Dealt with in another monograph of mine.

volunteer army and a certain amount of subscriptions from the native, the Armenian and the Portuguese inhabitants of Calcutta for defending their territory against the threatened encroachments of the Marathas.⁴⁸ This shows that the people reposed some amount of confidence in the support of the English, and they did not lose it easily. So when, after a few years, Mir Jafar and some of the influential Zamindars of Bengal assembled in the house of Jagat Seth to devise plans for the overthrow of Sirajuddowla, the wisest of them, Mahārājā Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadiya, suggested the advisability of inviting the help of the English against the Nawab, because of their efficient administration of justice and steady protection of those who sought their help.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. XIII, Part IV, p. 206.

⁴⁹ Rājiblocan's *Kṛṣṇacandracarita*, pp. 64-77.

THE KULASEKHARAS OF KERALA

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Kerala has come to occupy an important place in the field of oriental research. She gave to the world a number of dramas of an apparently new dramatic technique, which led to the postulation of the *Bhāsa Theory*, and though this theory has now been generally discarded, this has no doubt ushered in a large number of original papers on the subject of what may be correctly called the *Kerala-nūṭaka-cakra*. Her Samskrit theatre is a subject of absorbing interest, for here alone, if at all, are found in living form the ancient Samskrit stage and the indigenous type of acting.¹ No less important is the script in which the so-called Bhāsa's dramas are preserved, and a careful study of the same is ushering in new problems of *Prākṛtic* study.² These dramas do not exhaust her wonderful manuscript wealth: other works equally important are being discovered and are being announced. Again she has made her own contribution to the make-up of the wonderful Samskrit literature: her numerous works and her brilliant authors form an altogether untrod field for research. And the history of her Samskrit literature has yet to be written.³ My study of the subject has suggested a few interesting problems of literary history, such, for instance, as the problems of Kulasekhara, of Vāsudeva,⁴ of Lilāsuka and of Nārāyaṇa. There are indeed a number of other problems; but those appear to

¹ Vide my paper, 'Acting in Kerala', published in the Mythic Society Journal, Bangalore, Vol. XII, Part II, pp. 183-195. A monograph on 'Kerala Theatre' is being sent to the Press.

² Vide my paper on 'Samskrit and Prakrit in Arya Eluttu', published in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Volume V, Part II, pp. 307-11.

³ The writer gave a course of lectures on this subject under the auspices of the Madras University, and these lectures are being published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

⁴ An aspect of this is referred to in my paper 'Rāmakathā—A Study', published in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. V, Part IV, pp. 797-801.

me to be the most important as much on account of their intrinsic confusion as on account of their extrinsic importance. And a study of these problems is interesting not merely from the literary point of view, but also from the historical point of view. No systematic attempt has yet been made to tackle any of these problems from a comprehensive point of view, and this has led to the postulation of a number of theories, more or less contradictory, regarding Kerala history and chronology.⁵ It is proposed to consider in the course of this paper in some detail one of these problems, I mean the problem of Kulaśekhara, which is historically the oldest and intrinsically the most important.

Kerala knows a number of Kulaśekhara, about half a dozen in number so far as we now know.⁶ There is first and foremost the Vaisnavite devotee, the author of the *Mukundamāla*. There is another Kulaśekhara who figures as the dramatist, the author of the two dramas, *Dhanañjaya* and *Samvaranām*. A third Kulaśekhara greets us as the patron of Vāsudeva, the author of the *Yamaka-Kāvya*, *Yudhiṣṭhira-Vijaya*, a fourth as the patron of Prabhākara and a fifth again as the patron of Lilāśuka. A sixth Kulaśekhara also is met with as the founder of the temple dedicated to Śrī Kṛṣṇa at Trikkulaśekharapuram, a suburb of Cranganore, from which is founded an era, the *Kulaśekhara Era*, one document at least being available dated in this era.⁷ All these Kulaśekhara were emperors of Kerala, though there are some divergent views on this subject. Another fact about them that we may accept is that all of them, could be taken to have lived before the 10th century A.D.⁸ For the rest we are faced with a serious blank. We do not, for instance, know how many Kulaśekhara there actually were, when they lived and what exactly each one did. Some work has indeed been done regarding the author of the *Mukundamāla*⁹ and

⁵ Vide the last paragraph in my paper on 'Rāmakathā—A Study', also 'Kerala Cultural Antiquities', published in the Madras Presidency College Magazine, December, 1928.

⁶ Vide my paper on 'The Bhāsa Theory Again', published in the I.H.Q., Vol V, No. 3, pp. 552-558

⁷ The Annual Report on Archæological Researches in Cochin State, for the year 1100 M.E.

⁸ A different date is suggested only for the dramatist and this view cannot be accepted, as set forth in the paper, *ibid* 6.

⁹ Vide Early History of Vaishnavism by Prof. S. K. Aiyangar, lecture II.

so also of the dramas,¹⁰ but the results achieved do not show that the final word has yet been said on the subject. I feel that the conclusions arrived at by the scholars who have worked on this topic have been vitiated to a certain extent by the fact that they concerned themselves with taking one Kulaśekhara at a time and were trying to introduce an interpretation which was more or less demanded by their theories. And secondly, they were strangers to local traditions. These two facts have taken away much of the value of their speculations.¹¹ In this paper it is my object not so much to give the final word on this topic—for this there are not sufficient materials—as to show that the date of the Kulaśekharas is after all not a settled fact, but that it is yet an open question, which deserves to be reconsidered.

One Kulaśekhara figures as the author of the sweet devotional lyric, the *Mukundamāla*. Regarding its authorship, there can, indeed, be no two opinions, for the last verse explicitly says who its author was :

Yasya priyau śrutidharau kavilokavīrau
mitre dvijanmavarapāraśavābhūtām !
tenāmbujāksacaraṇāmbujasatpadena
rājñā kṛtā kṛtiriyam kulaśekharena ||

Tamil scholars identify this Kulaśekhara with Kulaśekhara Alvar : for, both are Vaiṣṇavites and have sung songs of devotion, and both hail from the royal family of Cera or Kerala. It is not, indeed, inconceivable that the same poet sang songs both in Saṃskṛit and Tamil, only it is not usually the case, especially in old days. Again there has been a lot of confusion between the terms Cera and Kerala. True it was that at one time the two terms might have been used as denoting the same country, for Kerala once formed a part of the Cera Kingdom. But it was not always the case, and we know that Kerala is never *correctly* called by the term Cera after the 8th century. Consequently, when a poet says that he hailed from the Cera royal family, it need not necessarily mean that he was a Malayāli. In other words, convincing evidence has not so far been adduced to prove the identity of Kulaśekhara Ālvar and the author of the devotional

¹⁰ *Vide* MM. T. G. Sastri's *Introduction to the Dramas*.

¹¹ There is confusion in the consideration of the subject by Prof. S. K. Aiyangar : see page 41 of his '*Early History of Vaiṣṇavism*'.

lyric.¹² From the lyric itself we get the information that he was a king, named Kulaśekhara, and, if we may accept one of its earliest commentators, Rāghavānanda, we can also come to the conclusion, that he was a king of Kerala. This work does not give us any further information of a historical character. It is, however, clear that the sweetness of the devotional fervour running through it and the high temporal position of the author gave the work a phenomenal popularity, and the Vaisnavites still look upon this work as a very sacred book. One more legitimate inference the work yields, and that is that Samskrit studies were very popular in Kerala at that time and that our land even then produced two distinguished poets who, the poet-king thought, were well known enough to be remembered by posterity, even if he did not mention them by name. So far we can naturally infer, but anything over and above this gets within the realm of speculation.¹³

¹² The following is a summary of Mr. M. R. R. Ayyangar's view of this subject, kindly furnished me by my colleague Mr. Ramanujachariar: 'From his own words we gather that Kulaśekhara Ālvar was a Cera King (early half of the 8th century A.D.) ruling over Kongunatu from his capital town of Kollinagar. Evidence does not warrant his being identified with a Kerala prince, and it is quite significant that he has not sung in praise of any Kerala shrine'.

¹³ The concluding verse we have quoted above offers a number of interesting variant readings. Instead of *Kavilokavirau*, we have also *Ravilokavirau* and *Naralokavirau*. Of these two readings the latter does not yield any sense, except that both were very honoured in the world. The first of these does convey a specific meaning: it may be taken to mean that 'leaders of *Raviloka*' and *Raviloka* is identified with the territory round Trippunittura in the Cochin State. In other words, the acceptance of this reading would yield the idea that the *Bhakta* king was holding his court at this town. In the absence of any information regarding the kingdom, such an interpretation cannot be accepted for the time being. We would accept the reading given above, which means the 'leaders of the world of poetry' and this is quite suited to the context. For the king was mentioning them as his friends so that he might ensure some respect for his work. Though we have no means of definitely deciding who these poets were, the statement is a clear indication of the fact that at the king's court there were two eminent poets, association with whom was in itself, the king believed, a sufficient hallmark of poetic merit. This also yields the suggestion that Samskrit studies were then very popular in Kerala. Unfortunately, there is no means of deciding which is the correct reading, and any inference based mainly upon an interpretation of the verse must necessarily be tentative, unless it is supported by other evidence. In the second *pāda* also there is a difference in reading: some read it as '*paṁśasūravābhūtam*'! Evidently this reading does not give any sound sense. As

Coming to the work itself, one is forced to the conclusion that it does not come up to the high literary standard that a pious progeny has always been assigning to it. It must be conceded that the work is pervaded by a natural simplicity and an intense devotion which are possibly unrivalled. These two qualities, by themselves, cannot give it the high position that has been accorded to it by the South Indian Vaiṣṇavites. What then is the reason that has given it this high position? A very interesting question no doubt. The spiritual and temporal position of the author may be one reason. Possibly this Kulaśekhara, we incline to think, was the first royal convert to the Vaiṣṇavite faith and the first South Indian to write a religious lyric in Samskrit. Such a view may go a long way to explain the great popularity of the work and the position it occupies in religious literature. It is interesting to note that the *Mukundamāla* is more popular among the Vaiṣṇavite Tamils than among others, probably because in it may be discerned the seeds of that qualified monism which it was given to Rāmānuja to expound. In other words, this work might have formed the sacred text in Samskrit on which to propound a new school of thought. If this view has any pretence to correctness or acceptance, the author of the *Mukundamāla* is the first of the Vaiṣṇavite Perumals who actively patronised the Vaiṣṇavite faith to check Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala. This assertion of the orthodox religion on the part of the Emperor led the Buddhists to mobilise their forces, and this in its turn led to the blooming forth of genius of Prabhākara

per reading we have accepted, the term *Pāraśāva* means *Varier*, one of the many varieties of *Ambalavāsis*, and this would suggest that the king had two friends one a Brahmin and the other a *Varier*. One difficulty may be raised against the interpretation, the interpretation of the term *Srutidhara*. A *Varier* is not allowed to study the Vedas, and as such this adjective is inapplicable. In answer we have only to say that we may either assume that at that time there was not this taboo or accept a *śloka* in this expression. *Sruti* may be understood in the sense of the Vedas, and it could also be taken to mean music. The Brahmin friend of the king was well-versed in the Vedas, while the *Varier* friend in music. The acceptance of this reading would raise one more question: Have *Ambalavāsis* such a high antiquity? This appears to be a serious objection, but if we may take our stand on tradition, we may accept a sufficiently high antiquity for them, because our tradition makes the Yamaka poet, Vāsudeva, a *Nambiar*, another sect of *Ambalavāsis*. It will be clear from what has been said that whatever readings we may accept, this last verse does not give anything historical.

and the elaboration of the *Guru* school of Mimāṃsa.¹⁴ This view necessarily makes us put the author of the *Mukundamāla* to a period not later than that of Prabhākara.

The traditions of our religious history have preserved for us two dates, as expressed in the *Kali* chronograms, *Yajñasthānamsaṃra-kṣyam* and *Cittacalanam*. The former of these, which works out to about the close of the 4th century, is reported to be the date of Melattol Agnihotri, the staunch supporter of the Vedic cult, and the *Kalivākya* itself suggests that even then the Vedic religion stood in need of protection. In other words, Buddhism, silently advancing over the time-honoured Vedic religion, came to be perceptibly felt as its serious rival towards the close of the 4th century. The second chronogram which works out to about the middle of the 6th century, records the destruction of the premier temple at Payyannūr in north Malabar, dedicated to Varāhamūrti. This destruction, our traditions narrate, was the result of a religious schism, and it led to the dispersal of the orthodox Brahmins from that stronghold to the southern banks of the Cūrṇika, the modern Periyar or Alwaye river, where in due course were born the great pillars of Vedic religion and Hindu Philosophy, I mean Prabhākara and Śaṅkara. Our traditions will have it that the fundamental cause of this calamity was the introduction of foreigners, but they are not very clear who these foreigners were and where they were introduced. In the absence of anything definite, I incline to believe that the foreigners might be foreigners to our religion, and introduction, their introduction to our centres of worship. In other words, the whole quarrel might have resulted from the introduction of Buddhists into the temple or religious service. In the light of the preceding chronogram such an interpretation does not seem to be implausible. The silent spread of Buddhism and the appeal it always made to the masses gave it a great impetus, so that by about the middle of the 6th century, it got a crowning victory, when it brought about a cleavage in the orthodox fold. From this period, till about the time of the Vaisṇavite Kulaśekhara, Hinduism appears to have been in eclipse. As a matter of fact Hinduism got its first victory only just before the time of Prabhākara, who, as we shall show later, may be assigned to the early half of the 8th century. The spread of Buddhism led the

¹⁴ Vide the author's paper on 'the Three Great Philosophers of Kerala', published in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. V, No. iv, pp. 676-693.

orthodox party to mobilise their forces and try as best as they could to check the advance of this alien religion. When they found their efforts unavailing, they invited from outside a number of scholars, six in number, to fight their Buddhistic antagonists. All these were Bhāttas, and this is an indication that they were the disciples of Kumārilla Bhatta. The result of their work was to gradually wean the masses from falling away from the orthodox fold. These scholars met the Buddhists in argument and defeated them during the time of a Kulaśekhara. And their most eminent disciple was the famous Prabhākara. In other words, this Kulaśekhara appears to have been the first royal convert back to Hinduism and the first to actively espouse the Hindu cause. It is worth while to point out that Prabhākara was a Vaisnavite, and it is possible that his patron also was a Vaisnavite. Vaisnavism probably was then the most popular cult, thanks to the work of the Ālvars. As a result of the conversion of the Perumāl and his ardent partiality for Vaisnavite Hinduism, his new faith, this Perumāl lavished his patronage on Prabhākara and his school and at the same time founded at least one temple, the temple dedicated to Śrī Kṛṣṇa at Trkkulaśekhara-puram, a suburb of Cranganore, named after a Kulaśekhara. In other words, a consideration of the religious traditions of the period leads one to the conclusion that the new cult had three distinct stages: the first was the conversion of the Emperor's sympathy from Buddhism to Hinduism, by converting him into an ardent Vaisnavite; the second, the popularisation of the cult and the founding of the Vaisnavite temples, the earliest of such temples being apparently the shrine at Trkkulaśekhara-puram; and last, but not least, the founding of the mutt at Kumblam, a village about six miles from Ernakulam, for the intensive study of the Vedas and the Śāstras. The first President of this mutt was Prabhākara who acclaims a Kulaśekhara as his patron, and when we know that Prabhākara is before Śaṅkara and not far separated from him, we feel we are more or less on safe ground, when we say that our Kulaśekhara must have lived during the closing decades of the 7th century and the opening decades of the 8th century. This date is also borne out by the fact that sometime at this period there were come into the land some Buddhists from China:¹⁵ in case we assign this period to Kulaśek-

¹⁵ *Vide* paper referred to in Note 14.

hara, these pilgrims might be identified with I-Tsing and Hiouen Tsang. In other words, we shall not be far wrong if we assume that with the close of the 7th century there began a revival of Vedic studies under the lead of the newly introduced Vaisnavite cult, which in its turn led before long to the complete overthrow of the Buddhistic religion, thanks to the founding of numerous Viṣṇu temples and the famous mutt at Kumblam for the intensive study of the *Mīmāṃsa Śāstra*. The author of the *Mukundamāla*, we believe, was the father of the revival of Hinduism. He was the first king to write the devotional lyric in Sanskrit and to actively espouse the Hindu cause, and probably the first to build a number of Viṣṇu temples and to found the *Mīmāṃsīc* Mutt at Kumblam under the presidency of Prabhākara for the furtherance of the exegetical and ritualistic studies.

Prabhākara is one of the most elusive figures in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. Scholars who have tried to fix him up are sharply divided into two camps, some assigning him to the pre-Kumārilla period and others to the post-Kumārilla period. Our traditions are unanimous in maintaining that Prabhākara was the disciple of the six Bhāṭṭas invited to Kerala to check the advance of Buddhism. These Bhāṭṭas were the disciples of Kumārilla and these were the first to introduce the Kumārilla system of *Mīmāṃsīc* Philosophy, one eminent follower of which school was Śaktibhadra, the author of the drama, *Cūḍāmaṇi*, and contemporary of Śaṅkara. If our traditions may be believed, one more direct disciple of Kumārilla lived to be the direct disciple of Śaṅkara, I mean Maṇḍana Miśra, the later Sureśvara. A reconciliation of these is not impossible if we suppose that Kumārilla lived to a long age and that Maṇḍana Miśra was the last of his disciples. This is a very fairly feasible position, and it explains also why Prabhākara could expound a new system. In other words, Prabhākara was able to expound the new creed, because even Kumārilla and his first batch of students had not yet been able to establish their new view. That one is the disciple of another does not necessarily mean that the disciple must be younger; thus Padmapāda and Sureśvara and Śaktibhadra are necessarily older than Śaṅkara himself. It is, therefore, quite possible that Prabhākara and Kumārilla were almost of the same age and both of them died before Śaṅkara must have come into the arena. Not only that, if we may attach any weight to the remarks of

Śaṅkara, it is also reasonable to suppose that Kumārilla must have died before Prabhākara, because Śaṅkara is more wroth with Prabhākara than with Kumārilla. He is unsparing so far as Prabhākara is concerned, probably because he was as good as his contemporary and also hailed from the same *grāmam*.¹⁸ The date of Śaṅkara has been fixed with a fair degree of certainty to the close of the 8th century and that means we may assign Prabhākara to the opening years of the same century. Kumārilla might have passed away about the middle of the period, and Maṇḍana, a latter-day disciple, could have lived to become the disciple of Śaṅkara and to live even after him, especially because the latter had but a short span of life. The same view is still further borne out by the fact that Śaktibhadra, a disciple of Śaṅkara, was a follower of the Kumārilla school, and this means that he must also have been connected with the original Bhāttas who came and introduced the Mīmāṃsa Philosophy into Kerala. I would, therefore, believe that Śaktibhadra was the last of the disciples of the Bhāttas, while Prabhākara belonged to the first batch. And this view again suggests the first half of the 8th century as the date of Prabhākara.

Now to sum up: the Vaiṣṇavite Perumāl of Kerala, the author of the *Mukundamāla*, was the first to assert himself against the rise of the Buddhists: he espoused the Vaiṣṇavite cult, composed a sweet lyric, built Vaiṣṇavite temples and patronised the revival of Sanskrit studies in the land which led to the discovery of the genius of Prabhākara, and this Perumāl must have graced the throne in the last decades of the 7th and the early decades of the 8th century.

Now we shall proceed to the consideration of the other Kulaśekharas. Vāsudeva, the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhira-Vijayam*, mentions a Kulaśekhara as his patron, and traditions make Lilāsuka a contemporary of a Kulaśekhara. The date of Lilāsuka can with some amount of certainty be fixed, for our traditions make him the contemporary of Śaṅkara and the successor of Sureśvara on the pontifical throne at Tekke Maḍham at Trichur. In other words, he may be assigned to the latter half of the 8th century. The opening

¹⁸ *Grāmam* means a Unitary Brahmin Colony. There were originally 64 such *grāmams* in Kerala, 32 in *Malanad* and 32 in *Tulunad*, and every Nampūtiri must belong to one or other of the first 32 *gramams*. One such *gramam* is *Panniyūr grāmam*, and both Prabhākara and Śaṅkara belong to this *gramam*.

words of his *Karṇāmṛtam* suggest that he was the disciple of Vāsudeva : Cf.

cintāmaṇir jayati somagirirgururme
śikṣāguruśca bhagavān śikhipiūcamauliḥ |

The second *pāda* has a Ślesa, and here one may find a veiled reference to a Vāsudeva, from whom Lilāśuka learnt his worldly lore. Śikṣāguru refers to the teacher who taught him worldly lore and so the *Guru* referred to in the first *Pāda* must be the spiritual *Guru*. If such an interpretation may be accepted, it would mean that Vāsudeva and Lilāśuka stand in the relation of *Guru* and *Śisya*, and this would suggest that the Kulaśekhara who was the patron of Vāsudeva and of Lilāśuka was one and the same and that this Kulaśekhara must have lived in the middle decades of the 8th century so that Lilāśuka might continue to live in the opening decades of the 9th century. And be it noted that this Kulaśekhara cannot be brought down to the eighties of the century for at the time of the birth of Śaṅkara, the king of the country was Rāja-Rāja,¹⁷ as mentioned in the *Śaṅkarācāryacaritam*, while during the heyday of his greatness the king was Rājaśekhara,¹⁸ a great poet and dramatist. This would mean that the patron of Vāsudeva and Lilāśuka must be put down to middle decades of the 8th century.

It would be interesting to inquire if the patron of Vāsudeva and the author of the *Mukundamāla* could be identical. The necessary interrelation between the various authors we have mentioned makes this identification rather difficult. And secondly that would again suggest that the country was ruled over by the same king for more than half a century, something that is improbable. We would, therefore, keep the author and the patron Kulaśekharas separate, assigning the earlier to the earlier, and the latter to the middle, decades of the 8th century. There is also one more argument which necessitates such an assumption as we shall presently show.

We have tried to locate five Kulaśekharas and these have resolved themselves into two monarchs. We shall now proceed to locate the dramatist Kulaśekhara. He has been the subject of a lot of discussion and various dates have been assigned to him, rang-

¹⁷ Vide my paper on *The three great Philosophers of Kerala*, Vide Note 14.

¹⁸ Which are the works he wrote remains yet to be discovered or identified. Has he anything to do with the dramatist or the Ālaṃkārika Rājaśekhara? The question remains to be considered and this ushers in another literary problem.

ing from the 10th to the 12th century. The 10th century-and-after view was first suggested by the late lamented MM G. Sastri and this view has gained strength by the acceptance of the same by Prof. Keith.¹⁹ In the light of the internal evidence furnished by the works themselves, this date cannot be accepted, and, not only that, MM. Sastri's date has no conclusive arguments to support it, except his fondness for his own Bhāsa theory.

From the prologue of Kulaśekhara's dramas it will be found that the poets then familiar and popular in Kerala were Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harsa and Dandin,²⁰ while the poets Bhāsa, Bhavabhūti and Śaktibhadra were unknown to him. The absence of reference to Bhāsa is inexcusable, if his works were known to him, and these works were popular on our stage. In view of the reference to Daṇḍin and Harṣa, the absence of reference to Bhavabhūti gives us the latest limit to the date of this author, all the more so because there was some sort of intellectual intercourse between the North and the South of India after the time of Śaṅkara. Similarly the absence of all reference to Śaktibhadra gives us the earliest limit. Śaktibhadra indirectly claims that he was the first South Indian to write a Saṃskṛit drama, and his drama *Cūḍāmaṇi* has been very popular on our stage. If Kulaśekhara lived after the time of Śaktibhadra, surely he should have referred to the first Saṃskṛit dramatist of Kerala—a dramatist not the least important, even when we regard him from the purely æsthetic point of view. This absence of reference to him can, therefore, mean only one thing, namely that Kulaśekhara lived before Śaktibhadra became well known. It is also very strange that Śaktibhadra should have suggested that he was the first South Indian dramatist if Kulaśekhara had lived before him. Himself a Malayāli, he could not have said thus, if, when he wrote his drama, the dramas of Kulaśekhara were popular. The only possible method of reconciling the two positions would be to assume that the two dramatists were contemporaries, Kulaśekhara older and Śaktibhadra younger. And they may have written their dramas almost at the same time. Possibly Śaktibhadra, being diffident of his own merits, did not care to announce his work: that had to be

¹⁹ I.H.Q. A reply to Prof. Keith (*Vide* Note 6). The date of the dramatist is discussed in detail in that paper.

²⁰ The context suggests that Daṇḍin is a dramatist—a new piece of information.

done by the great Śaṃkara himself, if we may believe our traditions. We know that Śaktibhadra lived to be a disciple of Śaṃkara and that gives us his date. And since during the time of Śaṃkara the sovereigns were Rāja Rāja and Rājaśekhara, this Kulaśekhara must be anterior to him. In other words, we assign the dramatist Kulaśekhara to the middle of the 8th century and he must have lived before 788 A.D. As regards the argument that the dramatist Kulaśekhara's contemporary quotes from the *Daśarūpaka*, the answer is that it is a myth invented by MM. G Sastri to support his Bhāsa theory.

Now that we have to assign the dramatist to the middle of the 8th century, it is but reasonable to identify him with the patron of Vāsudeva. And as for the identification of this Kulaśekhara with the author of the *Mukundamāla*, it will be seen that the style of the two writers presents an insurmountable difficulty. There is absolutely nothing in common between the natural simplicity of the lyric and the chaste elegance of the dramas. The two reveal two distinct hands.

The discipline that we have introduced into the problem of the Kulaśekharas from the traditional and literary points of view resolves the six Kulaśekharas into two: the author of the devotional lyric and the dramatist, who come one after another with or without an interregnum, but more or less close upon each other. Both were devout Vaiṣṇavites and both gave a powerful impetus to the revival of Hinduism which, springing from the greatest Bhaktayogin, Kulaśekhara, and passing through the hands of the Karma-yogin, Prabhākara, reached its climax in the hands of Śaṃkara, the greatest Jñānyogin that the world has ever produced.

Enough has been said in the course of the paper to show that this century was a century of great literary revival. Both the Kulaśekharas were great patrons of literature: the regal munificence of the former was enjoyed by the Bhāttas and Prabhākara, while at the court of the latter lived Somagiri, Vāsudeva and Līlāsuka. Besides these royal proteges, there were at least two great poets, Lakṣmīdāsa and Śaktibhadra. And the closing years of the century ushered in the great master-mind of India, the venerable Śaṃkara, and his disciples. It would thus be seen that the 8th century is a great century for us so far as the development of Sanskrit literature is concerned.

NEW LIGHT ON THE GUPTA ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM —THE SIGNIFICANCE AND APPLICATION OF THE TERM KUMĀRĀMĀTYA.

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Of the administrative terms met with for the first time in the records of the Gupta Emperors, that of *Kumārāmātya* is one of the most important. It has been usually interpreted to mean 'minister of the Crown-Prince¹,' although there has been forthcoming² another explanation of it as 'one who has been in the service of the king from the time when he was a boy.' Both these explanations are etymologically correct, the former evidently taking the term to be a *tatpurusa* compound, while the latter understands it as a *karamadhūraya*, and is supported by the parallel from *Kumārādhya-paka* (Monier-Williams's Dict., 1909, s.v.) meaning 'a teacher while still a youth'. The former explanation, however, is not only more natural but is historically the only correct one, as the title *rājāmāca* (Sans. *rājāmātya*) is found already in the records of the Śātavāhana period in Western India.³ But whatever the etymological or historical origin of the term might have been, its true import in the Gupta administrative system can only be understood in the light of the context in which it occurs in the documents of this period. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta⁴ the *praśasti* is said to have been composed by Hariṣeṇa, the *sāndhivigrahika kumārāmātya* and *mahādandanāyaka*, who was a

¹ Cf. Fleet (CII, III, p. 16n), 'Councillor of the Crown-Prince'; Bloch (A.S.R., 1903-4, p. 103), 'Prince's Minister'; Marshall (A.S.R., 1911-12, p. 52), 'Councillor of the heir-apparent'; Beni Prasad (*The State in Ancient India*, p. 206), 'minister of the Prince-vice-roy'. It is unnecessary to take serious notice of Prof. Bhandarkar's tr. (EI, XI, p. 176n) as 'the princes, the noble lords'.

² Bloch in EI, X, p. 50.

³ Cf. the Nasik Cave inscription (EI, VIII, 8, No. 19) recording a donation by the daughter of a *rājāmāca*.

⁴ Fleet, CII, III, No. 1. The words in the original are *etac-ca kāvyam eśhā-meva bhātṭārakapādānām dāsasya samīpaparisarppan-anugrah-onmilita-mateḥ—sāndhivigrahika-kumārāmātya-mahādandanāyaka-Hariṣeṇasya*.

servant of the Emperor and whose intellect had been awakened by constant attendance on His Majesty. Another inscription¹ records a gift by a *mantrikumārāmātya*, who afterwards became also a *mahābalādhikṛta* and who was the son of a *mantrikumārāmātya* of Chandragupta II. In these cases evidently the *kumārāmātya* was an officer of the Crown (not 'a Councillor of the Crown-Prince'), and the examples show how he could rise to the high offices of Foreign minister, Commander-in-Chief and State Councillor. We might suppose that like the *amātya* of the Arthaśāstra and the 'caste' of 'councillors and assessors' described by Megasthenes, though not to the same extent, the *kumārāmātya* of the Gupta period was the title of a generic class of officials, out of whom were selected the high officers of State.

Another aspect of the *kumārāmātya*'s functions is shown by the evidence of the copperplate inscriptions of the Gupta Emperors in North Bengal and the clay-seals of the same period that have been discovered on the site of ancient Vaiśālī in North Bihar. The Dāmodarpur plates Nos. I and II belonging to the reign of Kumāragupta I, and bearing dates corresponding to 443-444 and 449-50 A.C. refer themselves to a time when the *uparika Mahārāja* Jayadatta was governing the province (*bhukti*) of Puṇḍravardhana and the *kumārāmātya* Vetravarman appointed by him was administering the office of the District head-quarters in the Koṭivarsa District (*viśaya*). Two other records of the same group, Nos. IV and V, belonging to the reigns of Budhagupta and Bhanu(?) gupta show that in their time, while the Puṇḍravardhana province was governed by an *uparika mahārāja*, the administration of the Koṭivarsa district was carried on by a *viśayapati* and an *āyuktaka* respectively.² It thus appears that in the province of North Bengal the *kumārāmātya* was carrying on those functions which were afterwards entrusted to the *viśayapati* and should indeed have been normally reserved for the latter, namely that of administering the district in subordination to the provincial governor.

The evidence of the Basarh seals belonging to the same period shows that in the neighbouring province of Tirabhukti the *kumārāmātya* was likewise entrusted with the district administration in subordination to the provincial governor called *uparika*. Thus in

¹ EI, X, 15.

² See EI, XV, No 7 for reference.

Bloch's descriptive list of these seals¹ No. 20 (represented by two specimens) reads :—

‘*Tirabhukty-uparik-ādhikaraṇasya*’

while No. 22 (of which there are six specimens) reads :—

‘*Tira-kumārāmāty-ādhikarana*’.

On the analogy of the Dāmodarpur plates Nos. I and II above-mentioned we may take them to refer respectively to the *uparika* in charge of the *Tirabhukti* province and the *kumārāmātya* stationed at the district head-quarters called *Tira*. Of a somewhat peculiar character is the seal No. 200 in Spooner's descriptive list of clay seals discovered by him subsequently at Basarh.² On it are written in characters of the 4th or 5th century A.C. the words :—

Vaiśālīnāma kuṇḍe kumārāmātyādhikaranasya.

This may be translated as ‘of the office of the *kumārāmātya* at the *Kuṇḍa* called *Vaiśālī*’, but of the place indicated by the phrase *Vaiśālīnāma kuṇḍa* we cannot form any idea.

We may now proceed to consider the significance of the legends on certain other seals found by Bloch in the course of his excavations at Basarh. In Bloch's classified list to which reference has been made above Nos. 4, 5 and probably 9 bear the legend :—

‘*Yuvarāja-pādīya-kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇa*’,

and Nos. 6 and 7 have—

‘*Śrī-yuvarājā-bhaṭṭāraka-pādīya-kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya*’

while No. 8 reads—

‘*Śrī-paramabhāṭṭāraka-pādīya-kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇa*.’³

These legends were translated by Bloch respectively as follows :—

‘His Highness, the *Yuvarāja*, the Chief of Princes' Ministers’, ‘(Seal) of His Highness, the illustrious *Yuvarāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the Chief of Princes' Ministers’ and ‘His Highness, the illustrious *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the Chief of Princes' Ministers’. These versions are contrary to the rules of grammatical construction and the accepted meanings of the terms in question. *Adhikaraṇa* is a well-known term meaning a Court of Justice or an office and is not

¹ A.S.R., 1903-4, p. 109.

² A.S.R., 1913-14, p. 134.

³ Op. cit., pp. 107-8.

synonymous with *adhikṛta*, *Yuvarāja* and *bhaṭṭāraka* are not two independent words, but evidently form one and the same compound. *Yuvarāja-pādīya* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka pādīya* are not nouns in the nominative case but adjectival formations. Another explanation of the three legends above-mentioned has been presented by the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee in the course of his Manindra Chandra Nandi Lectures at the Benares University. He takes 'pāda' (in the singular) to mean 'equal to' and *Yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka* to signify 'the real heir-apparent' as distinguished from the *Yuvarājas* who were 'the younger princes of the royal family'. From this he concludes that 'some of the *kumārāmātyas* were held to be equal in rank to the princes of the blood-royal' and others were held to be 'equal to the heir of the Emperor', while others again were 'equal in rank to His Majesty the Emperor'. This explanation is open to the following objections:—

- (1) The termination *pāda* (in the plural) is a well-known honorific designation added to the names or titles of persons. No authority has been cited to illustrate the use of *pāda* (in the singular) in the sense of 'kalpa' which by the way means 'a little less than' and not 'equal to', as understood by Mr. Banerjee.
- (2) Even if we could understand the termination *pāda* in Mr. Banerjee's sense, the compound *Yuvarājapādīya-kumārāmātyā-ādhiparaka* cannot mean '(Of) the office of the *kumārāmātya* equal in rank to the *Yuvarāja*', for the affix *chha* (*īya*) has always a possessive sense.
- (3) The distinction drawn between *Yuvarāja* and *Yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka* has not the slightest evidence in its favour. *Yuvarāja* by itself, always means the 'Crown-Prince'. It is natural to take *Yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka*, 'the lord, the Crown-Prince' as an expanded form of the simple term *Yuvarāja*.
- (4) The conclusion to which Mr. Banerjee's arguments lead him, namely that certain *Kumārāmātyas* were equal in rank even to the Emperor—a fact which he himself admits to be unparalleled in the history of ancient or modern times—is enough to prove the untenableness of his interpretation.

What then, is the meaning of the three seal-legends that we are

now considering ? Probably the clue is furnished by the inscription on one of the seals discovered by Sir John Marshall at Bhītā in 1911-12,¹ which reads :—

Mahāśvapati-mahadaṇḍanāyaka-Viṣṇurakṣita-pādānudhyāta-kumārāmātya-ādihikaraṇasya.

The term *pādānudhyāta* is regularly used in the Ancient Indian inscriptions to indicate the relation of a feudatory or an official to his suzerain, or that of a son or younger brother to his superior.² As in this case the first sense is out of the question and the second is improbable. We have to apply the last meaning. Thus the whole inscription would probably mean that the *kumārāmātya* in question was the son of Viṣṇurakṣita, the Chief Cavalry Officer and Commander-in-chief. Evidently the *kumārāmātya* thought his office to be so unimportant that he preferred to be known even in his official capacity by his relationship to his father who held a distinguished position. If this argument has any weight, it follows that the legends *Yuvārāja-pādīya-kumārāmātya-ādihikaraṇa* and the like on the Basarh seals refer similarly to the *kumārāmātyas* who were related probably as sons to the Crown-Prince and the Emperor.

A few references in the inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries enable us to trace the application of the term *kumārāmātya* in the period of decline and fall of the Gupta Empire. The

232 G.E.

Amauna plate of the Maharaja Nandana of ————³ introduces us
551-2 A.C.

to a prince who styles himself *deva-guru-pādānudhyāta-kumārāmātya*. The omission of all references to the name of the paramount sovereign shows that in the find-spot of the inscription (comprised within the modern Gaya district) he reigned practically as an independent sovereign, while his use of the well-known official designation of the Gupta period probably shows that like the Nawab Viziers of Oudh during the decline of the Mughal Empire, he retained the official title which had belonged to his ancestors under the Gupta Emperors. More significant, still, is the evidence of the record of Lokanātha, who reigned in East Bengal in the latter half of the seventh century A.C. probably as a feudatory of the later Guptas.⁴

¹ A.S.R., 1911-12, p. 52.

² Cf. Fleet, CII, III, p. 17n².

³ EI, X, 12.

⁴ EI, XV, 19.

In this case the seal attached to the copperplate bears in characters of the Gupta period the legend—

Kumāramātyādhikaraṇasya

while alongside is written in characters of the seventh century—

Lokanāthasya.

Probably the explanation is to be found in the fact that the ancestors of Lokanātha had served as *Kumārāmātyas* under the Gupta Emperors and that long afterwards when their descendants assumed practical independence they continued to use not only the title but even the identical seals of the earlier period.

THE KŌŚAR. THEIR PLACE IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY.

(A SUMMARY.)

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There are a number of stanzas in the Śāṅgam works which mention a class of people known as the Kōśar who were lovers of truth and justice. The term Kōśar admits of different interpretations and if it could mean a tribe it is likely that it was a foreign tribe different from the Tamils. Various conjectures have been made in this direction. The Kōśar have been identified with the Yavanas or the Greeks, the Kushans, the Sātpute families of several castes near Poona, the Pallavas of Kāñci, the Sathiamangalam Tamil Brahmans known as Bṛhat-carana, the Vaṭugar, consisting of Telugus, Kannaḍas and Tūlus, the Kongus and the Gangas and so on. There is still further interpretation that there were different classes of the Kōśar. Yet another ingenious explanation is that it refers to titles of offices like judges, commanders of the army, etc. The same vagueness attends the location of the territory occupied by their kingdom.

A re-examination of the whole question shows that the Kōśar whatever be their origin, became Tamilized in course of time by marriage and other alliances with the three Tamil kingdoms, the Cōla, Cēra and the Pāṇḍya. These three kingdoms find distinct mention in the *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest extant work of the Tamils. From this it is evident that the Kōśarnāḍu did not exist in the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār. Later on, in connection with the dedication of the temple to Pattinidēvi, the epic *Śilappadikāram* mentions the kings of the five kingdoms who erected temples and celebrated festivals in her honour. These kingdoms are the Pāṇḍya, Cōla, Kēraḷa, Kongu and Ceylon. It is interesting to compare these with those in the inscriptions of Aśoka. According to the latter, five independent kingdoms existed on the southern frontier of the Mauryan Empire. These are the Pāṇḍya, Cōla, Satyaputra, Kēralaputra and Tāmraparṇi. We easily identify the Kēralaputras with the Cēras, and the Tāmraparṇi with Ceylon. What is left is the Satyaputras and we have to take it

that these are no other than the Kōśar of the Kongunāḍu. Why Aśoka names them Satyaputras is evident from the Kōśar being designated by the epithets like the nānmoḷik-kōśar, oṇru-moḷi-kōśar and so on. This quite fits in with the literal meaning of the term Satyaputras which is, the sons of truth.

Though branches of this tribe came to be settled in different parts of the Tamil country, still the Satyaputra kingdom was the Tulu or Tuluva land of which the present Mangalore was possibly the centre extending from the Malabar coast, and to the north of the ancient Cēra kingdom. Thus occasional but welcome glimpse we get of the Far South of the ancient Indian continent from north Indian epigraphy.

Section of Fine Arts.

President :

AJIT GHOSE, M.A.

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THE NEED FOR MUSEUMS OF ART IN INDIA.

AJIT GHOSE, M.A.

Remarkable growth of Museums of Art in the present century

The remarkable growth of new museums has been one of the outstanding features in the cultural life of the nations of the west in the present century. Indeed the development of museums in Europe and America can be truly said to have been phenomenal. Although in England the movement has made good progress, that country has been outstripped by both Germany and the United States. For Germany, that land of museums, it has been claimed that judged by the number and variety of its museums, it stands at the head of all countries of the world. As regards museums of art, from personal experience I can say that those who visit the United States cannot fail to be struck by the amazing number of its museums. Every city seems to have its museum and not infrequently there are several. Instances are not rare where people of culture in other countries know the name of a city only through its being associated with some great art museum. When recently the Director of the British Museum wrote that America has nearly a thousand museums, the President of the Metropolitan Museum of New York gently took him to task by saying that the number was not quite a thousand but in effect he said that it was something very near it.

Reasons for the development of the Museum idea in the United States

During a recent visit to America I was vividly impressed not only by the number of the museums of art, but by the imposing dignity of the buildings in which they are housed, the magnificent collections they enshrine and which are being added to from day to day and week to week, the efficient organisations which foster them and above all the marvellous public spirit to which they owe not merely their origin but their wonderful vitality and I often asked myself: What is the reason for this remarkable spread of the museum idea in this great free country? The answer is: It is the recognition by the most progressive people of the world at the present day that museums are a great force in the life of the nation—a powerful factor in its cultural uplift. I have been saddened by the reflection that this idea has not yet been realised in this land of ours.

Unifying influence of Museums of Art

I believe it is Sir Frederick Kenyon who has said that one of the chief reasons for the rapid growth of the museum movement in the United States was the recognition of the fact that museums of art were of immense service to the nation for the purpose of so moulding the children of the various nationalities which constitute the population of the United States that they would grow up with the pride of consciousness that they were all American citizens. If it be true that such a purpose can be served by museums of art in America, a similar purpose could be served equally well by museums of art in that federated India, which, it is hoped, will be an accomplished fact in the near future.

Absence of public spirit in India in respect of Museums

In India the number of museums is very small—in fact less than fifty. In nearly all cases they owe their origin not to public spirited donations and subscriptions but to the initiative of the state and it is the state which maintains them. We have seen within the last three decades universities springing up in different provinces and a few of these have been founded by private munificence but so far as museums are concerned, such munificence has been singularly behindhand. Within the last thirty years only about half a dozen new museums have been built, and only one, which, it is hoped, will become a real museum of Indian art. It would hardly be overstating facts to say that all the older museums are more or less in a state of stagnation. In fact both the state and the public have utterly failed to recognise the importance of museums and to do their duty by them.

Museums of Art in America are the result of public spirited endeavours

In the United States the only museums under state control are those under the Smithsonian Institution (which itself is the outcome of a princely benefaction by an Englishman). The great museums of art depend not on the state or the civic authorities but nearly always on the public spirit of citizens. Men who have made fortunes give generously of their wealth, help museums to make costly acquisitions, very often place their most valued treasures on loan in museums and not seldom bequeath them to such institutions, while not a day passes but some cherished object becomes the property of a

museum by gift from its owner. In England, too, a very great deal has been done for museums, even from the earliest days of such institutions, by private benefactors.

What the Metropolitan Museum of Art has achieved

On the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York, the President of the Museums Association of Great Britain sent a congratulatory message, in the course of which he said: 'The remarkable achievements of the Metropolitan Museum, its marvellous growth, and the high value of its educational work are known to the whole world; the support which it has received from the citizens of New York and other benefactors has excited the admiration and envy of kindred institutions in other countries; the magnificence of its collections is only equalled by the abundant use which is made of these treasures. We realise that the enterprise and activity of its officers and staff have enabled the collections to exert a profound influence in the intellectual development of the great city to which it belongs.' These are high words of praise, which, however, do no more than set out truthfully what the Metropolitan Museum stands for and the support it receives from the enlightened citizens of New York. When will any of our Indian museums be worthy of receiving a similar tribute? Yet sixty years ago when this great institution was founded it took two years to collect \$250,000 with which to make a start. To-day the cost of administration alone of the Metropolitan Museum is over \$1,636,472 annually and it has a yearly income of over \$500,000 consecrated solely to purchases. It receives a civic grant of \$479,112; it realises in subscriptions from its members \$140,960 and from the sale of publications, including photographs and casts, and from fees received for various services \$73,802.05.

What public spirit can accomplish shown by the Boston Museum

Although the Metropolitan Museum receives a handsome contribution from the city budget, all museums in the United States are not equally fortunate. The second largest museum for example, the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston, receives no grant from civic funds. Yet the Boston Museum levies no toll on the public in the shape of entrance fees as some of the continental museums do—the Louvre for instance. A little over a decade ago, the President of the Boston

Museum wrote: 'Although unaided by State or City let us not, at least in these days, sell the service that it is possible for the museum to render. Let us swing the doors wide open and make the entrance as free as is the entrance to the parks of a great city. As they give the beauty of nature, let us see to it that the museum gives as far as in it lies the beauty of art. Let us make that beauty free to all.'

Ancæmic condition of Museums in India

I have before me the annual reports of the leading museums in India. The total expenditure of all the museums in India is a very small fraction of the expenditure on any one of the great art museums whether of America or of England or of France, and the total amount spent on new acquisitions is even less. Yet nearly a million and a half people visit the Indian Museum at Calcutta annually, over half a million the Lahore Museum, and about the same number the other important provincial museums. And what is the amount of educational work that these museums are doing? Of course by educational work of museums is not meant that formal instruction which schools and colleges impart. Barring a few public lectures and special days for University students in some of them, the museums are doing nothing. For want of proper financial aid the staff is nearly everywhere inadequate. In not a few instances already overworked heads of art schools are placed in charge of museums as honorary curators. This is unfair both to them and to the museums. In exceptional cases only have such individuals by their untiring energy built up important collections, but generally they are so handicapped that the museums are unable to function properly. Most museums have no proper catalogues and in many instances there are no labels even on exhibits.

Universities and Art Education

Unlike our Indian universities, western universities are more and more realising the importance of art studies. The educational significance of such studies was recently pointed out by the Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts at Washington at the opening session of the twenty-first Convention of the American Federation of Arts, and the quotation he gave from the unpublished writings of Charles Eliot Norton furnishes such a cogent argument for the inclusion of art studies in the university curriculum that I make no apology for repro-

ducing it here: 'In a complete scheme of University studies, the history of the Fine Arts in their relation to social progress, to general culture, and to literature, should find a place, not only because architecture, sculpture and painting have been, next to literature, the most important modes of expression of the sentiments, beliefs and opinions of men, but also because they afford evidence, often in a more striking and direct manner than literature itself, of the moral temper and intellectual culture of the various races by whom they have been practised, and thus become the most effective aids to the proper understanding of history..... We need to quicken the sense of connection between the present generation and the past; to develop the conviction that culture is but the name for that inheritance, alike material and moral, that we have received from our predecessors, and which we are to transmit with such addition as we can make to it, to our successors' The importance of the museum as a factor in education has been recognised by many well-known universities by associating with themselves museums. As notable examples of university museums, the great museum of Pennsylvania University at Philadelphia and the Fogg Art Museum at Cambridge, Mass., may be cited. Of the latter it has been said: 'The building is more than a museum; lectures, research, drawing, painting, all the varied functions of the Department of Fine Arts of Harvard University' are 'carried on within it. The controlling desire is to have representative works of art immediately available for study and this aim has been achieved in method and material'.

Our present day education in India has made us even more materialistic than the west. We have eyes only for our narrow material wants. The spiritual side of our nature has become dulled. This was strikingly shown in the course of a debate in the U. P. Legislative Council in 1927 on a motion to establish an Art Gallery in Lucknow, when the argument advanced against it that carried most weight was that it was an *unnecessary luxury*. The west, however, has now been convinced that art galleries and museums far from being luxuries are as necessary as colleges and universities for national uplift. Truly has it been said that 'on every occasion the effect of a proposed measure on the soul and spirit must be taken into account as well as the effect on the purse'.

Need for comprehensive Museums of Art

I have made the subject of my presidential address the need for museums of art and not the need for museums of Fine Arts advisedly. The museum of the future will be a comprehensive art museum. All arts, whether the so-called Fine Arts or the so-called Industrial Arts, which express beauty and inspire a love of beauty deserve to be honoured by us. It may be remarked here that though one very important museum in America is styled a Museum of Fine Arts, it is really a very comprehensive museum of art. Recent institutions have nearly all adopted the designation of Museum of Art.

The modern conception of a museum of art is not that of a store-house of 'learned curiosities' as Dr. Johnson described it,—an *Ajaib Ghar* or *Jadu Ghar*—a wonder house, as it is called in India, through which people will walk with wondering eyes but vacant minds, but of 'a more or less complete collection of objects illustrative of the history of art in all its branches from the earliest beginnings to the present time, which should serve not only for the instruction and entertainment of the people, but should also show to the students and artisans of every branch of industry in the high and acknowledged standards of form and colour, what the past had accomplished' for them not to imitate but to emulate and excel. In our country there is urgent need for reawakening the sense of beauty which now seems to be slumbering. Yet in this land before the degradation of Indian art was wrought by a new materialistic spirit with its accompaniment of degeneration of the public taste, the artistic sense of its people had produced in past times splendid works which have aroused the admiration of the most critical peoples of the world. Only museums of art can and will help to resuscitate not only the æsthetic sense but the dormant creative power of the nation by that educational work which they alone can carry on. But a museum of art is not only a living inspiration in art but it unfolds the whole history of mankind and the development of the civilisation of the world. Art is limitless in time and knows no geographical bounds. So it has been truly said that it is only by 'the juxtaposition of arts of different kinds and different times and different countries that true art can be seen and that beauty of all kinds can find its inspiration'. Thus museums of art constitute a real fellowship of all nations. The spirit that art embodies is indispensable for the highest welfare of every nation.

The museum of art is the greater university to which we pass through the portals of our schools and colleges to find that 'joy and inspiration which only beauty can give', and which will guide us on our way to the fuller life of useful citizens of the world. Art has a human interest for all. It is not something which one goes to satisfy a curiosity by looking at, it is something to be absorbed into one's daily life. It is the connection between art and life which should be brought home to everyone. The aim of every museum of art should be not to segregate art within its walls but 'to distribute art through life'.

Museum purposes

In the present conception of museum purposes what is of paramount interest is service to the community as opposed to the old conception that the *raison d'être* of museums was the preservation and exhibition of objects. Unfortunately it is the latter view which seems to be the only point of view from which museum officials in India regard their charge. That is the point of view which the two Museums Conferences, held in India in 1907 and 1911, show and certainly there have been no changes noticeable in museum methods in this country since. Such an attitude is out of date in the west. The museum curator regards himself as a servant of the public—a servant who can make a great contribution to the educational and intellectual life of the nation. Not only can he help the scholar and artist, as he probably often does, but he can add an inch to the height of the man in the street by making him feel an interest in things which he could not comprehend although they excited his curiosity—making him desire to know, and perhaps awakened a far away response in the sense of beauty latent in his soul. And when these things shall teach him that beauty is his heritage, they will add to his dignity, not only as a thinking being but as a self-respecting unit in the nation, for a museum of art is a historical record of the achievements of the nation. It will teach him as well to respect other nations through a knowledge of their achievements. Thus the museum will cease to be merely a place for relaxation and amusement and will become a powerful humanising influence. In this connection the dictum of a great museum authority that 'Every form of instruction or experience which teaches men to link their lives with the past makes for stability and ordered progress', might be commended to the notice of politicians and statesmen.

Museum methods

It may be objected that in India the public 'does not exist to whom a museum can be an important element in their mental equipment'. It is not contended that a museum of art will at once exert an educational influence on an uneducated public, but with the spread of general education it can become a powerful instrument for the cultivation of the public taste. Even on persons of lowly capacity a museum can exercise a great influence for good if the proper methods of instruction are available in widening his knowledge and outlook and in this way it will enrich his life. The principal methods of education which all museums should adopt are proper arrangement and display, intelligible labelling and guide lectures or gallery guidance. In all such efforts museums in this country should employ the vernacular language of the province as well as English, too much stress cannot be laid on the necessity of this change, to which I would draw the attention of all responsible authorities.

It is much easier to create a lively interest in arts and crafts by imparting them by way of amusement than by preaching them. In America this truth has been fully grasped. Cinema exhibitions, temporary exhibitions, either from the museum's own reserves or on loan from other public or private collections and propaganda work in the press, in respect of such exhibitions, and broadcast lectures for making the public take a keener interest in museums are regular features of the leading institutions. Lectures are also arranged throughout the year for both grown up and young children, and there is a trained staff for this department of museum activity, which is of far-reaching importance. Thus in their most impressionable years are men taught to know and to feel an intellectual pleasure in works of art, so that they come to look with affection on museums as 'the most beautiful institutions in modern life'.

In the educational work of the museum the need for guide books and of photographic and other reproductions is now obvious. In all such educational work it should always be borne in mind that the person whom it is intended to reach is the non-specialist.

No Museums of Art in India

That India which is still a back number in educational progress, is lacking museums of art is not surprising. There are a fair number of museums but there is not a single museum which can be

dignified by the name of museum of art. None of the old established museums was intended to be, nor is in fact, a museum of art. The Madras Museum has a fine collection of South Indian sculptures and bronzes, but otherwise it can lay no claim to be a museum of art. The Lucknow Museum is in the same position with its important collection of Mathura sculptures. The collection of sculptures of the Lahore Museum is confined to Gandhara, it has an art section with a good collection of Kangra paintings. The Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay would have made a promising art museum, notwithstanding its poor collection of Indian paintings—poor as regards quality—if it had not attempted to be a natural history museum as well. Among all the museums in India the archaeological collection of the Indian Museum in Calcutta is alone fairly representative and is of æsthetic importance. At the same time its collection of old Indian paintings, though not fully representative, is, thanks to Havell, rich in its Moghul section and, thanks to Percy Brown, it has also a fine collection of Kangra paintings. Its industrial art section, which is so overcrowded that there is no proper display, has some very choice examples of Indian Art. But, however fine the collections may be, they are still capable of very considerable expansion even for a museum devoted to India alone, whereas to grow into a great museum of art the collections should embrace every country. Our museums, which are mostly combined museums of Indian art, ethnology and natural history, have with their meagre funds attempted to do too much and have succeeded in doing but little. For the most part they are ill-organised and under-staffed. They have the slenderest funds for fresh acquisitions and they have no space for expansion. As I have already said the great potentialities of museums in the field of educational and cultural uplift have been very imperfectly, if at all, understood.

Loss to India caused by absence of Museums of Art

If there had been a single great museum of art in India functioning in accordance with western conceptions of the aim and scope of museums of art, many treasures would never have been irrevocably lost to this country. If you want to admire the finest Amaravati sculptures you must visit the British Museum, if you want to see the greatest Gupta bronze, you must go to Birmingham; so also if you want to see the wonderful miniatures of the Buddhist

palm-leaf manuscripts, you will have to visit Washington or Detroit or London, if you want to see the Primitive Rajput Raginis you must go to Boston or New York. These treasures of art are not to be found in any of the public museums of India but have left our land to enrich the museums of other countries. When Lord Curzon planned the Victoria Memorial his imagination conceived nothing grander than a museum which would unfold the splendid pageant of British history in India. But a far nobler memorial would have been a great museum of art and within it might have been fittingly included the pageant of British Indian history. Such a museum may be a dream today but it must be accomplished to-morrow if India is to take her proper place with other great nations.

Museum Buildings

I must now say a few words on the subject of museum buildings. No attention is paid to museum design in India. Our museum buildings with one or two exceptions are ill-suited for their purpose. They lack the charm of spaciousness and proper arrangement. They are overcrowded and they have not been designed to provide for future expansion. The unsuitable character of many of the museum buildings on the continent and even in England has been commented upon by more than one authority. Professor Stanley Jevons pointed out long ago that the arrangement of 'diverse collections in a long series of continuous galleries, worst exemplified at South Kensington, but also unfortunately to be found in the older galleries of the British Museum is a complete mistake' for 'every collection ought to form a definite congruous whole, which can be visited, studied and remembered with a certain unity of impression'. Unfortunately this deservedly condemned method of exhibition of totally different collections in a continuous series of galleries is all too common in India. In America considerable attention is given to the subject of museum design. The Boston Museum plan of uniting under one roof a group of structurally separate museums, connected by halls and corridors is admirable. The principles underlying the design may be commended to all museum authorities in India, present and future, and have been thus stated. (1) Division in plan into departments structurally separate, each with a well-defined circuit; (2) Division in elevation into a main exhibition floor and a reserve and study floor; and (3) Ample light in every room on both floors. What has

been designated the 'pyramidal type' has been suggested as the type of museum building for the future. It has been thus described : 'This would be a building offering practically unlimited basement storage space with quantities of material readily accessible to everyone; a ground floor devoted wholly to reserve exhibitions of collections and to studies; and a main floor, consisting of galleries giving emphasis to single objects or groups of fine small objects, with all the space they need. In such a museum the building itself might be limited to any size deemed the reasonable maximum without prejudice to the increase of the collections. All its contents would remain visible: those (permanently or temporarily) of most importance on exhibition; those (permanently or temporarily) of secondary importance in the reserves; and an increasing number in accessible storage rooms. Growth might take place indefinitely by the removal of objects from exhibits to reserves and then to storage'.

Principle of selection for Museums

As regards the guiding principle in the selection of museum specimens, it is wide range with high quality and not quantity. This cardinal principle is consistently observed by museum officials in the west now.

Museum Officials

A word must be said as to the type of men who should be the heads of museums, who are to build up their collections and who are to make the influence of the museums under their charge felt in the community. Art scholarship is rare in India but still there are art scholars available and it is these men, and they must be men of wide sympathies, who should have the direction of museums of art. But their hands must not be tied; they must enjoy considerable freedom of initiative. Such men can easily train their staffs on right lines. In this connection I will recall the observation of Sir William Flower, to whose term of office as Director the British Museum owed a great deal, that 'a museum depends for its success not on its buildings, not on its cases, and not on its exhibits, but on its curator'. Intimate contact with art not only of India but of all other countries will be possible in museums of art properly organised by directors of the type postulated and who can gainsay that such intimate contact is urgently needed and will be a power for good?

A FEW HINDU MINIATURE-PAINTERS OF THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES.

MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH CHUGHTAI.

Miniature-painting means illustrations in the manuscripts or other literary compilations, which specially in Persia and India were first adopted by Mohammadans in their books. The Mohammadans were next to Chinese who prepared paper and used it for preserving their writings. The Muslim artists who used to illustrate the MSS. possessed many qualifications. They were calligraphists, guilders, painters, binders, etc., as it can be testified in the most early records of Mussalman's *Al-Faheiat*, etc. Moreover, we should be thankful to the European scholars who have afforded us a lot of compilations in the current century bearing ample informations in this respect.

As regards indigenous Indian Art and Literature we find its traces in the ancient fresco paintings and in the form of stone inscriptions or writings on palm leaves. These have never been surpassed in their excellence from the point of art, but we do not find any trace of any miniature-painting in India before the advent of Islam. At the beginning of the Moghal Empire in India under Akbar, the Hindus had a hand in official affairs through his inter-communal policy, which afforded them ample opportunity of obtaining best advantage of the Islamic culture which the Mohammadans had brought with them, specially in Art and Literature. Thus a Hindu coterie achieved prominence.

In the case of the art of painting we find many Hindu names among the artists employed in preparing the Persian manuscript of '*Amir Hamza*' under the guidance of Mir Sayyad Ali of Tabrez Judai and Khawja Abdus Samad of Shiraz who were the commissioned Persian artists for the special purpose at the court of Humayun. As the author of *Mathur-ul-Umra* says in the account of the famous story-teller Darbar Khan (Vol. II, p. 3) 'to illustrate the Romance of Amir Hamza fifty artists of the Behzad school were employed under the guidance of Khawaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz and Mir Sayyad Ali of Tabrez Judai.' This pioneer work of art began in the reign of Humayun and was completed in the reign of Akbar. Its full description is given in many contemporary records (Oriental College, Lahore, *Mag.*, 1925). A long list of the court artists of Akbar is provided in *Ain-i-Akbari* which includes both Hindus

and Mohammadans who are described as the followers of Behzad. I am sure, these must have shared in illustrating Amir Hamza. Kahar, Daswant, Bhagwati, etc., were the able pupils of Khawaja Abdus Samad, who was also Akbar's himself Ustad. In these illustrations of classic Persian style Indian figures are also blended by Indian hands which leads us to name this the Indo-Persian school. As time rolled on this Indo-Persian school developed many different styles. One of them is specially worth mention, i.e. the Indian School with purely Indian Life, mythology and legend which received religious touch in the latter period. Critics of the modern age have divided this Indian-Painting into many petty heads which are based on flimsy grounds. Their futile efforts have brought about great confusion in the real charm of Indian-Art which has been utterly ignored and instead of propagating the essence of the beauty and charm of our art they have put the minds of the people towards the study of an historical back-ground of the subject on prejudicial lines. Art must be free from such narrow-mindedness. Many authorities on the subject have also already objected to it.

Similarly, if the people of Hyderabad, Deccan, would pay a little heed to it, I think they could easily create a new Golconda or Deccani School on a sounder basis than any other, rather, this Deccani school can lead all other existing Indian schools of Painting both in age and quality, as the Hyderabad Dominions lead in the case of Fresco Paintings which are found in Ajanta of which they should be proud. Such as an authentic illustrated manuscript of '*Najam-ul-Alam*' (978 A.H.=1520 A.D.) found in the Beatty Collection came from the Bijapur Ibrahim's court which bears Persian paintings blended with Indian figures to some extent, on which Dr. Laurence Binyon has devoted a note in the *Rupam* (Jan. 27). Another work of similar merit of a great interest an '*Urdu Laila Magnun*' in verse by a Deccani poet, Ahmad, of the days of Mohammad Quli Qutab Shah (988 A.H.=1580 A.D.), which is also illustrated, on which Prof. Sherani has added a very authentic note in *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, Nov. 1925 'that this piece of Art surpasses even those Indo-Persian illustrated MSS. of those days in many respects.' I will draw the attention of the Deccan Government towards it, not with a view to widening the confusion but simply in order to preserve the art of the country.

Nowadays, a good many orthodox Hindu writers on art are

doing their level best to link up old Fresco-paintings of Indian caves with the present newly founded Rajput school, through Jain miniature-paintings found in the Gujrati MSS. of the 15th and 16th centuries, which seems to be very ridiculous. Had it been based on some sound definite bases we would certainly have gladly admitted its usefulness. It has no connection either in the tradition or technique or spirit of the art of Ajanta.

The great authorities on Eastern Art, such as Dr. F. R. Martin, Blochet, Migeon, Sakesian Bey, Mr. Sarkar, etc., have unanimously disapproved it. I quote here the opinions of Martin, Sarkar, and Sakesian Bey which are, I think, quite sufficiently convincing:—

Dr. Martin says:—‘The Rajput attribution has been exploited during the last few years and particularly by amateurs who have never seen a miniature of the great Indian period. Some writers on Indian art declare them to belong to the Rajput school and that they represent the genuine Indian Art descended directly from the art of the masters of Ajanta. It is a coincidence that these miniatures were first painted just at the period when European travellers, especially English travellers, went to India It is specially in these decadent pictures that one recognises the different manner in which landscapes were represented by Persian and Indian artists.’ (*The Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turkey*, p. 88.)

Mr. Sarkar says:—‘What Dr. Coomarswamy calls the Rajput school of painting is not an indigenous Hindu product, nor has it any national connection with Rajputana.’ (*Studies in Mughal India* by Sarkar, p. 292.)

Sakesian Bey says:—‘It is not to be forgotten that the art of painting on paper has been introduced into India by the Persian artists in the service of Timurede conquerors, that the first production in the Mughal school were the Persian works transposed in a new form and that the art of miniature of the Rajput does not seem to have existed in India before the Grand Mughals. It is indeed strange that one should not recognise in this national school that which one would ascribe to the Frescoes of Ajanta, a work anterior to the 16th and perhaps even of the 17th century. The types and costumes, and religious manners should have inevitable affinities but nothing appears to be less certain than the derivation of the Rajput miniatures from the Frescoes of Ajanta which are remote from each other by a thousand years.’ (*La Miniature Persane*, Introduction, p. X.)

I go a little further in drawing your attention towards the special reference of Jain Gujrati Miniature-Painting noted above. If we look back to the beginning of the Mohammadan Historical record of Gujrat, which we usually get in Arabic, such as '*Zafur-ul-Wale*' by Mohammad Bin Umar Asfi, i.e. History of Gujrat. And the Musalmans established their permanent Government in Gujrat in 793 A.H.=1390 A.D. under Muzaffar Shah. Moreover, early in the 14th century we see there the architectural Muslim monument, such as a mosque of Hilal Khan founded in 1333 A.D. This all shows how the Islamic culture had begun to dominate the neighbourhood in Gujrat about two centuries before the Mughals. Therefore there is every probability that the referred Jam MSS. of Gujrat must have been influenced by the Islamic-miniature painting, which is a speciality of the Musalmans or altogether by some Mohammadan artist. The Lahore Central Museum, I think, is one of the best museums of the world, where the collections of local old paintings are found; such as, it has the oldest specimens of characteristic miniature-paintings of various periods of Indian and Persian schools. By chance we find there Jain paintings catalogued, *vide* No. K 7 to K 30, which, I am sure, are regarded as the oldest ones of their type ever referred to by the critics. By the permission of the museum authorities I am given two photographs, K 21, and K. 15 of these, and I am referring to them here. They neither bear any sign of affinity for those of Ajanta, etc., nor any spirit of Jainism. There is no doubt about it that the subject of all these paintings is Hindu, which perhaps illustrate some romance, but the technique of the workmanship is altogether Islamic.—(a) The mode of costumes, specially upper garment of the males and turbans with under high topped cap visible, are Islamic; (b) The faces of the males having trimmed moustaches, which is indispensable with orthodox Mohammadans as well as beards; (c) The pointed arched architecture and other details, a speciality of the Mussalmans; (d) No house is seen with a tapped water bowl except those of the Mohammadans, which is seen here, (e) Almost all the paintings bear a holy-book-rest (Rahl), which is absolutely Mohammadan and never seen in any other religion but Islam; (f) Moreover, simply to symbolise the holy book on the Book-rest the artist has been helpless in noting the typical Islamic words—Allah for God, Bismillah for the beginning of the Holy book and Mohammad in distinct Arabic character. If I go

a little further, I can find out other points like these, but I contend on these bare Islamic signs which is a proof sufficient to say that the Miniature-painting produced in India was thoroughly influenced by the Mohammadans.

Mr. N. C. Mehta has referred to a unique Gujrati MS. of *Vasanta Vilāsa*, a scroll on cloth, dated 1451 A.D. (in his book '*The Studies of Indian Painting*', Chapter II) which has 79 paintings, a form of Mural-painting which was prepared during the reign of Ahmed Shah Kutub-ud-din of Gujrat (855-863 A.H.=1451-1458 A.D.). Mr. Mehta is himself mistaken here in pointing out the oversight of the scribe of the MS. referred to, who is perfectly right as regards the dates of the reign of Kutub-ud-din. Mr. Mehta has shown in it some prominent and dominant points of Islamic culture, which I have noted above in the Jain paintings of the Lahore Museum. Though this MS. has been prepared after one and a half centuries of the Muslim rule established in Gujrat, yet we find that Musalmans had influenced deeply the life of the people of Gujrat, which is evident in their specimens of art. But Mr. Mehta says that at that time Behzad the renowned artist of Persia was not present, i.e. Persian painting was not in existence. How funny it is. I attribute it to the weakness of Mr. Mehta's knowledge of Islamic Art. Mr. Mehta should be aware of the fact that we have still in existence the Persian illustrated MSS. even of the eleventh century—rather earlier than it. I think the study of Martin's, Blochet's and of others' works will reveal everything to Mr. Mehta. This is wholly the fault of the Mohammadans who never troubled to divert their attention towards it. The Europeans alone have done something with respect to the authenticity of the Islamic Art itself which struck them from time to time. It will also be of an immense interest to you that my dear friend, Mr. Ajit Ghose of Calcutta, a great collector of the day, very kindly showed me his unique MS. of Behari Lal's Satsaiya, illustrated by Sheikh Asanullah, written for Jagat Singh and compiled on Friday, the 5th day of the dark fortnight in Baisakh, 1741=about 1680 A.D. This is the reason why the Mohammadans are regarded pioneers in miniature-painting in India; they alone were the artists who taught it to their neighbours.

All the writers admit the direct influence of Mughal-painting on the Rajput-painting, which they regard as an obligation towards us on their part. I think, they should say as Mr. Migeon says:—

‘The kind of art borrowed from certain sentimentality appears not to have been foreign to the school of Art of the Court of the Grand Moghals.’

In the 18th century the Hindu Artists who had inherited the art of painting on paper from the Musalmans were generally in hill states who took up different Hindu subjects to paint. They have been fully explained by a good many writers, specially Dr. Ananda Coomara Swami in his book ‘Rajpoot Painting.’ These subjects were not allegories as was the custom with Persians, etc. These Hindu artists follow the religious themes generally on the following topics :—‘Krishna Lila—Ramayana—Vedic Ballads, Sringaras—Nayaka—Ragnis—Parbati—Mahabharata—Ragmalas, etc. etc.’

The real artists of these religious motives, who have up to this day produced innumerable fine specimens of art, are completely in obscurity regarding their real names and careers, contrary to the case of both Hindu and Muslim Artists of the Mughal period even up to the days of Aurangzeb. It is also a fact that Hindu artists from the very beginning were less literate than the Muslim artists, which may be one of the main causes why these artists had not put their names to the master-pieces of art or signed their pictures. The question arises ‘How these artists could attempt such high and perfect mythological subjects?’ Either they were guided by some one or they did not like naturally to do this. Perhaps under the sentiments of religion no necessity of getting recognition is ever felt or it is just according to Mr. Martin’s interpretation that these paintings were executed for sale to foreigners in which case no question of attribution to the workman himself is considered.

Only for this reason I find that no one has ever diverted attention to this necessary point. I have tried to collect some information about it since I have begun to study it, and I have been able to collect the following names of the Hindu artists of the latter period :—

Mola Ram (1760-1883 A.D.) who is universally referred to by every Hindu writer on Rajput painting, I shall suggest that a careful study must be made about his career as a painter. I fear that this ambiguity would not lead to the formation of myth in the annals of art. He is really a genius. I have seen some marvellous specimens of his work in various private collections, which have as yet not come to public knowledge.

Nain Sukh.—Nikka—Ram Lal—Pandit Sev—Gohu—Shai-vaites—Manku—Chaitu—Khushahl—Kama —The portraits of all these artists can be seen in the Lahore Central Museum Gallery.

Gouhar Su'hae, whose two best specimens of work are found in the unique collection of Mr Chughtai, the famous artist of world-wide repute. These are the finest specimens of Indian-painting of the period. He generally signs in Persian character in shakasta hand (Sakht Gauhar Suhae, i.e. by Gauhar Suhae on the back of the pictures. I am trying to compile a separate monograph about the characteristics of the style of this artist.

Sham Dass.—Chandar Chalatar.—Shisham Chalya —Whose specimens of work I have seen in the rare and fine collection of Prof. Agha Haider Hassan of Nizam College, Hyderabad, Deccan.

Raj Har Charan Dass, whom Mr. Ghose, Calcutta, prefers to Mola Ram as regards technique and says the illustrations of Lila Gobinda are attributed to him (*Rup Lekha*). Mr. Ghose has ventured to give some new names to some extent from his most valuable collections.

Saju, referred to by Mr. Ghose, who paints a scene in Hari Hath illustrations.

Ram Dayal and *Kapur Singh* of Amritsar who used to paint snake charmer and kanphata jogi which is also referred to by Mr. Smith.

Kanwar Bichitra Shah (Mehta's books, p. 56).

Mehra Chand of the 18th century guessed from the seal of Bahadur Shah of Delhi, 1211 A.H.=1796 A.D. being found on the back of the picture (Kohenel, p. 126).

Sahib Ram.—*Mukundi Lal* (*Rupam* No. 37).

Bhima.—(Cat.—Exhibition of Indian painting, Oriental Art Society, 1930, No. 158).

At the end, I request the audience to favour me by adding new names to those given here.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN PAINTING AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS FROM ANCIENT TIMES.

(Summary)

MANORANJAN GHOSH, *Curator, Palna Museum.*

It will not be out of place to take stock of Archæological evidences shewing the existence of painting and musical instruments from ancient times.

I. Painting —

In the rockshelters in the Central Provinces and United Provinces of India, there are in existence paintings on rocks, of primitive nature in real colour first and secondly in yellow and black colour. These are mainly paintings done by hunters and scholars think they were portrayed to enable hunters to be able to hunt more successfully. Painting, in fact, owes its origin to magic. Rock paintings date from prehistoric days till a very late period.

On potteries at Mahenjo-Daro there have been found paintings of animals of very crude nature. Paintings on pottery continued in existence from the pre-Vedic days through the Vedic period.

Excavation at Taxila has revealed that stucco figures were painted.

Ajanta paintings date from 2nd century B.C. if not earlier. From Ajanta paintings till the time of the Moghuls there are evidences of the existence of fresco painting. We get evidence of fresco painting in Bagh Caves, Gwalior State and in the Sita Banga Caves in Saraguja State.

That there is a continuity of art of paintings in India from prehistoric paintings which can be dated before 5000 B.C. till 3rd century A.D.—the time of Ajanta paintings is no small matter. India excels in line paintings. The mastery of line is one of the peculiarities of Indian School of Painting.

There are also evidences in support that terra-cotta figurines from Mahenjo-Daro till the time of Emperor Asoka were all coloured. On terra-cotta figurines found at Pataliputra excavation there are traces of colour.

Stone sculptures, railings of Sanchi, Bharhut and Bodhi-Gaya and ancient stone temples were all covered with fine lime and coloured beautifully. At Sanchi there are evidences that the Sanchi gateways were all coloured. In Ceylon and Tibet all stone and bronze statues are coloured very beautifully. In *Sadhannala* we find detailed description of the colours on statues of God and Goddesses.

II Musical instruments.—

There is no direct evidence that musical instruments existed in India from prehistoric times. On the gateways of Sanchi we get a variety of musical instruments. See Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes* and Marsey's *Sanchi*.

Besides drum, flute and other wind instruments we see *vinā* or harp such as we come across on the coins of Samudragupta. We get similar *vinā* on the north Sanchi-gateway.

Outside India we have archæological evidence that similar harp was used by Summerians at Ur. At Crete we have representation of similar harp on seals.¹

Among Ajanta paintings we have illustrations of musical instruments of great variety.

These are short notes which the writer wishes to develop in a paper with illustrations to show the various stages of development.

¹ See Wooley's—*The Summerians*.

A NEW SPECIMEN OF SŪRYA FROM VARENDRA.

(*Mārtanḍa Bhairava.*)

KSHITISH CHANDRA SARKAR, M.A., B.L.,

Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

Among many interesting specimens of sculpture deposited in the Museum of the Rajshahi Varendra Research Society, the attention of the scholars is drawn to a unique specimen recently acquired by this institution (through the joint efforts of Messrs. Santosh Kumar Mukherjee and Dwijendra Kumar Chakravarti). The image under review has been recovered from a locality in the land of Varendra. It is a sculpture in high relief on a stone slab measuring $3' \times 1' 6\frac{1}{2}"$ almost in a fair state of preservation with slight mutilations. The two forearms which held the lotus stalk are knocked off. The face of the main figure and the crown both have undergone slight mutilations.

The lower portion of the image is quite compatible with the image of a Sun-god commonly met with in the museums. But the middle and upper portion of the image in question exhibit peculiar characteristics rarely found in such images of Sun-god hitherto discovered. The peculiar characteristics noticeable in this image, are that it is three-faced, three-eyed with *jaṭāmukūṭa* and six existing arms with *praharaṇas* or distinctive emblems in each hand. From the broken off stumps of the arms it is presumed that the image was originally ten-handed. The number of arms with the corresponding attributes in them and the representation of three faces only have made the type of this image a little complex. Because the representation of five faces would be more in conformity with ten hands than the depiction of three or four faces (assuming one uncarved at the back) in it. In its left hands the image holds a serpent (*nāgaṇḍāśa*) a *ḍamaru* drum, a *kaumudī* or *nīlotpala* and a full-blown lotus and again in the right hands it holds a *khapvāṅga*, a trident, a *śakti* and a full-blown lotus.

The image has a pointed nimbus with a *kīrtimukha* at the top and two flying figures of Vidyādharaś on two sides of it. At the back it shows three lines of flames tapering towards the top and some lines of flames are also visible in the middle. It is richly

bejewelled but does not wear any breastplate armour (*kañcuka*), but a thin scarf is shown crossed over the chest. It wears elaborately carved ornaments, *kanthahāra*, *karnakundala*, *śrobandha*, and *katibandha*. There is a *yagnōpavīta* (sacred thread) on its person. Though the face of the main figure is slightly mutilated, the pointed tilak is yet visible. Each of the other two faces on the right and the left of the main figure also wears *jaṭāmukuta*, has three eyes and one of the two is shown as bearded and the whole ranges of teeth exposed. The main deity stands erect on a full-blown lotus or *padmapīṭha*. A small dagger passes through the girdle and is attached to the right of the image, but no sword on the left is clearly shown as noticed in other Sūrya images, although something like the hilt of a sword appears to be represented. The top of the boot is curled up. As yet I have not come across any text in which there is any mention of such shoes to be used by the Sun-god. The *Purāṇa* however, gives an interesting story which may lead to the discovery of the significance and origin of the footwear of Sūrya.¹

The *Matsya-Purāṇa* enjoins that in the matter of the worship of the Sun no one should fashion his feet. If it is done it would give one leprosy. The *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* also directs that the body of the Sun-god should be represented down to the thighs or breast. Thus the so-called boots may probably be nothing but the finished outlines of Sūrya's uncarved legs. The text quoted in *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and *Matsya-Purāṇa*, directs that Sūrya should be dressed in *Udīcyā-veśa* or Northern fashion, which may go to explain the feet of all figures being shod with boots or leggings like the Tibetans or the Khotanese people of the north. On either side of the image are the two female figures in the archer pose shooting arrows (perhaps to dispel darkness). These are *Usā* and *Pratyūṣā*. On the two extreme ends stand two male figures. The one on the extreme right of the image is a bearded figure who holds a pen and inkstand, probably either noting the progress of the Sun or recording the good

¹ It records that, Surenu, daughter of Viśvakarma, the Divine Artificer was married to Sūrya and the burning heat of the Sun became intolerable to his wife who fled to her father keeping Chāyā, another co-wife in attendance on Sūrya. Sūrya, however, went in search of her and her father Viśvakarma assured him that if he wanted to recover his wife he must subject himself to a process of transformation to get rid of the unbearable heat. Sūrya readily consented and Viśvakarma produced a beautiful form from his unsightly body placing him on his lathe.



A new specimen of Sūrya—Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

and bad deeds of the people as Vidhātā Purūsa. But he is commonly known as Pīṅgala. On the left of the image again stands a figure grasping the handle of a sword ¹

There are again two female figures holding the fly-whisks in their hands. These are probably two of the four consorts of the Sun-god, viz. Rājīnī, Suvarnā, Suvarcasā and Chāyā. On a *padma-pīṭha* in front of the main image stands Goddess Earth—Prthivī or according to the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*, Mahāśvetā. In front of this again is represented the thighless (*an-ura*) Aruna with wings and raised up locks of hair like those of his brother Garuḍa, driving a hexagonal (*ṣaḍasra*) chariot riding on a *makara*-head (chariot of Sūrya being Makaradhvaja). The pedestal is carved with seven horses which may symbolise the seven rays of the sun or the spectrum. Sūrya is also supposed to be the manifest form of the three vedas and as such the seven rays are accordingly interpreted to be the seven metres or chandas of the vedas. The seven metres are Gāyatrī, Brhatī, Uṣṇik, Jagatī, Anuṣṭubh, Pañkti and Tristubh (*Kūrma-Purāṇa*).

The images of the Sun-god hitherto discovered in Bengal are more or less alike in their essential features, but this image differs in respect of the number of faces, hands and *praharaṇas* or symbols in the hands.

Two types of Sun-gods are generally described in Sanskrit literature. According to the *dhyāna*, referred to in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the Sūrya has been described as :—

पद्मासनः पद्मकरः पद्मगर्भदलद्वयनिः ।
सप्ताक्षरथसंख्यश्च द्विभुजश्च सदागतिः ॥

Another type has been described in Viśvakarma-śilpa—

एकचक्रं सप्तप्राञ्चं ससारथिं सप्तारथम् ।
हस्तद्वयं पद्मधरं कक्षकक्ष्मरक्षणम् । ?

निक्षुभा दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे राज्ञी प्रकीर्तिता
एकवक्त्राङ्गिनी दण्डोत्कन्दस्तेजः कराम्बुजम् । ?

¹ In the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*, it is stated that Sūrya began to burn the Aśuras with his heat. The latter thereupon attacked Sūrya. The gods then felt bound to help Sūrya and with this object they placed Skanda or Daṇḍa, the Punisher of the wicked in the universe on the left and Agni which obtained the name Pīṅgala on the right.

चतुर्वाङ्ग-द्विचक्षु वा
दन्तश्च पिङ्गलश्चैव द्वारपालौ च खड्गिणौ ॥

Agni-Purāna records the *dhyaṇa* of Sūrya as—

मसौभाजनलेखन्यौ विभृत् कुण्डौ तु दक्षिणे ।
बालव्यजनधारिणौ पार्श्वे राज्ञौ च निष्प्रभा

and in the *Matsya-Purāna* again Sūrya has been described as—

लेखनीपत्रके कार्य्यं पिङ्गलस्यातिपिङ्गलः ।
चर्मशूलधरो देवस्तथा यन्माद्विधीयते
राज्ञौ सवर्णा द्वाया च तथा देवी सूर्वचसा ॥

So that Sūrya is generally represented as seated on a lotus having two or four hands holding lotuses moving on an one-wheeled car driven by seven horses with other male and female attendants described above and similar to what we find in the image in question. But the number of faces and hands with distinctive attributes which is the special feature of this image calls for special attention. Mārīcī, the Buddhist goddess of Dawn with three faces, three eyes and eight hands, may bear a certain analogy in its conception to this one under discussion although it would not resemble in every particular the Buddhist deity Mārīcī. But the observation *उमापते रवे-र्वीपि न भेदो दृश्यते कश्चित्* and the *dhyaṇa* of Śiva—*नमोऽस्तु पाशंकुश-शूल-पद्म-कपाल-सर्पेन्दु-धनुर्दराय*, etc. in the *Matsya-Purāna* suggests an affinity between Śiva and Sūrya and their having some *praharanas* or attributes in common. This may help us to identify this image.

A type of the Sun image (Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava?) is to be found in the *Sāradā-tīlaka* which may in some particulars answer to the description of the image under review. But in point of minute details regarding the representation of ten arms and three heads instead of eight hands and four heads it agrees in many other details with the *dhyaṇa* referred to in the *Sāradā-tīlaka*.

The *pīṭha-mantra* mentioned in the *Sāradā-tīlaka* is—

ब्रह्मा-विष्णु-शिवात्मकाय सौराय योगपौठाय नमः ।

And the *dhyaṇa* mentioned in the same is as follows:—

त्रैमासोज प्रवाल प्रति मणिजरुचिं चारुखट्वाङ्गपञ्चौ
च^३क्रं श^४क्तिं च पा^५शं शृ^६णिमतिरुचिरामल^७मालां कपा^८लिम् ।
हस्ताभौजैर्दधानं चिनयनविलसद्देवक्राभिरामं
सार्त्तण्डं वल्लभाङ्गं मणिमयमुकुटं हारदीप्तं भजामः ॥

The *pūṭha-mantra* suggests that there may be a composite form of Brahmā, Visnu, Śiva and Sūrya and the *dhyāna* referred to above also points out that such images should be provided with the *praharāṇas* or attributes, viz. *khaṭvāṅga*, *padma*, *cakra*, *śakti*, *pāśa*, *śrīṇi*, *akṣamālā* and *kapāla*. And that they should be four-faced (*veda-vaktrābhirūma*), and *trinayana* or three-eyed. Now this image conforms to the above description in having *khaṭvāṅga*, *padma*, *śakti*, and *pāśa* (*nāgapāśa*?) in the form of a serpent or 'Sarpendu' (?) and the four hands being broken off it is very difficult to suggest if all the other attributes or some of the following, viz. *cakra*, *śrīṇi*, *akṣamālā* and *kapāla* were also exhibited befitting the symbols of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and all the *praharāṇas* of Śiva or Bhairava. As regards the *Veda-vaktra* or four faces it may be presumed that the fourth one being at the back need not have been carved out as it would not be quite visible. On the other hand even in the absence of that face representing a particular deity his peculiar symbols on the hands might have indicated his presence if all the hands were in a state of perfect preservation. The lowermost hands, however, might have been in *abhaya* and *varada mudrā* in conformity with the following *dhyāna* of Sūrya:—

रक्ताजयुग्माभयदानद्वयं

An image from Chidambaram (fig. 144, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*) evidently represents a type of Sūrya with three faces probably representing Sūrya as composed of Brahmā, Maheśvara and Visnu though the symbols held in the hands do not clearly indicate the same. Two of the fore-hands have been represented as one in *varada* and the other in *abhaya* pose. It may be noted, however, that some worship the orb of the rising Sun as Brahmā, the creator, others the Sun on the meridian as Śiva, the destroyer and some regard the setting Sun as Viṣṇu the protector.

Rai Bahadur Hiralal in an article in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, 'On Trimurtis in Bundelkhand' has tried to bring out the solar character of a three-headed figure of Sūrya similar to the one mentioned above. Unfortunately the hands of the image are all broken off. The image under consideration is a little different, however, from the Chidambaram or Bundelkhand type of Sūrya in some details specially in respect of a bearded and fiercely looking face of a Bhairava. I am inclined to say, therefore, that the present image may represent a type of 'Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava' according to the *dhyāna* mentioned in the *Sārada-tīlaka* with minor variations.

Bengali Section.

President :

NAGENDRANĀTH VASU RĀI SĀHIB, PRĀCYAVIDYĀMAHĀRṆAVA.

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THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.*

GENTLEMEN,

You have conferred upon me a signal honour by granting me an opportunity to address such a noble assembly of scholars. I fail to understand why you have chosen my humble self to shoulder this heavy responsibility when there are undoubtedly many persons who are better fitted for the task. For the last thirteen years I have been confined to the boundaries of my house, a victim of heart troubles, nervous debility, Asthma and the Bright's Disease. In spite of the sincerity and earnestness of my desire I have not been able to do full justice to the task to which you have called me, on account of the deplorable state of my health. Hence you will notice many drawbacks and shortcomings for which I crave your indulgence.

It is my purpose to-day to invite the attention of Oriental Scholars to some points connected with the subjects of the Institution of Caste and Antiquities of Bengal.

Certain persons hold the view that Bengal is not a very old country and that she cannot boast of an ancient civilization. In the *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana even travellers are required to perform the rituals of 'Punastoma' or 'Sarvaprīthasti' as an expiation for a visit to Bengal. What can be the meaning of this theological ban?

From the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* it appears that the Aryan civilization was carried to Mithilā by Videgha-Māthava as far back as the age of the Brāhmaṇas. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Amūrtarajā of the Lunar dynasty founded Prāgjyotiṣapura in the vicinity of Dharmāranya.¹ Amūrtarajā is to be identified as the brother of the king Kuśanābha who is the grandfather of the great Viśvāmitra. Prāgjyotiṣapura now known as Gauhati, was the capital of Assam. The question now arises whether the view can be maintained that the Aryan civilization was shut out from Paṇḍra or Bengal when it is found that the two neighbouring provinces of Mithilā and Assam had come under its powerful sway. The *Mahābhārata* says, 'The learned men of Paṇḍra, Kalinga, Magadha and Chedi are well

* By Prācyavidyāmahārṇava Rāi Sūhṛd Nagendranāth Vasu

¹ Vide *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādikāṇḍa, Chap. 35.

acquainted with the ancient religion and follow its commands'.² We may, therefore, conclude that Paundra or North Bengal came under the influence of the Vedic religion and the Aryan civilization earlier than the date of the *Mahābhārata*. The following information is gathered from *Harivaṃśa*.—The great king Bali was 22nd in descent from Puru, the son of Yayāti. He was a religious man and a powerful king. His line was continued by his five sons, viz. Anṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Puṇḍra and Kaliṅga. They were all Kshatriyas but in course of time their descendants attained the status of the Brahmins.³

We find mention of 'Anṅga' in *Atharvasaṃhitā*, of 'Puṇḍra' in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and of 'Vaṅga' and 'Vagadha' in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*. It may, therefore, be concluded that the sons of Bali came to be called by the names of the provinces over which they ruled.

Sixth in descent from Anṅga, the son of Bali, was Lomapāda, the Lord of Anṅga. He was the friend of Daśaratha, the father of Rāmachandra, and was the father-in-law of R̥syasṛṅga. Champā, the capital of Anṅga, owes its name to Champā, the great-grandson of Lomapāda. Fifth in the line of descent from Champā was Brhannala who had a son called Vijaya. In the *Harivaṃśa* he has been designated 'Brahmakṣatrottara'⁴ or greater than the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas. Adhiratha who was descended from him was looked down upon by the community of Kshatriyas for having adopted the profession of a 'Sūta'. Karna was called the son of a 'Sūta' as he was brought up by Adhiratha.⁵

From the genealogical account given above it is quite clear that the Kshatriyas had established themselves in Anṅga and Vaṅga long before the birth of Karna or the out-break of the great Bhārata war. Some kings had even achieved the status of the Brahmins by virtue of their deeds or through the strength of their spiritual life.

The fact that in ancient times Bengal was divided into a number of principalities ruled by the local Kshatriya chiefs, is recorded in the *Mahābhārata* in the chapter which describes the triumphant expeditions of Bhīma in connection with the Rājasūya ceremony.

² *Mahābhārata*, Karnaparva, Chap. 45.

³ *Harivaṃśa*, Chap. 31. 4lokas 33-35.

⁴ *Harivaṃśa*, 31. 57.

⁵ *Harivaṃśa*, Chap. 31.

During this period, Paundra was ruled by Vāsudeva, Kausiki-kaccha by Mahaujā, Vanga by Samudrasena and Tāmralipta by Chandra-sena. Besides Karvata or Manbhum and Suhma or the Rāḍha country were held by different kings. The region lying along the sea-shore was in the occupation of the Mlecchas⁵

Though the purpose of the *Harvamśa* is to extol the greatness of Krishna, it pays a glowing tribute to the remarkable power and heroism of Vāsudeva, the king of Paundra who was an enemy of Krishna. Vāsudeva marched upon Dvārakā with his army with the object of vanquishing Krishna. Hundreds of the Yādava warriors perished at his hands. When the hero, Sātyaki, after a crushing defeat was about to be killed, Krishna appeared on the scene and was struck with admiration at the surpassing valour of Vāsudeva. Then began a furious battle between the two combatants in which the manœuvres of Krishna cost Vāsudeva his life. On that memorable day Dvārakā rang with the praise of the unexampled bravery of the Bengalis.

The Lord Krishna was greatly devoted to the Brāhmaṇas. This devotion won him their affection. The Kshatriya community of Bengal knew that many of their ancestors had been elevated to the rank of Brahmins by virtue of their knowledge and that a number of them were, on account of their disinterested services, honoured by the title of 'Brahma-Kṣatrottara' or greater than the Brahmins and Kshatriyas. It was their ancestors who had introduced the 'Varṇāśrama' or the institution of Caste into the regions of Āṅga, Vāṅga and Kāliṅga. They had a great respect for learned men. It has already been pointed out on the authority of the *Mahābhārata* that the wise men of Paundra and Magadha followed the ancient religion. Now what is the nature of that ancient religion. It is the religion of the *Upaniṣads* or the Brahnavidyā. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* says that the Brahnavidyā is the exclusive possession of the Kshatriyas. It was from the Kshatriyas that the Brahmins obtained the knowledge. The advanced Kshatriyas did not recognize to any considerable extent the importance of the Vedic rituals. They taught the supreme necessity of self-culture even to the Brahmins. The esoteric philosophy had its origin in Mithilā—it spread to Magadha, achieved a fuller development in Āṅga and

Vaṅga. The learned men of this country did not honour as Brahmins, the priests who merely chanted the Vedic hymns and performed the rituals. In their opinion a real Brahmin was one who must be endowed with the knowledge of the Supreme Being. This attitude of mind was the outcome of a knowledge of their *Upanisads*. The same lesson was taught by the Buddha in his *Dhammapada*.

The *Mahābhārata* proclaims the superiority of the Kshatriyas in such phrases as 'वैर्यश्रेष्ठश्च राजान.' (*Viryaśreṣṭhāśca rājānaḥ*). The influence of the Kshatriyas was on the wane in the Northern India after the battle of Kuruksetra which caused wholesale destruction to their ranks. Other races from across the North-Western Frontier succeeded in gaining a foothold in India. The authority of the Brahmins also became more marked in Western India. In Southern and Western India they were busy popularizing not only the rituals but also the worship of the Paurāṇik deities. But though the influence of the Kshatriyas was on the decline in these parts of India it continued undiminished in Eastern India represented by Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kalinga. Indeed their influence became greater than before. Witnessing the disastrous consequences of a military life they realized that it was a far more glorious task to seek out the path of salvation than to wield the sword which only led to destruction. The rise of the Buddha and the Tirthankars was the results of this change in their outlook.

On a reference to the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivamśa* and the various purāṇas we find that the Kshatriyas of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Suhma were united together by ties of relationship as well as of friendship. Their habits and customs were to a large extent common. Whenever any great religious reformer emerged from their community he would endeavour to elevate and unite the masses by holding before them lofty moral ideals. Though the later Brahminic works are somewhat silent on this point, the evidence furnished by the old Jaina and Buddhist records fully support my statement. From the Jaina scriptures we find that twenty-three out of twenty-four Tirthankaras came into contact with Eastern India. They are all worshipped by the Jainas as 'देवाधिदेव' (*Devādhideva*), i.e. higher than the gods. It has already been pointed out on the authority of the *Harivamśa* that Vijaya, a member of the royal dynasty of Aṅga, and a few other princes were called '*Brahmakṣattrottara*', i.e. superior to the Brāhmanas and the Kshatriyas.

Some people are of the opinion that the movement against Brahminism originated with the Buddha and the Jaina Mahāvira. A study of the *Upanisads* will however lead to the conclusion that the doctrine of salvation which they expounded was not their own discovery, but was rooted in the *Upanisads*.⁷ This explains why in the old Buddhist writings homage has been paid to Astaka, Vāmadeva, Viśvāmitra and the other great Ṛṣis.⁸ The rise of Jainism and Buddhism is the direct outcome of the ascendancy of the Kshatriyas. In their original form they may be regarded as only an offshoot of Hinduism as they are based on the *Upanisads*. The first advice of Buddha to his followers is that they should respect a Brahmin who is pure-minded and endowed with the knowledge of Brahma.⁹ We find Mahāvira, the last of the Tirthankaras, deeply read in the four Vedas and the old sacred literature.¹⁰

On account of the predominant influence of the Kshatriyas, the Jaina and Buddhist scriptures declared them to be superior to the Brahmins.¹¹ It is commonly believed that the Buddha and Mahāvira proclaimed the equality of all men. But this is not a fact. Both of them held that the Śūdras were unfit to receive Pravrajyā or initiation into spiritual life.¹²

The Jaina and Buddhist doctrines came to be accepted throughout Eastern India. Their followers included, the mightiest of kings as well as the humblest of villagers. When the Brahmins of Western India found that under the influence of the Kshatriyas the Buddhist and Jaina religions had cast a spell on the minds of the people in Eastern India they attempted to cut off this region from the rest of the country by prescribing expiatory sacrifices for those who would visit this land. Observing that the Kshatriyas were opposed to the Vedic religion they went so far as to declare that there were no longer any Kshatriyas in the world. But this campaign of the

⁷ Vide Brhadārṇyaka Upanisad, 6. 2, 7; Gautama-Dharma-Sūtra, 3, 27; Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtra, 2, 9, 10; Gautama-Dharma-Sūtra 3, 18-19.

⁸ Vide Mahāvagga, 6, 35. 2

⁹ Vide Dhammapada 18 and Mahāvagga, 6, 35. 8.

¹⁰ The Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, p. 221.

¹¹ Vide Jina-Saṃhitā and Ācārāṅga Sūtra of the Jainas, the Mahāvagga and Ambaṭṭha-Sutta of the Buddhist.

¹² Vide Ambaṭṭha-Sutta in the Sacred Books of the Buddhist, Vol. I and Ācārāṅga Sūtra in the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, p. 191; and also in Jina-Saṃhitā of the Digambara Jainas.

West Indian Brahmins bore no fruit in the eastern part of the country on account of its distinctive civilization. The influence of the religious teachers of the Buddhist and Jaina Schools everywhere made itself felt during the palmy days of the Nanda and Maurya dynasties. We find that even Chandra-Gupta who owed his throne to the Brahmin Chānakya accepted the discipleship of the Jaina Saint Bhadrabāhu. Aśoka's zeal for Buddhism is well known. Though the Brahminic writers tried to lower Chandra-Gupta and Aśoka in popular estimation by calling them 'Vrsala' and 'Sūdra', respectively, they have both been classed as Kshatriyas in the Jaina and Buddhist works.

During the reign of Aśoka Bengal was divided into a number of principalities each under a local chief. The edicts of Aśoka were promulgated all over the country, but the contemporary historical records do not provide us with any information regarding the local chiefs who governed the different parts of Bengal. The short references to her ancient history made by Abul Fazl, the Court Historian of Akbar, seem to indicate that Bengal was held by the Kshatriyas for 2,418 years and by the Kāyasthas for 2,038 years before she passed into the hands of the Moslems.¹³ We have already said that the occupation of this country by the Kshatriyas dates back to the time when the sons of Bali lived. This is fifty generations prior to the time of Karna's foster-father Adhiratha or about five-thousand years from now. The country was, therefore, in the hands of the Kshatriyas even before the dawn of the Kali age. Abul Fazl's account has not, however, been corroborated by contemporary records.

In the edicts of Aśoka, the Kāyasthas who were in charge of administration of the country have been called the Rājukas.¹⁴ The Emperor proclaims as follows:—'This edict is inscribed in the 26th year of my coronation. My Rājukas have been placed in the position of rulers among thousands of my subjects. I have given them absolute power to reward or punish as they like. Just as a man enjoys peace of mind when his child is placed under the care of

¹³ Col H. S. Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 143-146.

¹⁴ Dr. Buhler remarks 'I have added that *lājuka*, i.e. *Lajjuka*, was an old name of the writer caste, which is later called *Divira* (*Dabir*) or *Kāyasthas* and that Aśoka calls his great administrative Officials simply the "writers", because they were chiefly taken from that caste'. *Epig. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 254.

a competent nurse so am I content to entrust the Rājukas with the task of administration for the well-being and happiness of my kingdom. It is my desire that they should be impartial in their dealings and that in awarding punishment they should show some leniency.' The power of the Rājukas was not confined to merely administrative affairs in which they enjoyed absolute authority. The rock edict No. 3 tells us that from their ranks were selected officers called Dharmamahāmātras who were invested with the highest power in religious matters. They were sent to distant countries to preach the sacred religion of Buddhism. Formerly the Brahmins alone had the right to speak authoritatively on religious matters. The post of the Chief-justice could only be offered to a Brahmin. It can easily be imagined to what a great extent the prestige and influence of the Rājukas or the Kāyasthas had increased during the Buddhist age when the Emperor Aśoka, ignoring the time-honoured practice, delegated to them the rights and duties of the Brahmins and appointed them to the posts of the Justices of the peace charged with the function of dealing even-handed justice to the community including the Brahmins. This, of course, exposed them to the ill-will of the Brahmins.

The Story of the settlement of the five Brahmins and five Kāyasthas in Gauda during the reign of Ādiśūra in the 8th century, so widely circulated by the Brahmin genealogical writers, has no foundation in fact, so far as the Kāyasthas are concerned. Long before the 8th century there were Brahmins and Kāyasthas with the surnames of Vasu, Ghosha, Guha, Mitra, Datta, etc. This is proved by the testimony of the Damodarpur and Ghagrahati plates. Brahmins with the following surnames are mentioned in the Nidhanpur copperplate of Bhāskaravarmā,—Ādhya, Kīrti, Kuṇḍa, Kula, Ghosha, Datta, Dāma, Dāsa, Deva, Dhara, Nanda, Nandi, Nāga, Pāla, Pālita, Bhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭi, Bhrti, Mitra, Rāta or Trāta, Vasu, Vridhhi, Śarma, Sena and Soma.¹⁵ The 27 surnames mentioned stand for 49 separate families belonging to the different gotras and the vedas. The full text of Bhāskaravarmā's copperplate inscription is not as yet available and there is little doubt that in the portions still unpublished many other surnames are mentioned. Besides, the copperplate inscription of Mahārāja Lokanātha found in Tipperah,

¹⁵ Vide Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, pp. 65, 66 : Vol. XIX, p. 245.

mention the following—Indra, Om, Kesha, Kara, Khadga, Gana, Gaṇḍa, Gupta, Gauna Ghosha, Chandra, Tosha, Datta, Dāsa, Deva, Dhṛti, Nanda, Nandi, Bhata, Bhadra, Bhūti, Mitra, Rudra, Vasu, Bindu, Viṣṇu, Śarma.¹⁶ The copperplate of Bhāskaravarmā was issued from Karnaśuvarna. It gives an account of the original grant made by his ancestor and of its subsequent revival. The surnames mentioned in the copperplate inscriptions of Bhāskaravarmā and Lokanātha appear to have been held at one time by the Brahmins of Kāmarūpa and the neighbouring provinces of Paundravardhana and Eastern Bengal.

Mr. J. C. Ghosh discussing the Nidhanpur copperplate of Bhāskaravarmā comes to the conclusion that the Brahmins holding the titles of Ghosha, Vasu and others are to be treated as Nāgara Brahmins.¹⁷ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar supports this view.¹⁸

Bhāskaravarmā is declared in Chinese records to be the Lord of Eastern India. Again in the inscriptions of Jayadeva II of Nepal dated 153 (i.e. 759 A.D.) Śrī Harṣadeva, the father-in-law of Jayadeva II, is described as the Lord of Gaṇḍa, Udra, Kalinga and Kośala and as belonging to the royal dynasty of Bhagadatta. It is therefore, obvious that Bhāskaravarmā and Śrī Harṣadeva belonged to the same dynasty. The issue of his copperplate grant from Karnaśuvarna and the fact that he was known as the Lord of Eastern India justify us in believing that through having acquired the possessions of Śaśāṅka-Rāja, Bhāskaravarmā became the ruler of Gaṇḍa, Udra, Kalinga, Kośala as well as Kāmarūpa. Śrī Harṣadeva should be taken as his successor. Magadha and Gaṇḍa were conquered first by Yaśovarmā, the king of Kanauj, and afterwards by Lalitāditya, the king of Kashmir, (between circa 728-731 A.D.). Harṣadeva must have lost the territory of Gaṇḍa during the period. But though Gaṇḍa was lost the rest of his kingdom comprising Udra, Kalinga and Kośala was intact over which his successors ruled for a long time.

The dynasty of Bhagadatta is called the 'Bhauma dynasty' not only in the copperplate inscriptions of Assam but also in those of Orissa. In Orissa this dynasty is also known as the Keśari, Gupta

¹⁶ *Vide* Epi. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 309 ff.

¹⁷ *Vide* Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VI, pp. 60-71.

¹⁸ *Vide* Amrita Bazar Patrika, 21 Sept., 1930, p. 14.

or Kara dynasty. Such phrases as 'वङ्गविमलाम्बर पूर्णचन्द्र' (Vaṅga-vimalāmbaṛapūrṇa-Candra) and 'अस्मिन्वङ्गान्वये' (Asminvaṅgānvaye) occurring in the copperplate of Mahāśiva Gupta¹⁹ points to their Bengali origin. Most of the Brāhminic surnames that are mentioned in the Nidhanpur copperplate grant of Bhāskaravarmā also occur in the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara of Orissa. Though Śubhākara has been described as an ardent follower of Buddha he settled two hundred Brahmins by a copperplate grant²⁰. It may be surmized that these Brahmins migrated to Orissa from Bengal with the Bhauma dynasty. There is ample evidence to prove that not only Brahmins but also many Kāyasthas went there and were for successive generations appointed to high administrative positions in the States of Kalinga and Kōśala. Needless to say, the influence of Bhauma dynasty combined with the establishment of the Brahmins and Kāyasthas led to the prevalence of uniform manners, customs, usages, education and culture in Eastern India. Though in a later age the influence of Rādhiya and Vārendra Brahmins from Kanauj and the Moslem rule brought about far-reaching changes in Bengal it is noteworthy that even now a large measure of uniformity is to be found in the customs, usages and the languages of the provinces of Assam and Orissa, situated as they are at such a great distance from each other.

Hundreds of Buddhist Tantrik writers flourished in Bengal between 800 A.D., and 1200 A.D. when the Pāla dynasty was in power. The majority of these writers were Brahmin and Kāyastha Ācharyas. It was they who composed the earliest *Dohās* in Bengal, some of which have been published by Mahāmahopādhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Śāstri, C.I.E. under the auspices of the Sāhitya-Parisad. These *Dohās* cannot be understood without the aid of the Sanskrit commentaries. But the cultivation of the dialect in which they were written contributed to the development of the Gauḍīyan language.

It was in the Buddhist period that the songs of Yogipāla, Mahipāla and of Gopīchānd became popular in Gauḍa. The songs of Yogipāla and Mahipāla have not yet been recovered, but the songs of Gopīchānd are extant in different versions in the Eastern as well

¹⁹ J.B.O.R.S., Vol. II, p. 153.

²⁰ *Vide* Epi. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 3-5.

as in Western Bengal. The story of the renunciation of Gopīchāṇḍ is not confined to Bengal but, being translated into the various languages, it is still sung by the Bhiksus in Orissa, Deccan, Mahārāshtra and even in Rajputana. We owe the extensive literature of Bengal which has been produced since the time of the *Dohās* to the rise of a multitude of sects. Many thousand books have been written in the Gaudīya language from the time of the *Dohās* to the period which preceded the advent of the English. We have some specimens of these writings in the Libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, The Sāhitya-Parisad of Bengal and the University of Calcutta. Many distinguished scholars have drawn from the Bengali MSS., their materials for the literary, social and religious history of Bengal and the history of her religious sects. It is unnecessary to dwell on these aspects of Bengal history here and I will only touch on a few points which have not been specially dealt with by the scholars.

One of the special features of Bengal is her Kulapañjī or genealogical records. In no part of India there is such a huge body of genealogical records as in this province. In Mithilā there are genealogies which relate only to the Brahmins and the Kāyasthas. But in Bengal we have genealogical accounts not only of the Brahmins and the Kāyasthas but I have in my possession such accounts of the Jijhotyas, the Grahavipras or Śākadvipins, the Vaidyas, the Sulkiks, the Gandhavaniks, the Suvarnavaniks, the Saṅkhavaniks, the Tāmbulis, the Tilis, the Sadgopas, the Agaris, the Tāntuvāyas, the Shāhas, the Mālākāras, the Kaivartas and other castes. I also secured several copies of records called 'Jijñāsā' or 'Enquiries', which contain short summaries of genealogical information pertaining to different castes. Out of this large number of genealogical treatises, there are no less than 200 volumes which deal with the prominent Kāyastha families belonging to the four Śreṇis. The number of treatises dealing with the various classes of Brahmins who settled in Bengal, the Rādhīyas, the Vārendras and the Vaidikas is also considerable. I am responsible for the discovery of more than a hundred. As far as I know, the Vaidyas have got about 30 and Grahavipras of Śākadvipa about 15. My researches in this direction have convinced me that at one time there were in Bengal hundreds of such Kulapañjīs dealing with the various castes and that in each caste there were to be found men who were fully

qualified for the task of preparing them. Within the last fifty years this universal practice has disappeared with the result that many hundreds of genealogical works have been destroyed by fire, flood and worms. It is my firm conviction that the Kulapañjis of Bengal contain the most precious material for reconstructing the social history of her people. The materials for my history of the Castes and Sects of Bengal are mainly derived from them. Only 10 volumes of this work have been published ; it would take another 25 volumes to complete it.

From the genealogical accounts of the Kāyastha community including its several branches it is clear that the ranks of this community were swelled by the Rajputs or Chatris who came to Bengal from different parts of India. In the same way the Agarwals and other traders from the west who came and settled here were gradually absorbed by the different Bāṇiyā castes. Dr. MM. Haraprasad Śāstri has proved that the Buddhist influence in Bengal did not die out until after the 15th century. During that century many influential Kāyasthas came under the influence of orthodox Hinduism and became ardently devoted to the Brahmins. On account of the strict control and rigid discipline which they imposed upon the society it was in a short time purged of the Buddhist element. Following the example of the king Ballāla Sena who engaged Brahmin Kulācāryas or genealogical writers to record the pedigree and the social functions of the Kulīna Brahmins, the Kāyastha Zemindars secured the services of Brahmins in compiling their genealogies. Most of these writers belonged to the Rāḍhiya section of the Brahmin community. They spared no pains to wipe out the memory of the history of the Kāyastha community during the period when it was pro-Buddhist. Consequently in the Kulapañjis compiled by them there is much that is not supported by historical evidence. It is probably due to their activities that little trace is left of the older genealogies. This is also the reason why references to earlier periods are so meagre and fragmentary, although from the 15th century onwards we have got full and detailed accounts of each and every community.

We have found a few older records called 'Jijñāsā' or 'Enquiries' from which we get only a very incomplete picture of the contemporary society. The Buddhist influence on society is, however, manifest from the genealogical account of all the castes

excluding only the Brahmins and the Kāyasthas. Unfortunately this extensive literature is nearly lost. There are, however, even now, in the possession of the Kulācāryas or Kulapañjis, remnants of genealogical accounts and other documents in which information is supplied in the form of questions and answers. And if serious efforts are made they may yet be recovered. As we have already said, these old documents contain invaluable material for reconstructing the social history of Bengal. They would also prove to be of great interest to the anthropologists and the ethnologists. Organized efforts should, therefore, be made to save these genealogical records which are so peculiar to our country from utter destruction.

The Bengali MSS. to which we have referred are all written in Bengali characters. The Bengali script is not of recent growth. It is even mentioned in the *Lalitavistara*. It is, therefore, curious that in the districts of Sylhet and Bankura situated at the eastern and western extremities of Bengal a form of Nāgari script is used by members of the orthodox Muhammadan community. This is known as Sylhet Nāgari in Eastern Bengal and Musalmani Nāgari in Western Bengal. The '*Musalmani Kechchas*' of Calcutta are printed in types adapted from the characters of the Sylhet Nāgari. We have long known of the existence of books written in Sylhet Nāgari. Recently I have collected from Bishnupur in the district of Bankura seven MSS. all written by Muhammadans which are from 90 to 200 years old. Though the characters used are Nāgari their language is Bengali and the metrical form used is 'payār'.

Hundreds of MSS. written in Bengali and Persian characters have come down to us. The question, therefore, arises why in Sylhet and a certain district in Western Bengal, the characters used in writing books in the Bengali language should be Nāgari instead of the popular Bengali or Persian.

In an article on the origin of Nāgari script, written about 34 years ago,²¹ I have shown that there are Nāgara Brahmins in many provinces in India. Though they adopt the language of the place in which they happen to reside, they invariably use Nāgari characters when writing books. Even in the distant Deccan and the Carnatic they have got this characteristic. What marks them out is their script. The Nāgari script is named after them. From

²¹ *Vide* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVI, pt. I

the above it may be concluded that the religious books written in Nāgari characters by the Muhammadans were the contributions of the Nāgara Brahmins who had now been converted to Islam. Among those Nāgara Brahmins who accepting the Buddhist creed still retained their identity and their family surnames of Ghosha, Mitra, etc., there were many who in the rôle of Buddhist Masters wrote authoritative Tantrik works and the evidence of this is still to be found in the Tibetan *Bstan-hgyur* and *Kandjur*. On the other hand those Nāgara Brahmins who had remained within the fold of Hinduism were compelled to renounce their religion in favour of Islam by threats of persecution either at the hands of the new-born Brahmin Society or from the Muhammadans. Though they had to give up their old religion they could not break away from their time-honoured customs and habits. Hence we still find them using the Nāgari characters.

Formerly the Sylhet Nāgari was confined to the district of Sylhet and its immediate neighbourhood. Fifty years ago Munshi Abdul Karim, an inhabitant of Sylhet, returning from Europe, constructed the Nāgari types after having revised the alphabet on the European model by rejecting many of its letters. These were the types in which the Musalman religious books were printed. I have not yet come across any MSS. written in the old Sylhet Nāgari. I have, however, got information of the existence of Nāgari MSS. in the houses of wealthy Muhammadans of Bishnupur in Western Bengal. Though they use the Bengali alphabet for all other purposes, the Scriptures which they privately study are all written in Nāgari characters. I have been told that MSS. written in Nāgari characters can be collected in large numbers from Bishnupur if a search is made for them in right earnest. Some time ago I secured only seven such MSS. Though the writing of these bears a strong resemblance to the Sylhet Nāgari, the letters used are larger in number and is much closer to Devanāgari.

The characters which accompanied the Buddhist masters when they travelled to Tibet from this country and in which the scriptures were written are still in use, being known as the Bhota or Tibetan alphabet. In our opinion the alphabet which once distinguished the Nāgara Brahmins is being still used by their Muhammadan descendants when writing on religious subjects. Hence it differs in many points from the modern Nāgari. Under the patronage of the

Government organized efforts are now being made to collect Bengali MSS. but scarcely any endeavour has been made to recover the Bengali Nāgari MSS. from the districts of Sylhet and Bankura. It is essential that there should be a proper history of those Muhammadans who use the Nāgari characters in writing their scriptures in Bengali and efforts should be made to collect the Nāgari MSS. This would illuminate many an obscure chapter in the social, religious and ethnic history of Bengal.

Considerations of time do not permit me to deal with other interesting points connected with the social history of Bengal. But before I conclude I must thank you for the patience with which you have listened to my speech.

THE LEGEND OF RAJA GOPICHAND

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The legend of Raja Gopichand is current all over Aryan-speaking India. Originating in Bengal, the story spread to the west, and became widely popular in Bihar, Hindustan, Panjab, Rajputana, Central India, Gujarat and the Mahratta country. In its popularity as a religious romance it is second only to the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata stories and to the various cycles of Sanskrit and Pauranic romance. In outline it is the story of the renunciation of the world by a young king who at the instance of his mother left his kingdom, his treasures, his two wives, whom he loved like his very life, and went forth to lead the life of a mendicant, serving his master and following him about. The story as current all over India is substantially the same, though there are some noteworthy differences in the different provincial recensions. These will be noted in due course.

Popularity of the Legend.—The great popularity of the legend of Gopichand which marks it off from many other legends is a very striking fact. In Bengal on whose soil, as we shall see, the story in all probability had its birth—its historical kernel at any rate, is by common consent, associated with the province—the memory of the king is still fresh in popular recollection. His story forms in some areas (e.g. Rangpur) the subject matter of popular song narratives (*pālā-gān*) which spin out the story and finish it in a number of evening sittings. At night-fall a troupe of village singers, who are generally men without any formal education, gathers in the house of some rich man and gives a performance which runs for several evenings together. Some of the singers are professedly Mohammadans—they have accepted the faith of the prophet of Arabia, but have not changed their attitude to the legends of the country. The singers bring with them some instruments for accompaniment—drums and cymbals and sometimes a violin. The narrative is in verse and is either regularly sung or intoned by the leader who stands in the centre of audience, squatting round him on the floor. He is called *gāin* or the singer. His assistants simply

drone out the refrain as a chorus. This refrain is called *dhuā*, and the *dhuā* is repeated at the end of each verse in a part of the narrative. Now and then some of the chorus-singers put questions to the leader regarding the progress of the story and the doings of the heroes and heroines, thus helping the singer to bring out the points which might otherwise escape the notice of the listeners. Besides, this *pālā-gān* there is the usual singing of little bits of the story by the beggars of the *jugī* caste. They sometimes dress up as *Bairāgis* or Vaisnava mendicants going from door to door for alms. Then again there is formal reading of the story from a book (a MS. usually) by some person while others listen to him. This accounts for the presence of the MSS. Lastly, there are the MSS. of the various poets which were found in Chittagong and Tippera, and which were carefully preserved and copied by *jugīs* and by others including the Mohammadan country folk (Introduction, *Gopichandrer Gān*, Vol. VI C U., *Maynāmatir Gān*, Dacca Sāhitya Parisad Series, No. 3.)

In Northern India itinerant singers go about all over Hindustan. Panjab and the Maratha country singing the story of this great renunciation to the accompaniment of their *sārāngī*. In Gujarat, *Bāuls* celebrate him keeping time with their *Ek-Tārā*. During *Nava-rātra* or nine days of festival in autumn in honour of Devi, the women of the province sing about the tragic story and in their *garbā* songs they sing with dance (*Pravāsī*, 1336 B.S., Vol. II, p. 636). Of course there are various poetical versions of the songs in all these different and distant parts, but they simply point to the fact that the legend is already folk property. Indeed so popular is it that it has even been treated in art by a popular Indian painter. Raja Ravi-Varma has a picture depicting the scene of Gopichand's meeting his wives after his long wandering as a mendicant, and in costly print as well as cheap oleographs, the picture has a wide sale.

The Reason for this Popularity:—The popularity of the legend is easily accounted for. The story with its poignant note, of a young and handsome prince who had everything that fortune had to offer and leaving it all took up the beggars' staff and scrip preached once more to the Indian masses a most effective sermon on the old text of *vanitus vanitatum*. Like the two other famous stories of renunciation, viz. that of the Buddha and Śrī Chaitanya—it never grew old and stale for the people of India.

The Questions Raised by the Legend:—The story of Gopichand has certain other ramifications which, besides giving it currency over Hindustan, have important bearings on the questions raised by the legend. The questions are connected with (i) Gorakhnath, his age and his mission. (ii) the relationship between Gorakhnath and other Nathas and King Gopichand, and hence, the historicity of Gopichand, and lastly (iii) the obscure origin of Nathism, its sudden emergence without previous warning, and its slow transformation from a Buddhistic cult into a form of Śaivism. These questions furnish the crux of the problems that the legend raises.

Non-Bengali Recensions of the Legend—The versions current outside Bengal are late and show extraneous elements. The tradition, however, is old and has never been lost. It has been modified. Thus Gopichand is referred to in Malik Mahammad Jaishi's *Padumāvatī*. The book is held to be the earliest Hindi book, its antiquity is well-established. But no MS. on the Gopichand legend, sufficiently old, has come down to us in the Hindi or other extra-Bengali speeches. As a mass of popular poetry it has suffered untold modification at the hands of obscure poets, vairagis and mendicant-singers in Hindustan. It is not safe to rely on the version of any one of these. A sufficiently old version of the Hindustani version in some authentic recension of MSS. is a *desideratum*.

Panjabi Version:—One Panjabi version was collected by Sir Richard Carnac Temple in the *Legends of the Punjab*, Vol. II (*Swāṅg Rājā Gopīchand*). Gauḍ Bangāl was the home of Gopichand, and he was the King of Ujjain. Maināwantī, his mother, was the sister of the sage King Bharathari (Bhartṛhari). The mother enjoined the son to leave the vanities of the world and to seek immortality from Jalandhar Nath as his disciple. Gopichand, on the contrary, at the advice of his minister had the Yogi who was in a trance thrown into a well; and then stones were thrown into it till it was quite full. In an interlude is related how in the past the two Natha gurus, Macchandar and Jalandhar had been cursed—one was to be ensnared by women with sensual pleasures and forget his spiritual mission, the other was to be buried up in a well. Both of them were to be rescued by their respective disciples, Kanuphā and Gorakhnath. Gorakh now arrived at the King's city on this mission; and at his warning Gopichand was alarmed. He surrendered himself to Jalandhar who pardoned him, initiated him into his order and

pierced his ears for the wooden ring which distinguished such mendicants. Universal regret marked the step of the King, and Gopichand's queen Patam Dai was bewildered when at the bidding of the Guru, the husband to signify his complete renunciation of the former life addressed the wife as 'mother' and begged for alms. In vain the queen pleaded, in vain was her appeal strengthened by the sad persuasion of their daughter. Gopichand returned to the Guru, went forth following him as a mendicant, and appeared in Gauḍ to beg alms as a mendicant-beggar from his dear sister Champa. Recognition and a scene of great pathos followed when the sister died of grief. But Jalandhar brought her back to life and Gopichand parted from her in spite of her insistent appeal to remain with her there.

Hindustani Version —The Hindustani version is almost identical as can be seen from the late MM. Sudhakar Dvivedi's brief summary of the legend in Sir George Grierson's edition of *Padumāvatī*. Only the king's persecution of Jalandhar Nath is missed in it. The Bazaar Hindi versions are not much different—though they differ on the names of the persons and cities connected with the legend. Thus in one of them Gorakhnath and not Jalandhar Nath, is the Guru who guided the King to wisdom (Purusottam Dās's *Gopīchandra Līlā*, Translated into Bengali by Amrita Lal Bhattacharya, 1294 B.S.). In some other (Ostād Indaraman—*Sān Gopichand*, Nathuram Book Depot, Hathras, 1920) Bhartrhari leads the nephew to the Guru Gorakhnath for initiation.

Gujarati Version —The Gujarati versions of the legend of Gopichand have been available of late through Mr. Jhaverichand Meghane. In *Raḍhiyalī-Rāt* three such versions have been presented (Nanilal Ray-Chaudhuri—*Gujrāte Gopīchandrēr Gān, Pravāsi*, 1336 B.S., Vol. III, p. 636), and they mark certain variations from the Hindustani forms. Unlike those in Hindustani a prelude to the usual account is furnished here by the story of the birth of Gopichand through the grace of the God Ratnākara and the death of his father, Tilakchand, King of Gauḍ-Vaṅga, caused by the curse of the Yogī Jalandhara. A necklace of the queen Mināul Devī had been placed by the thieves who stole it around the neck of the Yogī, who lost in meditation knew nothing of it. The king's police officers, however, caught him, and he was tortured at the order of the King Tilakchand. Disturbed in his meditation, he inflicted a curse on him and as a

consequence the father of the hero died. Then follows the legend in the familiar lines. Jalandhar was buried up by Gopichand, who later was made to realise his folly by Kanuphā. Then the king made amends: three packets of pulses were turned into ash as he called on the angered Guru, and on the fourth occasion, the Guru pardoned him. Jalandhar tried Gopichand hard when he applied for initiation. he was appointed to carry water 12 times a day for his Guru (cf the Bengali recensions), to beg alms from his own subjects, and to beg alms lastly amidst the usual scenes of wailing from his own queen Menāvati and the twelve hundred other wives. For their consolation, Jalandhara predicted an heir to the throne, and then begins Gopichand's period of wandering in the company of the Guru, in course of which he visited his sister in the city of Dhārā, and had to face the well-known scene of pathetic appeal from her. Some Gujarati accounts close there with this note of tragedy, but others soften it by adding that twelve years later the Guru and the disciple had returned to Gauḍ-Vaṅga.

Marathi Version:—A Marathi version (presented by Appaji Govind Inamdar) has a prelude relating how Maināmatī, the mother of Gopichand who had his seat in Kāñcan-nagar, turned a disciple of the Guru Jalandhar Nath on seeing him passing on the streets with the faggots on his head. The main legend is on the Gujarati line: instead of the three packets of pulses as the 'scape-goats' for the Guru's ire to exhaust itself, the Marathi version has three golden images of the king himself. The legend closes in a happier vein; Gopichand returns to Gauḍ to reign there for one thousand years.

Bengali Recensions:—The Bengali versions compared to these non-Bengali stories are undoubtedly fuller and the native singers have preserved the story purer. Points of agreement between the groups are apparent.

Published versions:—But all the Bengali versions of the songs have not yet been published. Publications of the songs about Gopichandra in Bengali dates from the year 1873 when (i) in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol., No. 3, Sir George Grierson published a version of the songs—*Maynāmatīr Gīt*, as heard from a man of the Jugī (Yogi) caste in Rangpur District. In spite of the attempts of his scribe to retouch it (in the first half), it is a fair sample of the legend as it is known in the area. (ii) Babu Siva Chandra Sīl introduced Durlabh Mallik's *Govinda Chandrer Gīt* in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*,

Vol. VI, and later published the MS which he had received from a Vaisnavī of Chinsura. (iii) Babu Bireswar Bhattacharya, whose enthusiasm and interest in the Gopichandra songs is well known, gave an account of the songs in the *V.S.P.*, Vol. XV, No. 2. as he collected them from the Jugīs of Nilphamari in Rangpur. (iv) Shukur Mohammad's *Gopīchandrēr Saṇnyāsa* was published by Munshi Golam Rasul Khon(d)kar from Rampur-Boalia (Rajshahi) in 1319 B.S. (1912), but it is no longer available. (v) Bhabani Das's *Maynāmatī Gān* was published in the *Pratibhā*, 1321 B.S. (1914), by Babu Nalmikanta Bhattasali and Baikuntha Nath Datta and reprinted in Dacca Sāhitya Paṇṣad Series, No. 3 (vi) Calcutta University is to be thanked for an excellent version of the songs as current in Rangpur and collected by Babu Bireswar Bhattacharya. In the foot-notes of the publication, *Gopīchandrēr Gān*, the Editors have noted down all the variants including that of Sir George Grierson's earliest account in the *J A S.B.*, 1873, Vol I, No. 3. Vol. II of *Gopīchandrēr Gān*, published in 1924 by the Calcutta University, contains the versions of Bhabani Das and Shukur Mohammad with an informative introduction by Babu Bireswar Bhattacharya and helpful annotations by Babu Basanta Ranjan Ray Vidvadvallabha.

Rangpur Version.—Of these, Rangpur versions are the most detailed and Bhabani Das's seems to be the briefest. There is a long prelude and many long digressions in the Rangpur versions. Manikchand, according to Rangpur songs, was the king of Bengal with five queens. Mayna, the head of them, lived apart at Phurusānagar. The death of the king was hastened by the oppression of his new minister when the subjects took refuge with Śiva after establishing *dharmaghaṭ*. Mayna learned of his approaching end and pressed him to be instructed by her in the mysterious knowledge of the Yoga which she had received as a young girl from none other than the Guru Gorakhanāth. The king with his husband's pride rejected the offer, he would not have his wife as his Guru. Mayna bribed and fought against the agents of Yama, who ultimately stole away the life of Manikchand. She started at that for the regions of Yama, punished Yama and his agents heavily until Śiva Gorakhanath appeared to intercede. Manikchand was dead, but a son would be given to Maynāmatī; he could secure Brahmajñāna as a disciple of Hārīpha. Mayna returned, offered herself as the śāstras prescribe, as a satee; but the flames would not touch her. So, Gopichand the son grew

up, was married to the Aduna and Padunā, the daughters of King Hariśchandra. His reign began auspiciously with the young lovely queens and hundreds of others and a vast flourishing dominion.

This prelude to the Gopichand legend in which we learn of the father and mother of the hero is peculiar to Rangpur. Bhabani Das is absolutely silent on it except for his reference to Mayna's initiation by Gorakh at the age of nine, on which Durlabh Mallik is also agreed. Shukur Mohammad's account is very plain:—Gopichand is born before the husband and the wife had met and Manukchand died of fever when Maynāmati was in meditation. The king was cremated, but the flames did not burn Maynāmati. Aduna and Padunā were the queens, but there were others too.

The non-Bengali versions except the Gujarati ones always begin not with the birth of Gopichand or death of his father, but with the next phase of Gopichander's life, in which Mayna, according to all accounts, enjoins king Gopichand, her son, to renounce the world and the wives and to seek true knowledge as a disciple of Hāriphā (himself a disciple of Gorakhnath). Gopichand cast doubt on the relationship of Mayna and Hāriphā which would bring on him later on slavery to a courtesan. He, however, was doubtful and called, on the advice of the queen Aduna, for proofs. Proofs were furnished one after another—Mayna passed the ordeal in boiling oil when the queen's jubilation at her feigned death turned to dismay. The feat of crossing stream on foot and of weighing lighter than a *tulsi* leaf were successfully demonstrated by the sage woman. The king was persuaded and in spite of the queen's attempts to postpone it by bribing the soothsayer Brahmin and the barber, prepared himself for initiation by donning on the mendicant's rags, accepting the horn, having the ears pierced, and so on. This second period of convincing the king which is brief in non-Bengali versions is here full of elaborate details in which Maynāmati is tested (only in Bengali versions) and proved how precious was the knowledge she had got. In Bhabani Das's account also Mayna was tested similarly, and the daughters-in-law went the length of poisoning her (but they had not had her boiled in oil, as in the Gān) and were jubilant at her supposed death. The brunt of the whole thing aimed at testing the worth of Yoga is borne in Shukur Mohammad's account by the Hāriphā Guru himself and not at all by Mayna. The king, according to it, failed to utilise the wisdom he had received from the Guru, because he had not

repudiated the companionship of the queens. So, the Guru was taken to be a charlatan and when the Guru was in meditation the king buried him up. The Guru was rescued by the disciple Kanuphā, and, as in the Marathi version, three gold images of Gopichand were turned into ash when the repentant disciple called on him to seek his mercy. On the fourth call, he was pardoned and applied for initiation as a disciple. Hārīphā sent him to beg alms of the queen addressing her as 'mother'. The queen pleaded ardently and pathetically prayed at the end to be allowed to follow him as a woman-mendicant. This idea the king dismissed. In despair she killed herself, but was brought to life by Hārīphā, and is told to await in the palace with a pair of birds for the day of the king's return. (Hārīphā's power of giving back life is also related by Bhabani Das, in which in course of his ordeal a man is decapitated, and Hārīphā brings him back to life.)

The king now went forth wandering as a mendicant with Hārīphā. The Guru tried him with hardship: he passed through dark interminable forests, thorny paths, hot, burning sands, etc. The power of the Nath Guru is shown: once the king died and his life was brought back by him from Yama's regions, his orders were carried out by the gods, sun and moon and Indra, and Hanuman made way for him; lastly Yama's mother, who fanned the tired disciple. The Guru wanted the disciple to pay for a smoke of gāñja; the disciple failing, he sold him to slavery for twelve years to Hirā the courtesan. Baffled in her approaches to the young royal mendicant, the courtesan tortured him for twelve long years. Then the birds of the palace searched out the king who wrote to the mother his plight. Hārīphā was awakened from meditation by Maynāvati and hurried to rescue the royal disciple. Gopichand had by his long suffering proved his fitness for knowledge, and the Guru imparted to him Brahmajñān. He was allowed afterwards to return to the palace. The queens saw with mingled feelings the returning of their lord after long years of wandering. He had conquered desires, hence he was permitted to reign again.

Almost all the Bengali accounts agree on the central period of Gopichand's life, but they are not as elaborately narrated as in the Rangpur songs. Bhabani Das speaks by implication that the king was to reign again. Shukur Mohammad is ominously silent on it. In Durlabh Mallik's account there is on his return an orgy of

persecution of Hārīphā and the yogīs, until he meets, Kanuphā, when Hārīphā is rescued from underground, and, lastly the second mendicancy of Gopichand began

The Oṛiya version, so far as can be gathered from the specimens of it in the *Vaṅga Sāhitya Pañchaya* (Vol. I, pp. 85-101, Calcutta University), agrees with the Bengali one.

The Bengali-Nepali Version.—But these by no means exhaust the Gopichand legend as it is current in Bengal. There are unpublished MSS. still, and folk imagination has at times also played with the king extravagantly (Bireswar Bhattacharya *Pravāsī*, Vol. i, 1316 B.S. pp. 413; *Gopī Chānder Gān*, Vol. ii, Introduction, p. 218). One particular MS. can be expected to see light soon. A special interest is attached to it, for it belongs to the group of Bengali dramas which had an exotic growth at the Nepal Court. The MS. of the *Gopichand Nāṭak*, copied by a Newari scribe in the 19th century, is preserved in the Cambridge University Library in the Wright collection. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji made a copy of it for a Bengali edition. Through his kindness and courtesy we could gather all necessary informations about this curious Bengali-Nepalese version of the legend. It is dated 1627 (?) and may be regarded to have preserved a Bengali version free from later Bengali-Hindi accretions, though instead of them something of the hill-traditions might have entered it, as we may suppose. The story has an interesting prelude—an account of the attack of Gopichand's kingdom by Vaṅga Kumār, the Prince of Bengal, and the defeat of Gopichand through the betrayal of his war-chief Khetuā. The legend follows the well-known track afterwards. At Maynāvati's warning, Gopichand searches for a Yogi in all directions. Jalandharī Nath is produced before the king, tested by those familiar ordeals of fire, water, etc. Then in reply to the king's questions he unravels the mystery of birth, death, knowledge. A game of dice follows, and defeated in it, the king accepts Jalandharī as the Guru, donning on the wallet of a Yogi. He is permitted to take leave of the queens while the Guru prepares a *Yoga cakra*. It is made ready, and the king is instructed into the arts and sciences of Yoga, e.g. inhaling and exhaling of breath, significance of the mysterious four lotuses, and so on. The queens come to remonstrate, and in despair they offer to be *yoginīs* themselves. The Guru is, however, too sharp, and sharply he rails at womanhood. The king at his advice addresses them as 'mother',

and the queens commit suicide. But they are brought back to life (cf. Rangpur story). Gopichand is fully equipped as a Yogi—heads shaved, ears pierced, horn in hand, wallet around the body, etc. Illumination at last is vouchsafed to him, and then, since desires are dead within, Jalandhari permits him to reign again.

Historicity of the Legend:—Even in this very imperfect survey of the various recensions it is obvious that behind the legend of Raja Gopichand loom large the figures of the Nath Gurus Gorakhnath, Jalandhari Pāda (or Hārīphā), and the Jugis. They are celebrated all over India and their appeal as miracle-working saints is India-wide. Gopichand, being the centre and furnishing the element of romance of the Yogi cycle, speedily won the heart of the Indian people. In point of time the legend must, therefore, have belonged to the epoch of Indian history when internal communication was not hampered by the walls of linguistic provincialism. On the face of it, it must be pre-Muhammadan—no trace of Muhammadan conquest or domination can be found in the spirit of the legend or in its account itself. Assuredly, it must have belonged to one of the dark epochs of Indian history; for we know next to nothing of the great king, his great Guru or of this great order, the Natha. Certainly, the legend has a hoary past; that explains why like King Vikramāditya, King Bhartṛhari or King Bhoja, all more or less of an uncertain date, pre-Muhammadan and prior to the growth of the self-conscious modern vernaculars—King Gopichand could become a part of the legendary heritage common to the Aryan-speaking peoples of India. Yet history does not throw any light on him. Students of History and the legend have fought inconclusive battles over trifles and details; the names of the parents, of the father-in-law, of the cities of the king, of his mother or of his grand-parents, have served as good grounds of surmise. Buchanan and Grierson are inclined to connect him with the Pālas. Dr. D. C. Sen would place him in the 11th century identifying him with the Govindachandra of the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Hultzsch, Vol. i, p. 99; *Chronology of Indian Authors*, J.A.S.B., 1907, p. 206). Hoernle would place him as early as 6th century (*Indian Antiquities*, 1910). From place names and other proper names, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das would consider him of his own district of Chittagong. Rangpur was long considered to be his seat. But since then the scholastic scale has turned as

unreasonable in favour of Tipperah and we are told that Maynāmatīr Pāhār saw the great renunciation, and the all-wise queen herself must have been from Bikrampur (South Dacca) as Aduna and Paduna from Sābhār (Western Dacca) (N. K. Bhattasali, *Maynāmatīr Gān*, Introduction) Gopichand remains as obscure as ever—nothing could have made him survive in folk memory but for his renunciation and connection, above all, with the great Nath-Siddhās.

Whatever its historical value, the legend of Gopichand is of primary importance as throwing some light—however faint and uncertain it may be—on what may be called the dark age of early Indian history and culture. Like the almost contemporary dark age in Europe, it was during this period that the ancient Hindu world was taking its modern shape.

Modern Hindu Life—a result of Cultural Assimilation. The Legend and the process of Assimilation :—Modern Indian life has made an amazing synthesis of the materials of different inspirations. Hindu life in India to-day presents on the whole a homogeneous picture. This happens everywhere—diverse elements are unconsciously synthesized into a complex whole through the desire of the generations for a consistent story. Thus, for example, in the present case, Gopichand, a purely romantic figure of a later devotional order, has been connected in the North Indian versions of the legend with Bhartrhari, a classical hero. But the legends, as is natural in such cases, yet remain to point to a distant past. Buddhism has been submerged by Hinduism; the Yugis, who probably were affiliated to the Buddhistic Tantrik order, are Śaivite ascetics. In Bengal they form to-day a distinct secular section within the Hindu community, and most of them in the East Bengal are Vaiṣnavas, and weavers as a rule by profession. Much of the rituals of the Śaivite ascetic order or the practices of the Bengali Jugi section echo back to an era when the assimilation had not yet taken place. The process, however, of this transformation is yet unknown.

The Naths and Nathism, from this point of view, are of the highest importance and the Gopichand legend owes its importance to its being connected with them. But these Natha Gurus are themselves the real enigma. All about them is twilight dimness. From Marathi *Jñāneśvarī* we are warranted in putting them as

late as the 10th century A.D., as Prof. S. K. Chatterji does in his *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (p. 122). But Mr. Sylvan-Lévi has placed him in *Le Nepal* (I, 347ff) earlier by some centuries, and M. Sahidullah would stick to that (*Les Chants Mystiques de Kāṇha et Saraha*, 20ff.) They are becoming the deciding factors in the study of the history of Bengali language ever since MM Hara Prasad Sastri brought to light the Caryā Songs from Nepal. All these were the deciding factors in the cultural life of Northern India. Their influence is written large on our life, but they themselves are shrouded in mystery.

Impenetrable is also the mystery of the Nathas and Yogis, so much connected with the legend of Gopichand. It has been suggested that they belonged to the Mantrayāna school of later Buddhism (Sahidullah—Introduction, *Śūnya Purāṇ*, 1930, *Basumatī Sāhitya Mandir*). The Gopichand legend does not pretend to enlighten us on their tenets or practices. Sukur Muhammad's occasional descriptions of them might be from the Fakirs of allied esoteric schools. The Nepal MS is full of such discourses, but it is too deep for our poor understanding. The Yogis have left a literature of their own of which a respectable bibliography can be compiled, but which hardly add to our knowledge of their origin, history, or of the development of their tenets.

Tibetan tradition speaks of the 84 Siddhas and the Nathas are included in the list. The legends of Macchandār, Gorakh, Jalandharī, Kanuphā are common miracle-stories without any distinction. No mention is made in them of Gopichand or any other character of this legend, and hence they throw no light, direct or indirect, on our study (Albert Grunwedel—German translation of the Tibetan version of the Legend of 84 Siddhas, *Baessler Archiv* for Vol. V, Pt. iv, V). According to Taranath, however, the Nathas, an order of Buddhist mendicants, were betrayed to Śaivism by their Guru Gorakh Nath under the pressure of the ruling king. The Indian Yogis to-day are Śaivaites and hold Gorakh Nath as the Great Guru of the school though admittedly he was a disciple of Macchandār. Throughout India they have seats and monasteries and, as there has been no effort at co-ordination, their rites, practices and tenets vary very greatly. By far the most influential were the Kanphat Yogis—the ears of whom are pierced and a ring of wood worn there. (Hastings—*Encyclopædia, Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 833.)

The Jugī Caste.—In Bengal the Nathas have, however, standardized into a caste—the Jugis, the caste of weavers. The legend of Gopichand has been preserved by them in Rangpur, and MSS. of it are oftener found in their houses than elsewhere. 'They number 365,910.... Their greatest numbers are found in Tipperah, Noakhali, and they are numerous also in Chittagong, Mymensingh, Dacca, Bakarganj.... but they are in considerable numbers in the Southern districts of the Presidency Division and in parts of the Northern Bengal.' (*Census 1921*, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 354). In North-Bengal they call themselves Śiva Varṇa and are possibly of Śaiva persuasion, but in the East Bengal they are mostly Vaiṣṇavas. Their 'sections', viz. Kāśyapa, Śiva, Ādi, Alarishi, Anādi, Batuk, Borbhairab, Gorakṣa, Matsyendra, Min, Satya—and religious grouping, viz. Brāhman, Sannyasa (Kāṇphāt) Dandī, Dharmaghare, Jāth, Kāliphā, Darihār, Aghorpanthī, Bhartṛhari, Sārangihār—are interesting (Risley—*Castes and Tribals of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 52). It is to be remembered that they did not and often do not, burn their dead, though they hold themselves Hindus in every way. Thus Nathism, whatever in origin, has transformed itself. In origin a form of Tantrik Buddhism, as it is held, it was perhaps natural for it in the days of approximation and adoption to shade off easily into Tantrik Śaivism, caring more for its Tantrik rites, tenets and system. These suited any labelling, Buddhism or Śaivism, and if these were permitted to them the Yogis were easily reconciled. Later on came Islam, and a vast multitude, still Buddhistic, who had hung on the borderland of Hinduism would gladly adopt it. Narañjaner-ism lends support to such a surmise. Still later came the Vaiṣṇava wave and those who were depressed found a new haven. *Gopīchandrēr Ġān* in Bengali is full of Vaiṣṇava touches which can easily be explained if this is kept in view.

It might be submitted that Nathism is perhaps nothing so academic as Buddhism developing or declining, but the primitive cults and rites of the non-Aryan people which through ages persisted among the folk, and were continued by a chain of folk-vagabonds, highly esteemed by the people for their supposed miracle-making powers. These belonged to no regular order—Buddha, Jaina or Hindu,—but were ready to affiliate themselves to any one and to colour any one in their turn. From non-Vedic charms to the present day Sahajiyā transformations through Tantrik Buddhism and Tantrik

Hinduism, Sahajiyā Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava phases—is a bold hypothesis but not an irrational surmise.

The legend of Gopichand gives a start to all such speculations about the Nathas and Nathism, but leads to no conclusion. It promises to be a fruitful field for students of Indian cultural transition, but as yet the materials are too meagre to satisfy them. It may be expected that scholars would co-operate to see what definitely is deducible from the materials.

Section of Indian Philosophy.

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IS BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ POST-BUDDHIST ?

RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M. V. KIBE

The text of the *Bhagavad Gītā* as recovered from Alberuni's *India* is perhaps the oldest extant and an impartial text of the famous work.

The first line of the 3rd stanza of chapter 11 runs as follows :—

एवमेतद्यथाऽहम्

Tilak in his famous *Gītā Rahasya* has observed that some commentators prefer to treat this line and the second as a separate entity from the last two lines. But both agree as to the meaning. The first two lines are :—

एवमेतद्यथाऽहम् लमात्मान परमेश्वर ।

They, according to some commentators, mean :—Oh God thou in this way hast described self.

The Sanskrit expression एतद्यथाऽहम् is rather curious and appears to be a technical term of foreign origin. The last word ऽहम् is ordinarily taken to mean as 'described' and is written in ordinary editions in conjunction with the previous word—यथाहम्.

The above surmise, however, is supported by the following facts :—

Professor J. Pratt, Ph.D. in his monumental work '*The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrim*' (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1928, p. 247) has discussed the word 'Bhūta-tathatā' found in the works of the *Yogācāra* school of the Mahayana Buddhism. According to him the word 'Bhūta-tathatā' means 'Absolute'. Then he goes on to call it 'Thatness'. He mentions that Professor A. B. Keith suggests for 'Bhūta-tathatā' the rendering 'Thusness'. Professor Pratt's conclusion is : 'Bhūta-tathatā is the ultimate spiritual essence, is all in all' (p. 250).

Having regard to the fact that for the expression 'Bhūta' in Buddhist literature before 'tathatā' there is 'etad' in Sanskrit, both of which mean the same thing, viz. 'That,' it is not difficult to conclude that one is indebted to the other. Professor Pratt is obviously wrong in translating the whole expression 'Bhūta-tathatā' as 'absolute'. His final rendering of it is correct. The first

word of the compound whether in Buddhist or Sanskrit scriptures, means 'That', viz. 'Bhūta' or 'etad'. The second word of the compound 'tathatā' means 'Thusness' or 'Suchness'. Some Sanskrit writers of the text of *Bhagavad Gītā* and its commentators, not knowing the similar expression in Buddhist literature have rendered the text 'एतद्वयात्' 'spoke thus' or those who perhaps suspected the origin said 'like what it was', i.e. one set translate आत्त्य as spoke and another taking the word 'as आत्त्य, as "true" or as it was' (Tilak's *Gītā Rahasya*, p. 763). According to the new interpretation the entire stanza which is below :—

एवमेतद्वयात्त्य त्वमात्मानं परमेश्वर । द्रष्टुमिच्छामि ते रूपमेश्वरं पुरुषोत्तम ॥

The संस्कृत अन्वय will be like this :—

परमेश्वर द्रष्टुमिच्छामि त्वमात्मानं ऐश्वरं ते पुरुषोत्तम एवं रूपं एतद्वयात्त्य.

Would mean :—

'Oh Parameśvara, I wish to see thy own resplendent form, the best among men, that is all in all.'

प्राचीन-न्यायो नथ-न्यायश्च ।

इह खलु विधेर्विलक्षणविधिनिर्मितिनैपुण्यचमत्कारे दृष्टाकारेऽननविस्तारे सुखाभावावज्ञानसारे सर्वविधविषयप्रसारे विज्ञानसारे संसारे सन्नि सन्नि शास्त्राणि स्त्रीयावगदप्रौढाशयप्रतिपादकानि न्यायशास्त्रप्रभृतौनि षट् संख्यकानि सदसदुपदेशपराणि आत्मापवर्गबोधध्वान्निविनाशनविधौ दौषरूपाणि लौकिकालौकिकपदार्थजातयथावगमनकारणानि । तत्र च न्यायशास्त्रं सर्वास्तिकनास्तिककोविदाकोविदसकललोकैः प्रयुज्यमानसुपयुज्यमानश्च दिननाथ इवात्मावबोध इव सर्वविधाज्ञानध्वान्निवारकं सर्वैरापेक्षिकम् । न्यायस्वरूपश्चेदम् नीयते प्राप्यते विवक्षितार्थसिद्धिरनेन स न्यायः । पक्षसल-सपक्ष-सलविपक्षासलाबाधितलासत्युतिपक्षितलरूपसमलरूपोपपन्नलिङ्गप्रतिपादकं पक्षावयववाक्यमित्यर्थः । लिङ्गमेव गमकं तच्च स—अभिचारविषयसत्युतिपक्षासिद्धबाधितरूप पक्षज्ञेलाभासनाल्लिङ्गितमेव हेतुरूपं बोधकमस्ति । किञ्च प्रमाणैरर्थपरीक्षण न्याय इत्यपि न्यायस्वरूपं मनोविहृदयज्ञमतामभ्युपैति । यावति शब्दसमूहे सिद्धिः परिसमाप्यते तस्य पक्षावयवाः प्रतिज्ञादयः समुच्चमपेक्ष्यावयवा उच्यन्ते । तेषु प्रमाणसमवाय आगमः प्रतिज्ञा, हेतुनुमानम्, उदाहरण प्रत्यक्षम्, उपनयनसुपमानम्, सर्वधामेकार्थसमवाये सामर्थ्यप्रदर्शनं निगमनमिति, सोऽय न्यायः । न्यायस्वरूपम्—न्यायो विधेयः न्यायप्रयोग आवश्यकः । न्यायस्य प्रभावः न्यायत्यागे हानिः न्यायप्रयोगेण युक्तस्य कस्यचित् दृष्टान्तः । न्यायप्रयोगस्य विधानमावश्यकमिति निश्चयकरणम् । महर्षि-वात्स्यायन-न्यास-सकलकलालापसररपाण्डित्यशालिभिः शास्त्रीय ममोद्योतकरैः विचारसत्त्वविलक्षणविचक्षणमालालालितपदसरोजैरुदयनाचार्य-प्रभृतिभिरनुयातः ॥ स एव प्रत्यक्षागमाश्रितमनुमानमन्वीक्षेत्यभिधीयते—प्रत्यक्षागमाभ्यामौचित्तस्यान्वीक्षणमन्वीक्षा तथा प्रवर्तमानाऽन्वीक्षिकौ न्यायविद्या न्यायशास्त्रम् । प्रमाण-प्रमेयसंशय-प्रयोजन-दृष्टान्त-सिद्धान्तावयवतर्कनिर्णयवादजल्पवितण्डा-ज्ञेलाभासच्छलजाति-निप्रक्षस्थानानान्तज्ञानान्निश्रेयसाधिगम इति सूक्तौः प्रमाणादिरोदगपदार्थैर्विभक्ताऽन्वीक्षिकौविद्या समुल्लसतितराश्रितारम् । आन्वीक्षिकौचयीविद्या दृष्टनैतिष्ठ शास्त्रौति कोषेऽपि प्राधान्येन प्रथममुद्देशस्तस्या इतरविद्यास्तु । अपि च “पुराण-न्याय-मौमांसा-धर्म-शास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः । वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥” इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेन तस्याः तदितरविद्योपयोगित्वम् सर्वविधधर्मावगति-धौरेयत्वञ्च गम्यते व्यवहितपूर्वोपादानात् । “प्रदौषः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् । आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां विद्योद्देशे प्रकौर्तिता ॥” इत्यभियुक्तोक्त्यान्वीक्षिक्याः निखिलविद्याप्रकाशकत्वं सकलक्रियोपायभूतत्वं समस्तधर्माधारत्वञ्च द्योत्यतेऽतो विधेयतः प्रयोज्येयं साकल्येन सर्वदा सर्वैर्विद्विरविद्विष । येनान्वीक्षिकौ प्रवर्त्ये स न्यायो द्विविधः प्राचीनो नथश्च । तत्र प्रागिति प्राचीनः । विभाषाश्चेरदिकृल्लियमिति स्मार्थे खः । प्राथः लोकाद्भूतप्रौढतया मक्षामक्षिम-प्रत्यक्षौष्ठन-निखिलवस्तुकाञ्चनयसाक्षात्समहर्षि-गोतमकपादनिर्मितः । नथो नवीनः, नवस्यन् आदेशो यत्प्रत्ययोभयलानूणे च नथ इति । एष च विद्वन्मणितर्कालङ्कार-मथुरानाथ-जगदीशभट्ट-गदाधरभट्टादिभिर्विद्वत्ति नैतः परिणामान्तरञ्च गमितः, कस्यन्यतमं तदौयं भागं स्खलं वाधिष्ठाय समश्रित्य च स्त्रीयप्रतिभाजवाभासमानमहलमक्षामक्षिना, तादृशासौमप्रज्ञासकल्लोलास्तिष्ठमतयस्ते समभवन् किं दुःसाधं खलु प्रौढयेसुषीकामिनीकामिना खल्लगुणगरिममालिना विपक्षिता तादृशा ग्रन्थनिर्माणम् ।

तत्र प्राचीनन्यायशास्त्रप्रणायी निखिलतत्त्वज्ञोच्ची कालचयवेदी गीतमो महर्षिः षोडश-
 पदार्थाद्विजगद् “प्रमाणप्रमेयेत्यादिस्वरूपेण । अजिह्वमृच्छाभ्यासनिवारितप्रसादसादः कणादो
 मुनिर्जगद् च षट्पदार्थान् “धर्मविशेषप्रसूताद् द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषममवायाभावान्
 सप्तैव तानभिदधति पुनश्च ते च ते शङ्काडम्बरनिरावरणपाण्डित्यवन्” शक्तिसादृश्य-
 प्रभृतौनामितरपदार्थत्वसाशङ्क्य तत्तद्युक्तिभिः समाहितवन्तः नैषा शैली न्यायदर्शनकारस्य,
 निरतिशयापवर्गसाधनबोधननिर्वचनवदनपरायणत्वात्तस्येति । किञ्च व्याप्तिविशिष्टस्य हेतोः
 पक्षेण सच्च वैशिष्ट्यावगाच्छिज्ञानमनुमितिजनकम्, तत्र व्याप्तिर्नाम साध्यवदन्यादितत्त्वमिति
 लक्षणप्रत्येकान्न तत्र दोषदानेन निवेशप्रवेशद्वारा दृढिं नीतं तदुपा-साध्यतावच्छेदक-
 सम्बन्धावच्छिन्न-साध्यवत्त्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदाधिकरणत्वावच्छिन्नभेदाधिकरणनिरूपिता
 या हेतुतावच्छेदकसम्बन्धावच्छिन्ना दृष्टिता तादृशदृष्टितानवच्छेदको यो हेतुतावच्छेदकधर्म-
 स्सद्धर्मवत्त्वम् । अपि च हेतुधिकरणदृष्टिं अभावाप्रतियोगिसाध्यसामानाधिकरणं व्याप्तिरिति
 लक्षणानुरक्तम्—वाच्यं वाच्यत्ववद् ज्ञेयत्वात्—सत्तावान् जातेरित्यादिषु चानपहृतमोषं दोष
 दर्शयित्वा एतदपि लक्षणं विविधवित्तजटिलग्रन्थजाले परिणतम् तथैव साध्यतावच्छेदक-
 सम्बन्धावच्छिन्नयादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोग्यनधिकरणौभूत-हेतुतावच्छेदक-
 सम्बन्धावच्छिन्नहेतुतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नहेतुधिकरणदृष्ट्यभावौय प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकं यत्साध्य-
 तावच्छेदकं तदवच्छिन्नसाध्यसामानाधिकरणं व्याप्तिरिति । एवं त्रैमथुरानाथप्रभृतिभिरपि
 व्याप्तेस्तत्त्वलक्षणानि आख्यातानि, समाकलितानि च तर्कालंकारलगदीशभट्टेन च सिद्धान्त-
 लक्षणं सकलितं तदेतत्सकलं वामिलासचातुरीविलसितप्रायमेवाभाति न तु प्रभृतिसाकूत-
 विमलार्थगौरवम् । प्राञ्चस्तु अविनाभावो व्याप्तिरित्याहुः । तदुक्तं—प्रश्लेषादभाये—
 सर्वत्र देशकालाविनाभूतमितरस्य लिङ्गमिति यथा धूमो वज्रलिङ्गमिति । देशाविनाभूतं
 कालाविनाभूतहेतरस्य साध्यधर्मस्य लिङ्गम् । देशाविनाभूतं यथा—कश्चरौरेषु सुवर्णभाण्डारिक-
 पुष्पैः यववाटिकासंरक्षणं यवनालेषु जेमांकुरोद्भेदस्य लिङ्गम् । कालाविनाभूतं यथा—
 प्राज्योतिषेश्वरसद्मनि प्रातर्गायनादीनि ऋष्यप्रबोधलिङ्गम् । महर्षिगीतमेनायुक्तम्—अथ
 तत्पूर्वकं चिविधमनुमानम् । पूर्ववच्छेषवत्सामान्यतो दृष्टमिति सूत्रम् । इह तत्पूर्वकपदेन
 लिङ्गलिङ्गिनोः सम्बन्धदर्शनं लिङ्गदर्शनश्चावगम्यते, लिङ्गलिङ्गिसम्बन्धदर्शनेन लिङ्गस्मृतिरभि-
 सम्बन्धते, स्मृत्या लिङ्गदर्शनेन च परोक्षोऽर्थानुमीयते अनुमानस्य चैवं चैविध्यम्—कारणेन
 कार्यानुमानं यथा मेघोन्नत्या भविष्यति दृष्टिरिति, कार्येण कारणानुमानं यथा नदी दृष्टो-
 परिदेशे दृष्टिरनुमीयते, कार्यकारणभिन्नं च हतौयम्—यथा दृष्टिवीलेन द्रव्यानुमानम् ।
 अथवा केवलान्वयानुमानं यथाऽभिधेयं प्रमेयत्वात् । केवलव्यतिरेकानुमानं दृष्टिवीतरभिन्ना-
 मन्वत्त्वात् । हतौयमन्वयव्यतिरेकि यथा वज्रिमान् धूमादित्यादि । अनेनानुमानसूत्रेण
 सकलमनुमानान्तामयी च समस्ता कथिता व्याप्ययापकसम्बन्धस्य व्याप्तिरनुक्तम् । इति
 दिग्दर्शनमात्रेण प्राचीननवीनशैलीपरिशौलितेयमिह च कस्योक्त्यलमनुत्कृष्टं वा
 वाच्यम् । भिन्नषट्चिह्नं लोक इति न्यायात् । विविधरचनाचातुरीरक्षिरा हि सन्नि जनाः
 केचित्पक्षगौरवमयी प्रौढरचनाधनघटाडम्बरान्वरानुषङ्गविस्तारितमतयो मतिसन्तो विद्यन्ते ।
 शब्ददृष्टकुसुमकदम्बजटिलप्रबन्धमकरन्दपरिशौलितधियः सुधियः प्रौढरचनारुचकाभिनीया-
 क्रोमलकलाकलनाऽऽकलितगूढसूक्ष्मभावप्रियाः, नवीननैयायिका’ वर्तन्ते । ते तु तन्त्रेण
 शङ्काद्विवर्तयन्तार्किकार्कसंसारोत्तरात्तराज्ञाविताङ्गसूक्तप्रियाः । यथा—धूमो यदि
 वज्रिभ्यभिवारो स्यात् वज्रिजन्यो न स्यात्—इति अभिचारशङ्कासपनीय वज्रिधूमयोर्वाप्ति-
 निर्वर्णयन्ति वज्रिमान्भूमादित्यत्र ॥ प्राचीनास्तु—विमलसकलविधलौकिकालौकिकयथार्थाय-

दर्शनेन पटौयसीं परिपाटीं समाश्रितवन्तोऽकुण्डोत्कण्डाममन्दानन्दनिष्ठान् च जनयन्ति,
 अतिगम्भीरभावमर्थं स्फुटमुपदिशन्ति । अतस्तेष्वेवाद्धाति पद गौरवम् । महर्षिगीतमनिर्मित-
 दर्शनस्य मूलभूतस्य किञ्चित्स्थूलं वा न्यतम विषयमवलम्ब्यैव नथन्यायनिर्माणम् विहितं जटिल-
 कठिनबन्धेषु यथामति मनौषिभिः यथा वाल्मीकिरामायणमाश्रित्योत्तरचरितं नाटकं रघु-
 वशाख्यमहाकाव्यञ्च प्रणेत्रा भवभूतिना कालिदासेन च यथाक्रमम् । अतो मूलभूतत्वा-
 त्कलात्माद्यपवर्गान्तप्रमेयार्थप्रकाशकत्वात् उत्कृष्टतममोक्षस्वरूपसाधनप्राप्तिबोधकत्वाच्च सर्व-
 विधप्राणिप्रधानभूतात्मनिरूपणसाधनावगमकलात्प्रधानो रुचिरश्च भाति प्राचीनन्यायप्रतिभा-
 शालिबुधदृष्टे विलसतिनरान्निरन्तरम् ॥ तदेव प्रदर्शयते—उपयोगिलसावश्यकत्वाच्च सर्वेषां
 विदुषां पामराणाञ्च सुसुक्ष्माणां विषयिणाञ्च । यतोऽनन्तप्रसारस्याप्रत्यक्षकारणस्यानन्तभूतस्य
 संसारस्य कर्त्ता ईश्वरोऽपि प्राचीनन्यायादेवावगम्यते सम्यक् अनुमानादथा—“कार्यायोजन-
 धृत्यादेः पदात्प्रत्ययतः श्रुतेः । वाक्यात्म्यं विज्ञाविशेषाच्च साधो विश्वविद्वयः” । इत्यादिना-
 चार्थवचनेन तत्साधनकथनात् क्षितिः सकर्तृका कार्यत्वात् घटवदित्यनुमानप्रमाणात् ज्ञेयः
 प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दाः प्रमाणातीति सूत्रप्रतिपादितानि प्रमाणानि सन्ति, प्रत्यक्षाभावे-
 ऽनुमानमाश्रीयते । आत्मनोऽप्यप्रत्यक्षस्यानुमानम्, “इच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नसुखदुःखज्ञानान्यात्मनो
 लिङ्गमिति सूत्रेण यथेच्छादिज्ञानान्तसूत्रापात्ताः गुणाः क्वचिदाश्रिताः गुणत्वात् रूपवत्—
 इत्यनेनेच्छाद्याश्रयः क्वचित्स्थितः स एवात्मा । किञ्च प्राणापाननिमेषोन्मेषजौवनमनोगतेन्द्रि-
 यान्तरविकाराः सुखदुःखेच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नाद्यात्मनो लिङ्गानौति कणादसूत्रोक्तप्राणादीन्द्रियान्तर-
 विकारान्ता अपि गमका आत्मसद्भावे । तथाहि—शरीरं प्रयत्नवदधिष्ठितमिच्छापूर्वकविकृत-
 वात्वाश्रयत्वात् भक्तावत् इत्याद्यनुमानम् । न च मनः शरीरं वेन्द्रियाण्येवात्मा न दृश्यगिति
 वाच्यम् मनस आत्मे ज्ञानादिप्रत्यक्षं स्यात् तस्याणुत्वात् । शरीरमपि नात्मा दृष्टदेहे ज्ञान-
 सुखाद्यनुदयात् । इन्द्रियाण्यपि नात्मा तेषां करणत्वेन ज्ञानकर्तृत्वाभावात् भिदिक्रियायां
 कुठारस्य करणस्य दृश्यं स्थितिं दर्शनात् । तथात्वे चक्षुर्विनाशे तद्दृष्टस्य पदार्थस्य स्मृतिर्न
 स्यात्—अनुभवितुः स्मृत्यैकस्यैव सत्त्वात् न ह्यन्यदृष्टमन्यः स्मरति । अतः दृश्यमात्मासिद्धः । आत्म-
 शरीरैन्द्रियार्थवद्भिननः प्रवृत्तिदोषप्रत्यभावफलदुःखापवर्गास्तु प्रमेयम्—इति प्रमेयसूत्रे चात्म-
 पदमुपात्तमस्य तत्त्वज्ञानान्निवेशसं भवति । एतत्तत्त्वज्ञानं च प्रमाणैर्वादजल्पवितण्डाभिसिद्धिभिः
 कथाभिश्च परपक्षान्निराकृत्य स्वीयञ्च तं संस्थाप्य जायते । अनेकयोनिजनिभोग्यं जनन
 मरणजन्ममेकविशतिधादुःखं यत्रात्यन्तं ध्वंसते सोऽपवर्गः । तथा च सूचितं भगवता
 महर्षिणा—“तत्तदत्यन्तविमोक्षोऽपवर्गः—इति । शरीरं षडिन्द्रियाणि षड् विषयाः षट् बुद्धयः
 सुखं दुःखञ्चैकविशतिप्रभेद दुःखम् । शरीरं दुःखायतनत्वादुःखमेव कर्मजन्यं, सुखं फलं तु
 दुःखम्, गौणन्तु शरीरं तदभावादपवर्गः—तथा च सूत्रम्—दुःखजन्मप्रवृत्तिदोषमिथ्याज्ञानाना-
 मुत्तरोत्तरापये तदनन्तरापायादपवर्ग इति—दुःखादीनामध्वे यदुत्तरोत्तरान्तदपाये तद-
 नन्तरस्य तत्त्वत्रिहितस्य पूर्वपूर्वस्यापायादपवर्गः । प्रयोजकत्वं प्रयोज्यत्वं वा पञ्चमर्थः—यथा
 दण्डाभावादुघटाभावः इति स्वरूपसम्बन्धविशेष एव तत् । तथा च तत्त्वज्ञानेन विरोधिलेख
 मिथ्याज्ञानेऽपहृते कारणाभावाच्चापगते रागद्वेषात्मके दोषे तदभावाच्च धर्माधर्मात्मिकायाः
 प्रवृत्तेरनुत्पत्तौ तदभावात् विशिष्टशरीरसम्बन्धस्य शरीरस्याभावे दुःखाभावादपवर्गः ज्ञानिनः
 साधारणरागादिसत्त्वेऽप्युत्कटस्य तस्याभावात् । ननु दुःखापायान्नपवर्गः स एव सः तथापि
 पञ्चमर्थोऽभेद एवावाप्ति वापवर्गपदं तद्व्यवहारपरम्—अनन्तरपदेन जन्मान्तरमेव गृह्यते—
 इति तु न युक्तम्, दुःखपदवैयर्थ्यापत्तेः । दुःखानुत्पत्तेः चरमदुःखध्वंसप्रयोजकत्वं कल्पते,
 इदमभिप्रेत्येतदपि साधु । साधर्म्यादिकार्यसमानचतुर्विंशतिजातीनां प्रतिज्ञाज्ञानपूर्वक-

हेत्वाभासान्दविशतिनिप्रवृत्त्यानां च सम्यग्ज्ञानमात्मवोषरक्षणदक्षम् । स एष
महान्महिमा प्राचीनन्यायस्यार्थज्ञानकरणे । यतद्भावे ईश्वरौयमात्मौयं मोक्षौयं चेत्यादि-
ज्ञानं सम्यक्तया कथमपि न स्यात् । द्वावाभूमौ जनयन्देव एकः ॥ इत्यादि द्रुतिस्तु वेद-
प्रमाणानङ्गीकर्तुमते कथं प्रमाणं स्यात् । न चेत्स्वरस्यात्मनश्च मोक्षस्य च प्रत्यक्षमतोऽनुमानगम्य
तज्ज्ञानं, केवलप्रत्यक्षवादिनः चार्वाका अपि विनानुमानं न प्रत्यक्षमपि तु वक्तुमशक्तं समर्थः
प्रत्यक्षकारणस्य कृष्णताराप्रवर्तिनश्चतुरिन्द्रियस्याप्रत्यक्षत्वात्—तदुक्तमाचार्यैः—“दृष्टदृष्टोर्न
सन्देहो भावाभावविनिश्चयात् । अदृष्टिबाधिते हेतौ प्रत्यक्षमपि दुर्लभम्” इति । किञ्च—
श्रीमदुदयनाचार्यैरैश्वरानङ्गीकर्तृषाच्चार्वाकादीनां पञ्चानां नास्तिकानां पञ्चविप्रतिपत्तौः
प्रत्याख्याय ईश्वरसाधन-तद्वाधननिरसने सम्यग्विहिते कुसुमाञ्जली । तथाहि—लौकिक-
प्रत्यक्षाविषयगुणलसाक्षाद्याप्य आत्यधिकरणलमात्मगुणे वर्तते न वेत्यादयः तिष्ठन्ताः चार्वाकीया
अदृष्टाभिध्वात्तलसाधनेन निरस्तताः । अन्यथापि परल्लोकसाधनानुष्ठानसंभवादिति द्वितीया-
मीमांसकस्य प्रामाण्यस्य परतो ग्राह्यलप्रतिपादनेन । अनुपलब्धिरभावग्राहिका न वेति
बौद्धस्य तृतीया विप्रतिपत्तिस्तु योग्यानुपलब्धेरैवाभावसाधनकथनाद्विवारिता । सन्धेऽपि तस्या-
प्रमाणत्वादिति चतुर्थी जैनानाम् प्रामाण्यस्यादृष्टौतथाहितलखण्डनेन वारिता । तत्साधक-
प्रमाणाभावादिति पञ्चमी विप्रतिपत्तिः सांख्यानञ्च—“कार्याथोक्तन्यादिना” कार्यलदि-
हेतुकपूर्वोक्तानुमानेन तिरोहिता । अन्यञ्च—“सज्जाया आदिललदिति” सूत्रमप्यैश्वर-
संज्ञामवगमयति । चतुर्थाध्याये वैशेषिकशाले, यथा—आतस्य पुत्रस्य पूर्वतो विद्यमानलल्यतिता
देवदत्तादि-सज्जां करोति तथा ब्रह्मादिसज्जाया अपि पूर्वतो विद्यमान ईश्वरः कारणम् ।
गौतमे न्यायदर्शनेऽपि चतुर्थाध्याये सूत्रमैश्वरकारणलप्रतिपादनपरम् । तथाहि—“ईश्वरः
कारणं पुरुषकर्मफलदर्शनात्” इति । अयं पुरुषः समीहमानः समीहलफलद्वाम्रोति स्वयं
दुतरामतोऽनुमीयते, पराधौन पुरुषकर्मफललसाधनमतो यदधौन स ईश्वरः, तस्माद्वैश्वरो
जगत्कारणं सिद्धमिति स्फुटम् । लौकिक धूमादिहेतुकं वल्लिसाध्यमनुमानं यथोपजीव्यमुपयोगि
तथाऽप्रत्यक्षललौकिकवस्तुसाधनेऽपि तथैव तदवश्यमुपकारकमस्ति । तस्मादयं प्राचीनो न्यायो
वादिभौतिनिवारणपटुभिः यथार्थज्ञाननिवृत्तिपुरःसरं वास्तविकवोषधिमिच्छुभिः सर्वविध-
दार्शनिकैर्नूतनविपश्चिन्मण्डलेषु सर्वविधैरपि लोकेः समाग्रयितव्यः संवेतितयश्चास्ति ।
अपवर्गस्तु—“अत्यन्तदुःखञ्च एव” तथैव सूत्रात्, अनुमानेनैव तत्सद्भावो भावनौयः ।
तथाहि—दुःखसन्ततिधर्मिणी अत्यन्तमुच्छिद्यते सन्ततिललात् दीपसन्ततिवदित्यनुमानम् ।
सोऽपवर्गः प्रमाणादिषोडशपदार्थज्ञानादेव प्रतिपादितः, तत्रापि केवलमात्मज्ञानादेव मोक्ष इति
मन्तव्यम् । आत्मभिन्नसूत्रोपात्तप्रमाणादिभिरैवात्मतत्त्वज्ञानं फलति । अत्राशङ्क्यते—प्रमाणादयः
पदार्थाः प्रामाणिका वा प्रामाणिकाः । अप्रामाणिकले कल्पनामात्रनिर्मिताः कथं निःश्रेयसाय
कल्पन्ते, न च योद्धमात्मानः कल्पनाः कोषस्यानन्तप्रसरलात् । प्रामाणिकले च प्रमाणादेव
तत्सिद्धेः शास्त्रवैयर्थ्यमापद्यते इति चेन्न प्रत्यक्षानुमानाधिगतवस्तुतत्त्वान्वाख्यानं शास्त्रधर्मः ।
अतः प्रत्यक्षानुमानाधिगतकथनादप्रामाणिकलद्रिषिष्यते—इति न दोषलेशवाकाशः । तदिदं
न्यायशास्त्रमखिलदुःखाभिभावकमायतेरुपकारकं विपश्चित्संसदुःखायशोविस्तारकं यथार्थसुखा-
धायकं सवदां सर्वैः परिशौलनीयमिति विस्तारमिया परमखललेखेनैव पूरितोऽयं प्रबन्धः ॥
इति शिवम् ॥

इति सविनयमावेदयति

रामखलरूपशास्त्री,

अलीगढ़खः ।

THE LOKĀYATIKAS AND THE KĀPĀLIKAS.

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The Lokāyata is a very ancient sect in India. It is as old as the Vedas, if not older. The Kāpālikas too, as it appears, do not differ much from it in point of age, even though it is very difficult to say with certainty, which of these two sects is the older. Both the sects are referred to in the Vedas, in Buddhist literature, in Jaina literature, in the Purāṇas and the Tantras, in the Epics, in the early secular works, in the Kāvya, in the Nāṭakas and in the Commentaries of philosophical works.

In an inscription, dated 620 A.D., relating to a grant to the priests of the Kāpālikeśvara temple in Nasik, the Mahāvratins or the Kāpālikas are mentioned. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India in the first half of the 7th century of the Christian era, also mentions the Kāpālikas. Thus it appears that the Kāpālikas too were a very ancient sect. In all old works, the Lokāyatikas are mentioned as a distinct sect from the Kāpālikas. Gunaratna, a fourteenth century commentator, identifies the Kāpālikas with the Lokāyatikas.¹ It is very interesting to see how these two sects were gradually amalgamated.

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions a class of people of very ancient times, who were free to live, wherever they liked, free from all obligations, pure at heart, and blameless in action. Virtue and vice they had none. They lived in an atmosphere of perfect freedom in which man can move, depending upon his natural tendencies without being circumscribed in the least by the conventional dogmas of religion and social usages.² This class must have been the origin of the Lokāyatikas.

Side by side with them we meet the Vedicists, who followed the Vedic injunctions blindly. These are the two extreme classes of

¹ Vide Tarkarahasya-dīpikā (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1905), p. 300.
कापालिका भस्मोद्भूतनपरा योगिनो ब्राह्मणाद्यन्त्यजाताश्च केचन नास्तिका भवन्ति । . . .
तन्नामानि चार्वाकलोकायता इत्यादीनि । . . . धर्मं कामादपरं न मन्वते ।

² Vide Vishnupurāṇa I, 6, 12 यथेच्छावासनिरताः सर्वबाधाविवर्जिताः । श्रद्धात्मनः-
करणाः श्रद्धाः सर्वानुष्ठाननिर्मलाः ॥ . . . धर्माधर्मौ न तेष्वास्मात् ।

people, one always opposed to the other very prominently and directly. Along with these two, we find a third which was neither religious like the Vedicists, nor free and pure like the non-religionists. The followers of this sect observed religious practices not for the purification of the self, which is a step to Moksa, but for attaining objects of the senses—enjoyment being their sole end. They were the Çiçnadevas and the Vāmadevas. We cannot say with certainty who these Çiçnadevas or Vāmadevas were. Some say that they owe their origin to the uncivilized tribes. We can say so far that they did not possess the spirit of the true Aryans. They adopted the religious practices of the Vedicists which were not their own, as a means to the realization of their end—sensualism, which was all their own. The Aryan spirit must be bold and direct. Such were the Vedicists: such were the Lokāyatikas or the non-religionists. The Çiçnadevas were those who worshipped the phallus. They were very fond of sensual enjoyment and had no faith in the Vedas. The Rīgveda mentions them.¹ The Chāndogya Upanisad describes the Vāmadeva-vrata, which shows that in that particular form of worship the devotee could enter into sex-relationship (intercourse) with any woman and with any number of them.² He who knows the Vāmadeva Sāman has no restraint as regards the law of sexual intercourse. These Vāmadeva-vratins, if not the Çiçnadevas, were most probably the originators of Kāpālikism. Sensualism in connexion with religious rites was the main characteristic of this school, which later on was known as a sect of the Śaivas of the left-hand order.³ We cannot say with certainty whether the Çiçnadevas had any connexion with the Saivas who were the worshippers of the Lingam (phallus). We are not even sure whether the Vāmadevas had anything to do with the Vāmācārins, who could enjoy sexual pleasure for religious purposes.

It is evident that the non-religionists mentioned in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* had to pass through four stages of development. In its first

¹ Vide Rīgveda, 7, 21, 5 and 10, 99, 3. Sāyana—शिञ्जेन दीयन्तौ ऋद्धिन् इति शिञ्जदेवः। अन्नद्वयार्थाः इत्यर्थः। Durgā the commentator of Nirukta—शिञ्जेन नित्यमेव प्रकीर्षाभिः स्त्रीभिः साकम् ऋद्धिन्ः आसते त्रीतानि कर्माणि उत्पद्यन्ते। Dr. Muir and Griffith—The Çiçnadevas were those who worshipped the phallus.

² Vācaspati Miśra, Govindānanda, Anandagiri and Rāmānuja—Brahma-sūtra II, 2, 35, 37. Vāmanapurāṇa, chap VI, etc.

³ The Chāndogya-upanisad II, 13, 1-2. न काश्चन परिहरेत्।

stage it was a mere tendency of opposition. It accepted the authority of none: it even denied the authority of the Vedas. At this stage its name was Bārhaspatya.¹ In its second stage, svabhāvavāda, recognition of perception as a source of knowledge and the theory of Dehātmavāda were incorporated in it. At this stage they got the name Lokāyata.²

In its third stage, an extreme form of Hedonism, which was due perhaps to the corruption of this extreme form of freedom, formed the most important feature of this school. Gross sensual pleasure superseded pure bliss which the Lokāyatikas enjoyed so long. Licentiousness replaced liberty. At this stage they got the designation, Cārvāka, and preached—‘Eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow you may die.’ From that time the non-religionists leaned gradually towards spiritualism. Being severely attacked by the spiritualists, they gave up the theory of Dehātmavāda and tried gradually to identify the sense-organs, breath, and the organ of thought with the self. At this stage they accepted *आकार* as an element and even Inference, though in a restricted sense, as a source of knowledge.³ In its fourth stage, the school came to be at one with the Buddhists and the Jains in opposing the Vedicists, and got the common designation of Nāstika—Nāstiko Veda-nindakah. At this stage, all anti-Vedic schools came to be known as Lokāyata. They failed to maintain their original characteristics.

The sect, which allowed enjoyment of women for religious purposes, introduced gradually the drinking of spirituous liquors and eating of meat into their religious rites. In course of time, partly

1 सर्वत्र पर्यनुयोगपराण्व सखाणि दृश्यते:—Sammata-Tarkopakarana, Gujrat Purātattva series, Vol I, p. 69.

2 स्वभावतः सर्वमिदं प्रवृत्तम्—Bhattotpala, Gunaratna, Dallana, etc.

प्रत्यक्षमेवैकं प्रमाणं—Commentary on Sammati-Tarkopakarana, p. 73, अनुमानप्रमाणम् p. 70. एतावानेव पुरुषो यावानिन्द्रियगोचरः—Tattva Sangraha, Gaekwad series, p. 523. सुविचिन्तितराः प्राङ्दिविधमनुमानम् किञ्चिदुत्पन्नप्रतीति किञ्चिदुत्पाद्यप्रतीति तत्र धूमानुमानादेः प्रामाण्यं केन नेष्यते ?

यत्काळेश्वरं सर्वज्ञ-परलोकादिगोचरम् अनुमानं तस्येष्टं प्रामाण्यं तत्तद्विशिष्टिभिः ।

3 काम एवैकः पुरुषार्थः—Advaita-Brahmasiddhi of Sadānanda. Also अङ्गना-लिङ्गनाजन्त्यसुखमेव पुमर्थता, etc. यावज्जीवेत् सुख जीवेत्, etc., etc., etc. The four classes of materialists—Sadānanda. लोकसिद्धमनुमानं प्रमाणं—Purandara. Also Gunaratna, p. 300—पञ्चभूतात्मकं जगत् and p. 306 चार्वाकैर्लोकयात्रानिर्वाहप्रवर्णं धूमाद्यनुमानमिष्यते न पुनः स्वर्गादृष्टादिप्रसाधनमलौकिकमनुमानमिति ।

through the influence of the mode of life they led and partly to terrify their oppositionists, the advocates of this school became the worshippers of Rudra, the terrible god, and began to carry a half of the human skull as a cup from which they used to eat food and drink wine. Necklaces of skulls formed an invariable decoration of the members of this sect. They used to dance about with a long cham of the bones of the dead, and thus assumed a fierce appearance, wearing garlands of bones of human beings as ornaments. The Kāpālikas are mentioned first in the Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad by name. Here the Vediceists use freely such terms of abuse as 'thieves' with regard to the Kapālinas. They are called 'Taskaras',¹ probably because their real purpose was not to practise religion, but to enjoy sensual pleasure under the mask of religion. They are mentioned along with the Bārhaspatyas, who also are equally condemned, because they followed Brihaspati, or deceiver of the Daityas.² Next, we meet them as Śaivas worshipping Bhairava and Cāmundā in their terrific forms, wearing a garland of human skulls and requiring human sacrifices and offerings of wine for the propitiation of these deities, or as the Buddhists worshipping Buddhakapāla (a deity) associated with his Śakti Citrasena in close embrace. The figure of Buddhakapāla presents a fierce appearance with blood-shot eyes rolling in anger, a distorted face, canine teeth, ornaments made of bones, a garland of severed heads and in an attitude of menacing dance. The hair on his head rises upwards like a flame of fire. The god is four-armed. In his hands are shown the Kartri, the Kapāla, the Damaru, and the Khaṭtvāṅga.³ At this stage, we meet another Kāpālika named Kāpālapāda, who was a Śūdra by caste, and whose followers were all Yogis bearing skulls.⁴ The deities are the creation of their devotees, and the devotees imitate their deities as closely as they can. Thus, there is a close agreement between the characteristics of the deities and their devotees.

Huen Tsang,⁵ Mahendra Vikrama,⁶ Bhavabhūti,⁷ Śaṅkara, Krishna Misra,⁸ Madhavāchāryya⁹ and Anandagiri¹⁰ have left

¹ Maitrāyaṇī-upaniṣad VII, 8-9.

² Sādhana-mālā, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XLI, p. 502.

³ Baessler—Archiv, Band V History of the Mahāsiddhas.

⁴ Records.

⁵ Matvavilāsa.

⁶ Mālatī Madhava.

⁷ Prabodha-Candrodaya.

⁸ Śaṅkaradigvijaya.

⁹ Śaṅkaradigvijaya.

¹⁰ Vide Bārhaspatya-sūtram II, 6. कपालिकमेव कामसाधने. Also Prabodha-Candrodaya Nāṭaka III.

accounts of such Kāpālikas. They were a horrible and demoniacal sect feared by all. Being condemned and feared by the villagers, the members of the sect were bound to renounce the world, to wear matted locks, to use tiger-skin as garment and bed, to besmear their bodies with ashes of burnt-up corpses and to live in caves or rocky places. After fasting, they drank liquor out of the skulls of Brahmms. Their sacrificial fires were fed with the brains and lungs of human victims, mixed up with their flesh, and human victims covered with fresh blood gushing out of the dreadful wounds in their throats were the offerings by which they appeased the terrible god Mahābhairava. They practised yoga and through the might of their religion, they could control Hari Hara and the greatest and most ancient gods. They claimed they could stop the course of the planets in the heavens. They could submerge the Earth in water with its mountains and cities and could drink up the waters of oceans in a moment (1). They had the power to move through the sky and other miraculous powers such as the eight Siddhis, which are (1) the faculty of enlarging the bulk of the body, (2) that of making it light, (3) that of making it smaller, (4) the power of gratifying the passions, (5) that of subjecting all, (6) supreme sway, (7) the faculty of grasping the objects however remote, and (8) the fulfilment of every natural desire.

But why do the Kāpālikas practise such terrible cruelties? Why do they strive to attain various supernatural powers in and through religion? Certainly their aim is to attain sensuous pleasure. According to some philosophers, the state of salvation is no better than that of a piece of inanimate and insensible stone. The Kāpālikas, in contradiction to this view, say that such a state of salvation in which there is no sense of pleasure, should not be aimed at. Exactly the same view is attributed to the Ārvākas by the author of the Naiṣaḍa Kāvya—'Muktaye yaḥ śīlatvāya śas-tramuḥ sa cetasām, etc.' The difference between the Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas is in the *means* and not in the *end*. The Kāpālikas suggest some religious rites for attaining pleasure. They opine that pleasure exists in the objects of desire. Śiva the founder of the Kāpālika school, promises that a devotee having attained salvation, becomes a Śiva and enjoys the pleasure arising from the company of excellent beauties like Pārvatī. Therefore, they practise

religious rites. Their aim is Kāma-sādhana.¹ They are the Hedonists.

Next we meet a peculiar Kāpālīka bearing no kapāla in the *Śrībhāṣya* of Ramanuja. Probably as a reaction against the cruelty and ugliness of the Kāpālīkas, the sect through the influence of the Vedists, became divided into two sections. One section stepped back and brought a more healthy tone to their school. They gave up the horrible and demoniac side of the school, and the very kapāla (whence the term Kāpālīka) was renounced by them. In Ramanuja's account, we find that the Kāpālīkas maintain that a man who knows the essence of the six marks, and who is skilful in the use thereof, attains the highest bliss by concentrating his mind on the soul as seated on the female organ. These Kāpālīkas, according to Ramanuja, are an anti-Vedic sect. They differed from the skull-bearers only in the *means*. They still agreed as regards the *end*. Kāma-sādhana was their common good. The other section of the Kāpālīkas, who did not prefer this retrograde step, continued to bear skulls with their horrible and demoniacal practices. But they were no longer called Kāpālīkas. They got a more hated name—Kālāmukhas or Kālavadanas.² The Kāpālīkas lost their kapālas, but continued to hold the old designation. The Kālāmukhas continued to hold the skull but lost their old designation, Kāpālīka. Surely, that was an irony of Fate.

We have seen that in the later stages of development of the Lokāyatikas, the Lokāyatika or the non-religionist sect became very licentious. They lost their purity of heart, and anti-Vedic attitude became their main characteristic. All oppositionists of the Vedas, known as the Nāstikas, were identified with the Lokāyatikas. They were against cruel sacrifices and gradually they leaned towards spiritualism. In the new refined form of Kāpālīkism, the cruel and abominable rites were avoided. It is also an anti-Vedic

- 1 दृष्टं क्वापि सुखं विना न विषयैरानन्दोभोजिता
जीवस्य स्थितिरेव मुक्तिरपलावस्था कथं प्रार्थते ।
पार्वत्याः प्रतिरूपया दयितया सानन्दसालिङ्गिनो
सुक्तः क्रौडति चन्द्रचूडवपुरित्यूचे भवानीपतिः ।

² Śrībhāṣya II, 2, 25—वेदविरुद्धां तत्त्वप्रक्रियां कल्पयन्ति । अथ कापालिका अपि कपालपाचभोजनश्रवभस्मस्नान तत्प्राशन, etc. अभिदधति । मुद्रिका षट्कतलङ्का, etc.

sect with sensual pleasure as the end of life. This school used to meet like the Lokāyatikas, once a year, at a particular place, and enjoyed to their hearts' content, all sorts of pleasure without any let or hindrance whatsoever. They came in sexual contact with any woman whether of high or low origin, whether sister, or other near relatives¹ This is not a new practice with the Kāpālikas. This they practised in their Vāmadeva-vrata in which there is an injunction—न काश्चन परिहरेत्—let no woman be abandoned. But the Lokāyatikas in their primitive stage were—मुद्रानःकरणः मुद्राः सर्वानुष्ठाननिर्मलः pure at heart and blameless in action. Thus, with the degradation of the Lokāyatikas and the purification of the Kāpālikas, these two sects were now brought almost on the same level and identified themselves with each other.

Guṇaratna, the commentator of *Śaddarśana-samuccaya* refers to this identification. In the time of Brihaspati of Arthaśastra fame, these two sects were clearly distinct. They differed not in their end but in their means. The Lokāyatikas were Ahetuvādins or Akriyāvādins—the followers of the doctrine of non-causation. According to this doctrine, something comes out of nothing—the caused comes out of the uncaused—असतः सद्जायत a doctrine which was propounded by Brahmanaspati or Brihaspati, the founder of their sect. According to this view, the Self is Niskriya—passive. This being the case, whether we do good or bad, the result thereof does not affect the self in the least—नास्ति सुकृतदुष्कृतकर्मणां फल विपाकः. The universe is self-caused, self-generated—स्वाभाविक जगदिदं. Retribution of action is denied.

With its decline the Lokāyata school lost this main characteristic and leaned towards spiritualism. The Kāpālikas were not in their primitive stage—अक्रियावादिन. They practised religion as a means to an end.

According to them, Śiva is free from stain and is the supreme Agent. No action though repugnant to the moral standard of the world or of the Vedas really clings to Him. The besmearing of his body with the ashes of burnt-up corpses together with similar other acts is certainly anti-Vedic. But in spite of this, He is free

¹ Tarkarāhasya-dīpikā—(Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1905), p. 300.

ते च मद्यमांसे भुञ्जते मासाद्यगम्यागमनमपि कुर्वते । वर्षे वर्षे कस्मिन्नपि दिवसे सर्वे संभूय यथानामनिर्गमं स्त्रीभिरभिरमन्ते । धर्मं कामादपरं न मन्वते ।

from demerit. Mahēśa is the lord of Jñāna-śakti and Kriyā-śakti . . . He resides in the six Cakras or centres, which the human body consists of, and the ten Nādis, which constitute a Cakra called Nāḍi-Cakra, whose form is placed in the heart. On those, who have discovered the actual presence of Śiva, the Divine Spirit, in themselves, the God Śiva confers the power to move through the sky and other miraculous powers. According to them, Prakṛiti is उपादानकारण and Śiva is निमित्तकारण¹. This view of the Kāpālikas shows that they were not अहेतुवादिनः. They were rather Hetuvādinः . . . Religious practices were the means to their end.

The other point on which the Lokāyatikas differed from the Kāpālikas is this. The Lokāyatikas were very bold and direct. The Kāpālikas were not so. They were not Yogīs aiming at Mokṣa, their end being भोग. Still they used to renounce the world, like Yogīs. Thus, it appears that they were no better than hypocrites and thieves—नक्करः, a designation rightly given to them by the Maitrāyaṇī Upanisad. They pretended to be religious men which they really were *not*. When the Kāpālikas gave up Kriya and became engaged in sensualism, and the Lokāyatikas leaning towards spiritualism lost their independent spirit and boldness, the two sects became at one, with each other, and got the common designation, Lokāyatika.

The ugly side of the Kālāmukhas, when further developed, took the shape of a school, viz. the Aghoris, the Aghorapanthis, or the Keraris, to whom the human brain was the most delicious morsel, and who were considered as Epicurean cannibals. Their predecessors, the Kāpālikas bearing skulls, were not as shameless and abominable as these Aghoris. The skull-bearers used to eat flesh and drink wine, but always used to refrain from eating dead carcasses. The Aghoris are the most extreme sect of the skull-bearers, who take dead carcasses, and gather round themselves things of the most ugly and revolting nature. From the anti-Vedic practices of the school, which is indifferent to Varnasrama-dharma . . . , and which is looked down upon by the members of the Brahminical schools in all stages of its career, as Śīśnadevas, as Kāpālikas, as Śaivas, and as Aghoris some are very much inclined to infer that the sect came out of the uncivilized people of the non-Aryan group, their main centre being in the Deccan.

¹ Sarasvatī Bhavana Studies, Vol. II, pp. 175-6. Nyāya-kusumāñjali.

The skull-less Kāpālikas became more refined and gave up wine and meat, which was in all probability due to the influence of the Buddhists and the Jainas, but they continued their original habit of sensualism. This sensualism, too, in course of time, either through the influence of the Ādi-Bulldhas, or through the influence of the Vaishnavas, gave up its grosser aspect, which it had among the skull-bearers and took a refined shape, the end of which was much higher than sexual pleasure. They utilised Kāma as a means to some higher end. They did not care for the temporary and fragmentary pleasure of the skull-bearers, or of the Lokāyatikas of the Cārvāka period. They aimed at that pleasure which is eternal, supreme and pure. They were the Sahajiyās. They sacrificed Kāma to Prema (love). They agree with the Lokāyatikas in this that their end is pleasure, and that they are anti-Vedic. They agree with the skull-bearers in this that they enjoy women for religious purposes. Love and not merely lust for one with whom one is not bound by the tie of wedlock, is their essential feature. Here they partially agree with the Vāmādevas, the Vāmacārins, and the Kāpālikas. Those skull-less Kāpālikas who did not continue their old sensualism, probably, became the forerunners of Dakṣinācārins.

Another sect, the Tantrikas, who, according to some, are a modern sect, probably originated in the Kāpālika sect. To counteract the evils of Kāpālikism perhaps a class of people of the Brahminical schools included and adopted the popular doctrines regarding indulgence, paying no heed to Varnāśrama-dharma, and modified the doctrines to some extent. Thus, although the enjoyment of the objects of the senses may be recommended by the Tantrikas along with the skull-bearers and the non-religionists, the Tantrikas differ from them in their end. The end of the Kāpālikas and the Lokāyatikas is Kāma or gross sensual pleasure, but the end of Tantrikism is to become a Vira, to attain full control over one's passions, to attain final liberation of the soul. It accepts Kāma as a means to an end, which is much higher than sensual pleasure.

Buddha in his Pañca-kāma-guṇa-dīṭṭha-dhamma-nivvāna-vāda preaches almost the same doctrine. Vātsyāyana of Kāma Śāstra fame also differs from the Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas as regards the end. The ultimate aim of his work, according to him, is to teach the subjugation of the senses. The Sahajiyās differ from the Kāpālikas and the Tantrikas on another point. With the

Kāpālikas and the Tantrikas, worship of and communion with women was a matter of mere form or lust, there being no higher emotional touch in it. Thus, it appears that the Lokāyatikas, the Vāmādevas, the Śśnādevas, the Kāpāhkas, the Kālāmukhas, the Aghoris, the Vāmācāris, and the Sahajiyās, all tread the same track, but some of them differ in their destination.

There is another thing regarding the anti-Vedic schools. We have seen that the Lokāyatikas at the first stage held a creed of joy, all sunny. Through their influence, endless joy prevailed all over the country throughout the year. They had festivals in six different seasons. In course of time, through the influence of the Vedicists, who were chiefly pessimists, the Lokāyatikas made it a rule to meet twice a year for enjoying all sorts of pleasure with full freedom without any restrictions whatsoever. The Lokāyatikas being the organizers of this meeting in its primitive stage, there was no touch of religious rites. The idea was a non-religionistic one. The festivals were known as the Spring festival—Vasantotsava and the autumnal festival—Kaumudi-mahotsava. With the decrease of prosperity and consequent decrease of joy in the country, the Lokāyatikas used to meet once a year in the spring season with equal enthusiasm. Dance and song, flower and red ochre (fag), swinging and playing all these, created an atmosphere of light amusement from which all sterner laws of sexual ethics were banished for the time being; and men and women mixed together indiscriminately.

In the next stage the Vedicists tried to avail themselves of this festival. They introduced the worship of Madana, and began to call it Madanotsava, in which a mere touch of religion—a thin veil of it, was introduced. As soon as the worship of Madana was introduced, the Lokāyatikas, who were non-religionists, ceased to join this festival. Enjoyment they wanted. Freedom is the thing they enjoyed. They did not like to be hemmed in by any religious feeling. The Vedicists, in their turn, gradually transformed this festival into a vow. It lost its original spirit. The Bhabishya Purāna mentions such a festival, in which Śīva and Pārvati are concerned. The Vaishnavas gave it a new shape and a new name. They placed Madanamohana in place of Madana, and women were exempted from joining it. This is Dolotsava of the Vaishnavas. The spirit of extreme freedom is absent from this festival.

The Vāsanti Pūjā and the Śārādiya Pūjā of the Śāktas may

be mentioned in this connexion along with the Dolotsava festival of the Vaishnavas. We are not sure whether the Māghotsava of the Brahmas have any connexion with the old Vasantotsava of the Lokāyatikas.

However, the Lokāyatikas, who did not join any religious festival, made their way in the teeth of all obstacles. They became gradually at one with the Kāpālikas, and continued to meet once a year at a place, where an extreme form of licentiousness prevailed. This idea of licentiousness, of course, does not owe its origin to the Lokāyatikas. This idea originally belonged to the Kāpālikas. Similarly, the Cakras of the Tantrikas of the left-hand order, and the Mandalas of the Sahajiyās, most probably, owe their origin to the annual meetings of the Kāpālikas, whom the Lokāyatikas joined later on. In Gunaratna's time, these annual meetings became the common festivals of the Kāpālikas and the Lokāyatikas.

Now, let us conclude. We were so long engaged in searching for the reasons why Gunaratna identifies the Kāpālikas with the Lokāyatikas. We have seen that the Kāpālikas agreed with the Lokāyatikas in anti-Vedic practices. They agreed in licentiousness, they had common annual festivals, they gave more importance to प्रत्यक्ष than to अनुमान.¹ They were the heretics equally condemned by the orthodox schools.² Perhaps for these reasons, these two schools were identified with each other. Or, it may be that the followers of the orthodox schools, through bitter contempt, identified the Lokāyatikas with the fierce Kāpālikas, as in previous cases the Vedicists used freely the terms of abuse like 'bastards,' 'incest' and 'monsters' with regard to the Lokāyatikas.

In conclusion, I must add that I have made this humble effort not in the belief that my contributions to the knowledge on these subjects are likely to be of any considerable value, but in the hope that insignificant as they are, they will serve to attract the attention of worthier scholars to them, and call forth their energies.

¹ Mahendra-vikrama-mattva-vilāsa, प्रत्यक्षे चेतुवचनमनर्थकम् ।

² कपाळभस्मास्थिधरा ये ह्यवैदिकलिङ्गिनः । अवैदिकक्रियोपेतास्तै वै पाषण्डिनस्तथा ॥

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRANSMIGRATION OF THE SOUL, INDIAN AND GREEK.

(Summary.)

RAJ BAHADUR RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.

The earliest notice of Pythagoras's belief in transmigration is found in a verse of his contemporary, Zenophanes. Extracts from a poem entitled *Purifications* by Empedocles on transmigrations and release. The earliest reference to Orphic belief in transmigration is found in poems inscribed on golden tablets assignable to the 5th or 4th century B.C. Herodotus is of opinion that the Greek believers in transmigration borrowed the doctrine from the Egyptians. Flinders Petrie writes that reference to the doctrine of transmigration is found in an Egyptian text of about 500 B.C. and the Egyptian knowledge of the doctrine must have been derived from Indian source. All Indologists who have dealt with the question with the exception of Keith hold that the Greeks borrowed the doctrine from Indians. All historians of Greek Philosophy who have dealt with the question with the exception of Gomperz regard the Greek belief as of independent origin. Keith closely follows Rohde, the author of *Psyche*. Rohde traces the origin of the doctrine to Thrace. This is due to a misunderstanding of the cult of Zalmoxis. As an alternative hypothesis Rohde suggests that the doctrine of transmigration must have originated independently in different parts of the earth. Since Rohde first wrote anthropological researches have made rapid strides and the psychic unity of mankind is no longer considered axiomatic. The doctrine of transmigration as held by both the Hindus and the Greeks is not a simple belief, but a very complex cultural trait. It includes three different but correlated elements : (1) belief in reincarnation ; (2) *karma* ; (3) release (*mukti*). Belief in reincarnation is met with among some primitive tribes of Australia, Africa, and America, but not in association with the doctrines of *karma* and release. Such a complex belief could have originated in one centre only, either in India or in Greece. As the doctrine is more deeply rooted in India than it was ever in Greece, it must have originated in India and spread to Greece as a result of diffusion.

Section of Anthropology.

President :

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA RAY, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M A., B.L., M.L.C.

I must begin by thanking the Executive Committee of the Oriental Conference for the honour they have done me by inviting me to preside over the meetings of its Anthropological Section.

Presidential Addresses to such Conferences and Congresses generally take either of two forms. They either review the progress of research in the particular branch of study in question during the interval since the Conference last met or since such a review was last made, or they take the form of a discourse on some special department of the science in which the speaker is particularly interested or some special line of research the importance or usefulness of which the speaker desires to emphasize.

As the progress of anthropological research in India is still in its infancy, the story of its progress since the Conference was started ten years ago cannot possibly take more than a small fraction of the hour or so which is considered appropriate for a Presidential Address. I accordingly propose, with your permission, to avail myself, to some extent, of both the alternative courses usually adopted on such an occasion. I shall begin with an enumeration of the anthropological work done in India during the last decade, of which no connected account appears to have been yet given, and then proceed to make some observations on one or two particular lines of anthropological study which every one of us may usefully pursue.

Ten years ago, in February 1921, just after this Conference was inaugurated, in my Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress held at Calcutta, I made a survey of the anthropological work till then done in India.¹ That survey disclosed, in the first place, the sad neglect in the past of anthropological research by Indian scholars, although India afforded a most favourable field for such work. I had to lament, in the second place, the regrettable omission by most of our Indian Universities to include Anthropology in their curricula of studies, and the neglect

¹ See *Man in India*, Vol. I, pp. 11 ff.

by the State in India to afford suitable encouragement to the study of Anthropology among our young men by providing special post-graduate scholarships in Anthropology in Indian Universities and by recognizing efficiency in Anthropology as a special qualification for suitable judicial and administrative appointments. For, one can never over-emphasize the value of a scientific knowledge of human nature and human social behaviour to the judge and the administrator as much as to the social and religious reformer and the man of business and the statesman. And, last but not least, I could not help lamenting the sad apathy of the millionaires and multi-millionaires of our country to emulate their fellows in Europe and America in their generous patronage to advance anthropological research by founding chairs in Anthropology in our Universities, making endowments for anthropological research scholarships for study abroad, and fitting out or subsidizing anthropological expeditions.

In the decade that has since passed by, there is just a little—but, alas! much too little—improvement to record in respect of the interest evinced by our students and our Universities in anthropological research. Although the University of Calcutta is still the only University where Anthropology, both Physical and Social or Cultural, is recognized and taught as an independent subject for Degree examinations, the Universities of Bombay, Madras, and Lucknow have now included a knowledge of Social Anthropology as part of their degree courses in Sociology, History, and Economics, respectively. The other Universities of India, so far as I am aware, have not yet recognized the claims of Anthropology, either Physical or Cultural, to a place in their curricula.

As for our landed aristocracy, and commercial and professional magnates, they are still as apathetic as ever to the claims of anthropological study and research to their patronage. And although it must be gratefully acknowledged that it is to Government initiative and to Government patronage that we owe much of the scanty anthropological work so far done in this country, adequate encouragement by the State to the study of Anthropology among the young alumni of our Universities is yet to come.

In these circumstances, the output of anthropological literature by Indian scholars, is still unfortunately meagre.

Leaving out of account the few ethnological publications of the Government of Burma, India proper cannot show to its credit

more than about some thirty works on anthropological subjects published within the last ten years. And out of this scanty number more than one-third have been prepared by European writers and about a half have been published by Government or under Government auspices. Thus, as many as six valuable ethnographic monographs have been issued under the auspices of the Assam Government, all written by English officials, except one which is from the pen of an American scholar. These are:—*The Sema Nagas* and *The Angami Nagas*, by Dr. J. H. Hutton, both published in 1921; *The Ao Naga Tribe* by Dr. W. C. Smith, published in 1925, *The Lohita Nagas* published in 1922 and another book on the *Ao Nagas* in 1926, both by Mr. J. P. Mills, and *Notes on Thado Kukis*, published in 1929, by Mr. William Shaw. To the Bombay Government we owe the *Castes and Tribes of Bombay* by Mr. R. E. Enthoven, published in 1920–22. A small book on *Stone Age in India* by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar was published by the Madras Government in 1926. The Mysore Government published in 1928 and 1929 two volumes on *Mysore Tribes and Castes* compiled by the late Mr. Nanjundayya and completed and edited by Rao Bahadur Anantha Krishna Iyer. The Bihar and Orissa Government is publishing an exhaustive *Encyclopædia of the Mundas* in several volumes, entitled *Encyclopædia Mundarica*, compiled by the late Rev. J. Hoffmann which is being printed in parts. A similar work on the Santals by Rev. Dr. P. O. Bodding is in active preparation, and its first volume was published at Oslo last year and a second volume is about to be published. The Cochin Administration published, in 1928, an interesting volume on *The Syrian Christians* from the pen of Rao Bahadur Anantha Krishna Iyer. Another State publication is *The Castes and Tribes of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions* in three volumes by Syed Siraj-ul Hassan, published in 1920. The Calcutta University published in 1928 a short discursive account in 84 pages of the *Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India* by Mr. B. C. Majumdar, and another short cursory account of *The Hos of Seraikela* by Dr. A. N. Chatterjee and Mr. T. C. Das in 1921. The same University published in 1927 a more substantial book on *Prehistoric India* (of which an earlier edition had appeared in 1923) by Prof. Panchanan Mitra. The latest comprehensive and reliable account of *Prehistoric India* was published in 1929 by Prof. V. Rangacharya of the Presidency College, Madras. A good little book on *Cultural*

Anthropology was published in the same year by Mr. Nirmal Kumar Bose of the Calcutta University. A short popular account of the *Ao Nagas* was published in 1925 by Dr. S. K. Majumdar. To the Rev. P. O. Bodding we owe two more excellent books, one entitled *Materials for a Santali Grammar*, published at Dumka in this Province in 1922, and another entitled *A Chapter on Santal Folk-lore*, published at Christiania in 1924 by the Royal Frederik University of Norway. Indian contributions to folk-lore literature during the decade are two small books by Shovana Devi, entitled *Indian Nature Myths*, and *Indian Fables and Folk-lore* both published in 1926, a book of *Folk-tales of Orissa* by Upendra Narayan Datta-Gupta, published in 1923, and another small book on *Indian Folk-tales*, in two parts, by Godavaris Misra (1926). Prof. Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukherji of Allahabad has just brought out a revised edition of his *Hindu Fasts and Feasts* under the new title of *Ancient Indian Fasts and Feasts*. An important contribution to the study of Indian Ethnology and Culture is Dr. Gilbert Slater's *Dravidian Element in Indian Culture*, published in 1924. A series of articles contributed by Prof. A. P. Banerjee-Sastri in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* were reprinted in 1926 under the title *Asura India*. Finally, I am responsible for two ethnographic monographs, one on the *Birhors*, published in 1925, and another on *Orāon Religion and Customs*, published in 1928. An English translation of Prof. J. J. Myer's German work on *Sexual Life in India* has been just published in two volumes by the Broadway Oriental Library of London. This is about all new anthropological book-literature on India, published in the decade just closing. And I am afraid we cannot regard this meagre output as quite satisfactory.

Turning next to periodical literature, it is a little cheering to find that contributions by Indian writers on anthropological subjects show a perceptible increase. Up to the year 1920, the only Indian Journal devoted to Anthropology was the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* started in 1915. Since 1921 another quarterly journal under the name of *Man in India*, published in this Province, has been added. Five periodicals, namely, the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, the *Journal of the Mythic Society of Bangalore*, the *Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and the *Indian Antiquary*, which up till 1920 used to include, in their pages,

articles on anthropology among other subjects, still continue to do so. The Management of the Anthropological Section of the *Indian Antiquary* is, however, no longer conducted in India, but in England, where under the ægis of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and with the formation of an Indian Research Committee in 1924, the anthropological section of that Journal is expected to be strengthened and improved. And in October last, *Man*, the monthly organ of the Royal Anthropological Institute, published a Special India Number, which, it is to be hoped, will in future form a permanent feature of that periodical.

A few new journals published in India, such as the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Society*, the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, and the *Visva Bharati*, now occasionally publish articles of anthropological interest, and so also do a few popular journals, both English and Vernacular, such as the *Modern Review*, *Prabāshi*, and *Prakriti*. I shall not tire your patience by giving an account of these and other anthropological articles on India which must be familiar to most of you, and systematic references to which will be found in successive issues of the Journal entitled *Man in India*.

When we think of the rich harvest of anthropological material waiting to be gathered all over India and, here and there, decaying unseen and uncared for, we can by no means regard with complaisance the comparatively meagre additions made to our store of anthropological knowledge during the decade under review. There is, however, one notable incident to be mentioned which bids fair to revolutionize the accepted ideas of cultural and racial origins in India. I refer to the epoch-making discovery, first made by our late lamented countryman Rakhai Das Banerjee, of the existence of wonderful remains of hoary antiquity in the Indus valley.

We have good cause to rejoice over the exploration of those remains on the plains of the Indus so enthusiastically conducted during the decade by the Archæological Department of the Government of India, as they throw quite an unexpected and new light on India's prehistoric and ancient past. These startling discoveries of remains of prehistoric and ancient Indian culture dating back to neolithic, chalcolithic and copper ages and coming down to the rise of the Maurya power in the third century B.C. hold out promises of a rich harvest of materials for re-writing the cultural and racial

history of India, and possibly of some other countries as well. It will no doubt take several decades to make a thorough exploration of the several ancient mounds on the Indus valley, but the wonderful remains hitherto unearthed have already made Mahenjo-daro and Harappa places of pilgrimage for all earnest students of Indian prehistory and ancient culture. And some of you must naturally envy Sir John Marshall and his fortunate Assistants their rare opportunities for exploration and study in this fascinating field.

Such rare opportunities can, however, come only to a very few in any generation. Nor are opportunities for first-hand study of primitive tribes in their jungle homes available to many of us.

But although it is not given to most of us to work either in the rich sites of long-forgotten cultures of our pre-historic past or even among the living early cultures of primitive jungle tribes of the present day, we all of us have at our own doors equally good substitutes. We have within easy reach of every one of us fields for anthropological study, no less fertile and fascinating, though much less pretentious and imposing.

Wherever he may happen to live or move about in India, and whatever may be his occupation or rank in life, the earnest student can seldom lack opportunities for observing, recording and studying certain classes of facts and phenomena of great anthropological interest,—for such facts and phenomena are found wherever human society exists.

I refer to the traditional customs, rites and beliefs, including stories and myths embodying such beliefs, to which the generic name of 'folk-lore' was first applied in 1846 by W. J. Thomas. Such customs, rites and beliefs may belong either to individuals among a people, or to families, clans or other groups among them, or to inhabitants of particular localities, and they stand on a lower intellectual level than, and are often inconsistent with, the orthodox or officially recognized customs, rites and beliefs of the people among whom they occur. The use of the term 'folk-lore' is, as you are aware, no longer restricted to survivals of traditional customs, rites and beliefs of a past age lingering among the backward classes in civilized nations, but is now also extended to folk-arts and crafts and other new manifestations of the folk-lore spirit both among civilized and uncivilized peoples.

This study of the folk-mind, as it expresses itself in folk-customs,

folk-rites, folk-beliefs, folk-tales and folk-arts and crafts, is not a mere idle pastime with students of folk-lore. It is pursued primarily for the light which folk-lore throws on the early intellectual evolution of human societies or what may be appropriately called the prehistory of the human mind. If exploration of prehistoric sites yields human fossils that elucidate the evolution of the human body, the study of folk-lore yields what Sir James Frazer has called 'fossils of the mind' which 'illustrate an early stage in the progress of thought from its low beginnings to heights yet unknown.'

As Prehistoric Archæology, though primarily a branch of Anthropology is now taking rank as a science by itself, so too is folk-lore. And in some western countries, learned societies have been formed to foster and advance the study of this new science. I cannot express the aim and scope of the new science of folk-lore better than in the eloquent words of two former Presidents of the Folk-lore Society of London. And I hope you will bear with me if the quotations appear rather long.

Mr. A. R. Wright in his Presidential Address to the Folk-lore Society in 1926 said. "Folk-lore is at the base of all other sciences, and appears in all of them at their early and unsophisticated stages, and for its elucidation it must draw upon the history of all of them. Our Society must not only seek to construct in this way a living picture of the folk life of the past, but it should bequeath to posterity as perfect a picture as it can achieve of the folk life and mental attitude of the present. Our science, though it be one of the newest, ought to be one of the most attractive, and, were its scope and purpose clearly understood, ought to draw into the ranks of the Society enthusiastic workers not by single spies but by whole battalions". Another former President of the Folk-lore Society, Andrew Lang, speaking of the aim and scope of folk-lore "which to many seems trivial, to many seems dull", said:—

"Only a few people seem interested in that spectacle, so full of surprises—the development of all human institutions, from fairy tales to democracy. In beholding it we learn that we owe all things, humanly speaking, to the people and to genius. The natural people, the folk, has supplied us, in its unconscious way, with the stuff of all our poetry, law, ritual; and genius has selected from the mass, has turned customs into codes, nursery tales into romance, myth into science, ballad into epic, magic mummary into gorgeous ritual

The student of this lore can look back and see the long-trodden way behind him, the winding tracks through marsh and forest and over burning sands. He sees the caves, the camps, the villages, the towns, where the race has tarried, for shorter times or longer, strange places many of them, and strangely haunted, obsolete dwellings and inhospitable. But the scarce visible tracks converge at last on the beaten ways, the ways to that city whither mankind is wandering”.

So said Andrew Lang. It is for masters of the science, like Andrew Lang and Sir James Frazer, to collate and compare the folk-lore literature of different peoples of the world and trace out those winding tracks that converge on the road that leads to the goal. We humbler students can only collect such folk-lore material of our own country as is within easy reach, and thus try, in the words of Mr. Wright, ‘to serve, each in our little way, as good travelling companions and helpers to those who would trace out the winding road’.

You will all, I hope, agree with me that we Indian students are in a most advantageous position to advance our science by the collection and study of folk-lore before much of such lore is lost and forgotten. Though a good deal has already decayed or disappeared, yet even now folk-lore materials meet us in abundance at every step of our journey in life. Folk-rites yet form a not negligible element in the ceremonies attending a Hindu’s birth and childhood, puberty and marriage, disease and death. We light upon folk-customs and folk-rites, folk-beliefs and folk-art in our own homes, in our neighbours’ houses, in the lanes and the streets, and in the market-place. Our female folk, particularly those of the older generation in all grades of society, not to speak of men and women of the more backward and unenlightened classes of our population, may be said to live in an atmosphere of folk-lore from the cradle to the grave. Nor are the better classes and educated men of our country altogether free from traditional folk-observances and folk-practices. Thus, we are following folk-custom when on rising in the morning we are careful to avoid seeing the face or uttering the name of a miserly person or a particularly unlucky person or a childless person, or when in the morning if we see anyone rubbing only one eye we ask him to rub both eyes, or when we avoid seeing our faces in a broken mirror, or eating salt left in another’s plate, or shaving on the day of the week on which we were born, or jumping over a sleeping person

or attending a call of nature with our faces to the sun, or with wooden shoes on, or while starting on a journey, we avoid eating plantains, or meeting a barber or washerman or a oilman (*kalu*), or when in the evening we happen to look at the sky and find that only one star has appeared we do not take away our eyes until we see another, or, as in some places, three more stars.

I shall not multiply instances, for they would be unending, and many instances of omens, good as well as bad, will readily occur to your minds. And yet, omens, as you know, form but an infinitesimally small fraction of the wealth of our Indian folk-lore. Everyone of us daily comes across instances not only of traditional beliefs in omens and dreams, and various other classes of traditional beliefs, customs and practices which the advanced section of the community now despise as superstitions, but also of folk-sayings, folk-tales, folk-songs and ballads, and other arts and crafts of the folk that have been either handed down by tradition or have developed and are developing among the backward sections of our people under the influence of folk-ways of thinking and feeling, and which, though not actually despised, are regarded with amused toleration for their quaintness, or patronized for affording entertaining diversion. Neglected in this way, much of our interesting folk-lore, as I said, is getting lost or degraded or attenuated or is being transformed through transference to new sets of objects or through amalgamation with other practices or beliefs.

What is now essential for the development of our science is, in the first place, to secure as accurate records as possible of such folk-lore materials as are still available. A systematic and classified collection and careful recording of different classes of existing folk-lore material, district by district, *taluk* by *taluk*, and *thana* area by *thana* area, or *pargana* area by *pargana* area, as is being done for the county areas in England, and for other local areas in other parts of Europe and in America, is the first and most imperative task that awaits students of Indian folk-lore.

The next task to which we have got to apply ourselves is to trace the life-history of each item of folk-rite, folk-custom and folk-belief and then to make a careful analysis of each item of folk-lore into its component elements. An investigation into the life-history of an item of folk-lore embedded in civilization will reveal how it has in the course of its history been altered, attenuated, or transformed,

or transferred to new objects, or amalgamated with other customs, and we shall thus be able to restore to some extent the original form of an ancient legend, rite, custom or belief and visualize it in its original setting and correctly understand its nature and position. A careful analysis will reveal that not only are different groups of the folk-lore of a people referable to different levels of culture but that even the same folk-custom, folk-tale, myth or legend may be composed of inconsistent elements which can only be explained as survivals from different stages of intellectual development. A few of them may represent a very crude and primitive stage of thought: others may represent a comparatively higher level of thought and culture; and some may betoken a still further advance in culture, though yet below the general level of the culture of the higher classes of the people in question.

At the risk of being tedious, I shall, by way of illustration, refer to the folk-rites in the marriage customs of the higher castes of Bengali Hindus. The first thing that strikes the student is that side by side with the religious rites and ceremonies of an advanced type enjoined by the Hindu *Śāstras* and conducted by the family priests of the bride and bridegroom, there is another class of parallel rites enjoined by tradition and conducted by married ladies. The *Śāstric* rites include prayers, offerings and oblations to the gods and ancestor-spirits, and vows solemnly pronounced by the bridegroom himself and by the bride's father or other guardian who gives away the bride in the presence of the assembled friends, relatives and men of the community, besides certain symbolic rites such as joining the hands of the couple, walking seven paces and circumambulating the sacred *Hōma* fire with the ends of their upper garments knotted together,—and so forth. If the *Śāstric* ceremonies are considered essential for the validity of the marriage, the female folk-rites are regarded, at least by the older generation of our ladies, as essential for the future well-being of the wedded couple. To avoid exceeding the usual time limit and tiring your patience, I must resist the temptation of inflicting upon you a full account of these female folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage, but shall content myself with merely giving you the main features of those rites as observed among some higher caste Hindus in the districts of Khulna and the 24 Parganas in Bengal.

These female folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage consist of

over a dozen different ceremonies of which I shall enumerate the principal ones without describing them in detail. They are the following —

(1) *Gātra-haridrā* or ceremonially anointing the bride and the bridegroom with turmeric paste at their respective houses on an auspicious day shortly before the day of marriage, the process of anointing being repeated every day till the day of wedding. (This corresponds to some extent to the *Ūbtan* or *aptan* ceremony of Bihāri Hindus, though the Bihāri custom of *māṭkōr* or digging earth from *kūr-khet* or *kumāri-kṣetra* is unknown in Bengal.)

(2) *Adhībās* or inauguration ceremony consisting of invocation of divine blessings or rather the attraction of 'luck' through contact with the good '*mana*' and kindly offices of well-dressed married ladies beloved of their husbands, and through ceremonial contact with such auspicious objects as rice (both husked and unhusked), tender grass shoots (*dūrvā*), sandal-wood, vermillion, myröbalan, curds, honey, *ghee* (clarified butter), flowers, white mustard, etc.

(3) *Jal-sādhā* or *Jal-sāwā*, consisting of the ceremonial drawing of water by married women who are happy in their married life, for the benedictory bathing of the marrying couple and for certain other ceremonial uses at the wedding.

(4) *Dadhī-maṅgal*, in which at early dawn of the wedding day, a portion of the rice left over out of the rice used for the *ābhyūdayik śrāddha* or oblations to ancestor-spirits and cooked by a woman whose husband is alive, is mixed with curds (*dahi*), sweets, etc. and is eaten by the bridegroom at his own house and the bride at her parents' house. In some communities parched rice (*cirā*) instead of *bhāt* is used for the purpose and five married women eat it with the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be. After this the women go with an iron knife and a new earthen vessel to a tank and 'cut the water' as it is called, that is to say, draw a rectangle over the surface of the water with the knife and dip their earthen vessel three times, face upwards, into the rectangular area thus marked out, and fill it with water. This water is used as what is called '*sōhāg-jal*' or 'Love-water'. In the afternoon, after the *ābhyūdayik śrāddha* or offering of oblations to the manes of deceased ancestors by the bride's father or other male relatives, the bride wears a red-bordered *sāṛī*-cloth and sits down in a room with a grain-measure (*kūnkey*) or small cane-cup in hand and, from the vessel of '*sōhāg*'-water placed

before her. she goes on filling the cup with water and pouring the water back into the vessel and repeating the process again and again, and each time that she does so she mutters by turns a wish to be blessed with the affections of her husband and her husband's parents and brothers and sisters, respectively, thus:—'*Sōhāg! Sōhāg! Svāmīr sōhāg!*' (Love! Love! May I have my husband's Love!); '*Sōhāg! Sōhāg! Śāsuri* (mother-in-law's) *sōhāg!*', '*Sōhāg! Sōhāg! Śvasurer* (father-in-law's) *sōhāg!*', '*Sōhāg! Sōhāg! Nanader* (husband's sister's) *sōhāg!*', '*Sōhāg! Sōhāg! Devarer* (husband's younger brother's) *sōhāg!*', and so on by turns for the affections of each member of her future husband's family. With this *sōhāg-jal* the family barber washes the feet of the bridegroom before the wedding ceremonies begin.

(5) *Bhār nāmāno* and *Hāi-āmlā bāṭā*.—In the forenoon of the wedding day, the bridegroom in his own house and the bride at her father's, are each seated on a painted wooden seat (*piṇṇi*) and three married ladies sit down in front of the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, and two other married ladies cover up with a cloth the heads of the four ladies thus seated. Thus seated and covered over with a cloth, one of the three ladies pounds some *āmlā* or myrobalan fruit, and each of the three ladies mixes a little spittle from her mouth with the pounded myrobalan. The myrobalan paste thus magnetized with the spittle of ladies beloved of their husbands is placed upon a tray or a flat bamboo-basket on which are arranged various kinds of grains and certain other auspicious or '*mana*'-possessing articles. The cloth is then taken off their heads, and the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, stands up and a raw cotton thread dyed in turmeric is placed loosely round his or her head and is moved by the three ladies downward from the head to the feet three times; each time the other two ladies ask them, 'What are you doing?' and they reply, 'We are taking down the burden (*bhār*) of so-and-so' (naming the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be). This turmeric-dyed thread is then tied round the left wrist of the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, with some tender grass-shoots (*dūrvā*) attached to it.

(6) *Jātrā* or ceremonies at starting to fetch the bride when the bridegroom is provided with an iron (but now, in some cases, silver) knife or nut-cracker, and on being asked by his mother, 'Where are you going?' answers, 'I am going to fetch a handmaid for you'.

(7) *Strī-ācār* proper, of which the main feature is the *Baran* or ceremonial circumambulation of the bridegroom at the bride's house by the bride's mother and a number of married women, one carrying the *varan dālā* or a flat bamboo basket containing various auspicious or 'mana'-possessing articles, one an ornamented phallic symbol called *Ākh*, made of rice-flour fashioned in the shape of a cone and ornamented with red and yellow colours, another carrying a pot of benedictory water with the figure of a deity drawn upon the outer surface of the pot, a fourth carrying a pot of water charmed with love-incantations, a fifth an earthen pot with a lighted lamp inside, a sixth carrying on a brass-plate an ornamented symbol of the goddess of Fortune (*Lakṣmī*) called *Siri* or *śrī*, a seventh carrying the tray containing a variety of grains besides the *hāi-āmlā* mentioned above and a few other ladies carrying other auspicious ingredients, and the mother-in-law carrying a flat bamboo basket containing twenty-one lighted wicks placed over twenty-one shells of the *dhūtūrā* fruit (*Datura*).

(8) *Sāt-pāk* or ceremonially carrying the bride round the bridegroom seven times.

(9) *Sindūr-dān* or ceremonial anointment of bride and bridegroom with vermillion.

(10) *Āngṭhi-hārānō* or concealing the bridal ring of bride and bridegroom by turns inside the mud formed by water soaking in a small shallow hole made at the spot where the bridegroom and bride have just had their ceremonial bath on the morning after the actual marriage ceremony, and each attempting to find out the other's ring.

(11) *Kanakāñjali* or the ceremonial handing over of some paddy by the bride to her mother by way of leaving her parent's 'luck' behind her and going to try her own luck in her husband's house.¹

When we attempt to classify the female folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage, we find that some are obviously meant to symbolize and cement the marriage-tie, some appear to be intended, on the principle of sympathetic magic, to make the union happy, prosperous and fruitful; some appear to have been intended to ward off supernatural evil influences and ill 'luck' from the wedded couple,

¹ For an account of these rites of a Munda marriage, vide *The Mundas and their country*, pp 444-454.

some are of the nature of love-charms, and some and the most important appear to be of a religious nature. We further find that not only have different groups of these folk-customs different origins but they likewise belong to different levels of culture. Thus, an undoubted instance of survival of or borrowing from savage culture is the folk-custom, still found in some Bengali Hindu communities, of soaking a rag in the bride's urine and, when dried up, making it into a thick wick which is saturated with mustard oil and lighted in a large earthen cup fed with mustard seeds and waved in front of the bridegroom's palanquin or car on his arrival at the gate of the bride's place for the wedding. This savage custom, now fallen into disuse in most places, would appear to have originated with a double object, namely, that of scaring away evil spirits and also that of operating as a love-charm. On a somewhat higher level of culture stands the female folk-rite called '*Sōhāg-jhārā*' which is still in vogue in some Bengali Hindu communities.

This curious custom is as follows:—Five well-dressed women whose husbands are living and who are particularly happy in their married life wear each at the posteriors a thick cloth below the waist over their *sārī*-cloth and each by turns sits down three times on a new basket filled to the brim with sun-dried paddy or unhusked rice and marked on its outer side with two symbolical human figures painted with vermilion diluted in *ghee* or clarified butter. Each time while sitting down on the basket of paddy, the lady says,—

'*Sōhāg! Sōhāg! Swāmīr sōhāg jhērey dīlām,*' i.e. 'Love!

Love! I communicate a husband's love (through this paddy)'.

The five ladies then thresh the paddy, and besmear it with turmeric; and the rice thus magnetized with the 'good luck' of wives well-beloved of their husbands, is the only rice used in the marriage ritual.

The religious or quasi-religious folk-rites of *strī-ācār* will be found to stand on a much higher level of culture than the rest and to have a different origin.

The original purpose of most of these folk-rites and ceremonies of a Bengali Hindu marriage is, however, no longer known to the ladies who practise them, and all that they can say is that they observe them because their forbears did so before them and that any omission to do so may bring ill-luck to the married couple.

Many of these folk-rites which appear to be anomalous and

irrational when found in advanced communities and are no longer intelligible to their civilized performers, become intelligible only when we view them side by side with analogous rites and ceremonies of more primitive communities for whom they have sufficient meaning and purpose, as they are in perfect accord with their manners and ideas.

It is through such comparative study alone that we can see the primitive basis of such practices and their underlying beliefs. Thus, when we see the relatives of a Mündā or Ōrāon bride with the avowed object of scaring away evil spirits and the 'evil eye', flourishing swords round the screen within which the vermillion-anointing (*sindūr-dān*) ceremony of a marriage is taking place, we come to understand the original purpose of the Bengali custom which requires a bridegroom to carry in his hands a knife or a nut-cracker which is obviously the present-day substitute for a sword. Similarly, when we see two elderly Mündā women, one carrying an unsheathed sword and another a bow and arrow, accompanying four maidens who draw water in pitchers for use in the marriage rites, and passing the weapons over their shoulders so as to touch the pitchers and thereby protect the water from the evil attentions of wicked spirits or the evil eye, we come to appreciate the original object behind the Bengali-folk-custom of 'cutting with a *dā*' or vegetable-cutter the water which is drawn from a tank at dawn on the wedding day for use as *sohāg-jal*. When we see the bridegroom and bride in a Mündā marriage touching each other's neck with a bit of rag tinged respectively with his or her own blood, and probably by way of symbolic repetition of the same rite of exchange of blood, smear each other on the forehead with *sindūr* or red-lead, we perhaps see the significance of the *sindūr-dān* rite which forms an essential feature of the female folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu wedding, though it does not appear to form any part of the *Śāstric* ritual. The only application of blood to the forehead of the bridegroom in the female folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage now survives in the custom in some Bengali communities which requires an elder sister of the Bengali bride to prick her own little finger with a thorn of the *bael* (*Aegle marmalos*) tree and mark the forehead of the bridegroom with the blood thus drawn. The curious explanation now given for this practice is that in case the bride tells the bridegroom that she is afraid of going to his house lest his sisters harm her through their

witchcraft, the bridegroom will point to the blood-mark on her forehead and tell her that she need have no fears as he has killed his sisters and marked his forehead with their blood. This may be either an instance of degradation or attenuation of an ancient custom or its transformation by transference to a new set of objects, or it may be an instance of borrowing on the part of Bengali Hindus of a savage custom from the ruder indigenes of their country. The original primitive custom of mixing together the blood of bride and bridegroom still survives in the *Nāh-chor* ceremony of a Bihāri Hindu marriage, which consists of drawing a little blood from the fingers of bride and bridegroom and mixing them together.

The similarities noticed above between some of the ruder folk-rites of Bengali Hindu marriage and the analogous rites of a Mūṇḍā marriage, do not necessarily point to their Mūṇḍā origin. True, the existence of ruder elements in the culture of a civilized people points to the existence of a ruder race or races who originated them. But these rude originators of such customs might very well have been their own forefathers at a former and ruder stage of their culture rather than some other race, whether indigenous or not, with whom they came in intimate contact in the past. In fact, with regard to some of these folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage, it may not appear improbable that they were the older and perhaps almost the only marriage rites of the non-Aryan elements in the Bengali Hindu population before the *Sāstric* rites came to be superimposed upon them, relegating these older rites to the custody of the more conservative female-folk. Thus we find that in a civilized community, as I said, different customs and beliefs may survive at different stages of arrested development, some having been arrested in their development while they were pure savage customs or beliefs, some when they were at a somewhat higher level than savagery or at what is called the barbaric level, some when they formed part of the national custom or belief but came to be cast off as useless by the more advanced classes and retained only by the women-folk or other conservative and non-progressive sections of a civilized nation or preserved only in particular localities.

All Indian folk-custom and folk-lore do not, however, represent survivals of primitive custom and ritual whose natural development has been arrested. There are some Indian folk-rites, folk-customs and folk-stories which appear to have been originally devised by

higher civilization to bring higher ideals of religion and morality and social relations home to the minds of the more backward classes of their population.

If a certain class of folk-rites and folk-customs connected with a Hindu marriage and their underlying ideas can be explained and understood by a reference to similar customs among our aboriginal tribes and other backward communities, there is another group of such folk-rites whose true significance can only be appreciated by a reference to the highly advanced religious rites and customs enjoined by the Hindu *Śāstras*. In fact, some of our *strī-ācār* rites, like the *Vrata* ceremonies of Hindu ladies, may be appropriately called the popular and simplified editions of corresponding *Śāstric* rites and ceremonies. They are meant to express, emphasize and enhance the Hindu's belief in the spiritual nature and function of marriage. Thus the ceremonies referred to above as *adhibās* or ceremonial inauguration of the bridegroom and bride, *jal-sādhā* or ceremonial drawing of water for the auspicious wedding-rites, *varan* or ceremonial welcome to the bridegroom with benedictory gestures and joyous ululation or sounds of *ālū-ālū*, the waving of lamps and other auspicious objects, and the *pradakṣina* or ceremonial circumambulation by married ladies round the bridegroom, which form prominent features of the *strī-ācār* ceremonies of a Hindu marriage, are all only simplified forms of the distinctly religious ceremonies of the *adhibās*, *ghaṭ-ānayan*, *ārati* and *pradakṣin*, observed in the worship of the greater Hindu deities. The crowns made of coloured pith and tinsel (the *ṭōpar* of the bridegroom, and the *mōṛ* or *mour* of the bride) represent the *mukūṭs* or crowns worn by the images of the higher Hindu gods and goddesses. The object of such female-rites in a Hindu marriage is obviously to sacralize and sanctify the marriage tie, in the eyes of the unenlightened female-folk and other backward classes, and to elevate it, in their estimation, from a mere biological and socio-economical relationship to a holy religious sacrament. The wedded couple are honoured even as deities, thus emphasizing the spiritual essence of man and the spiritual function of all human relationships. Such *strī-ācār* ceremonies would indeed appear to have been originally designed to serve as a system of suitable object-teaching or 'kindergarten', so to say, by which to impress upon the female folk and the backward Hindu or Hinduized communities to whom the *Śāstric* rites and Sanskrit *mantras* or

formulæ are unintelligible jargon, the sacredness and spiritual ideal of the marriage-relationship, as conceived by Hindu sages. In this way with the aid of these simple but impressive folk-rites suited to their understanding and ways of thought, the marriage ritual is charged with a new and deeper meaning for the unenlightened and unprogressive sections of the community.

This class of folk-rites would appear to be among the special contributions of Aryan Hindu culture to the cultural development of the Indian masses. These *strī-ācār* rites like the *Vrata* ceremonies and *Vrata-Kathās* of Hindu females constitute or, at any rate, once constituted a powerful civilizing force. They are the outcome of an effective popular system of religious and moral education wisely devised by the religious teachers and social leaders of ancient Hindusthān, who were missionaries not of any cult but of culture—particularly spiritual culture. And one is tempted to imagine some enlightened ladies of ancient India, if not devising, at least helping in the growth of this class of *strī-ācār* rites. It is probably with reference to these *ācarās* or customs that it is laid down in Hindu religious books that *ācāra* or customary rites, *mantras* or religious formulæ and invocations, and *Prīti* or love are the three essential requisites of a complete or approved (*siddha*) Hindu marriage. It is greatly to be deplored that this class of *strī-ācār*s came to be amalgamated with folk-customs of lower order and lower origins and in time to share the fate of other folk-customs, namely, attenuation, retardation of natural development, and even degradation.

As may be expected, this class of Bengali folk-rites have their analogues in the folk-rites of the Hindus of Bihar, Orissa and some other parts of India, thus indicating their common Aryan Hindu origin. Such of the *strī-ācār* rites as are common to different parts of India may be reasonably assumed to have originated from the same common source.

True, we find that almost identical rites form the essential features of the marriage ceremony of some of our aboriginal tribes, or, in fact, almost the whole of their marriage ceremony. Thus, we find the counterpart of the *gātra-haridrā* ceremony of a Bengali Hindu marriage in the *sasāṅg-gōsō* (lit., turmeric-anointing) ceremony of the Mūṇḍās, the counterpart of the *Adhibās* ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the *Chō* (Hindi *Chumān*) ceremony of the Mūṇḍās, in which the couple are touched with such 'luck'-bringing objects as rice, grass-

blades, bread, etc., the counterpart of the Bengali's '*bhār-nāmāno*' ceremony in the '*Sutāmtōl*' ceremony of the Mūṇḍās, the counterpart of the Bengali's *Jātrā* ceremony in a part of the Mūṇḍā's *ūli-sākhi* ceremony in which the Mūṇḍā bridegroom on being asked by his mother where he is going, replies, 'I am going to bring one who will take care of you and give you rice and vegetables', the counterpart of the *varan* ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the *Dā-hirchi* and *Chumān* ceremonies of a Mūṇḍā marriage, the counterpart of the *Sāi-pāk* ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the *Chāuli-heper* ceremony of the Mūṇḍās as a part of which the Mūṇḍā bride is carried on a bamboo basket three times round the bridegroom, the counterpart of the *Sindūr-dān* ceremony of Bengali Hindu women in the *sindūri-rākāb* ceremony of the Mūṇḍās; the counterpart of the *Āngthi-hārāno* ceremony of a Bengali Hindu marriage in the Mūṇḍā custom of *Dūl-dā* in which after the *sindūri-rākāb* and *Dā-āu* rites, while they are being ceremonially bathed, the Mūṇḍā bride and bridegroom each conceals, for the other to find out, a tiny earthen jug in the mud formed by the water in which they have been ceremonially bathed; and the *Kanakāñjali* ceremony of handing over of paddy by the Bengali bride to her mother by way of leaving her parents' *Lakshmī* or 'luck' with them, while taking leave of them, has its counterpart in the Mūṇḍā marriage rite of *Bābā-heretukām* in which the bride while leaving her parents' house throws, without looking back, three handfuls of paddy behind her, over her own head, on to her mother's *sāri*-cloth, a portion of which she holds out to receive the paddy.

Again, the Mūṇḍās, like the Bihāri Hindus, set up a *Māṇḍōā* or mud-pulpit for the ceremony of *sasāng-gōsō* or anointing with vermilion; the *Chumān* ceremony of a Mūṇḍā marriage has a closer resemblance to the Bihāri ceremony of the same name than to its Bengali counterpart known as *strī-ācār*. The *ūli-sākhi* ceremony of a Mūṇḍā marriage which has no analogue in Bengali marriage ceremonial is evidently a copy of the *Imli-ghōṇṭāi* ceremony of a Bihāri Hindu marriage. The Mūṇḍā custom of seating the bride and bridegroom on a plough yoke covered over with straw has its parallel not in any Bengali custom but in the Bihāri custom of burying under the *māṇḍōā* or marriage-booth a plough-yoke with some bamboo twigs. The Mūṇḍās, it may be noted, appear to have, in the course of their ancient migrations, come in contact with Hindus both of Bengal and

of Bihār, and have for ages been living in close contact with Hinduized aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes and depressed classes who have derived part of their present social rites and customs and religious worship from the Hindus of Bengal or Bihār or Ōrissā.

A consideration of the language, manners and customs of the Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes would lead to the inference that they had no distinctive marriage ritual in the past, and that much, if not all, of their present-day marriage ceremonial has been borrowed from neighbouring peoples of a higher culture, probably, the Hindus of Bengal and of Bihār, not perhaps directly but probably through some neighbouring Hinduized tribes or 'depressed' Hindu castes who had already adopted them from Bengali or Bihāri Hindus. Though the Mūṇḍā has a word 'ārṇḍi' meaning 'marriage', he generally uses the expression 'dō-kiā, or 'kept' to signify 'married'. This would seem to indicate that 'keeping'—or, in other words, simply 'living together as man and wife',—would, among the Mūṇḍās, amount to marriage, though not at the present day, at any rate in the not distant past. Even at the present day, only the mere act of forcibly smearing vermilion on the forehead of a Mūṇḍā woman by a man is taken to constitute marriage with her; and if the woman so dealt with refuses to live with the man who has smeared vermilion on her forehead, but desires to take another husband, she can only be married as a widow in the *sāṅghā* or *sāgūn* form.

Whereas the female folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage constitute in themselves a complete system of marriage ceremonial, the present-day marriage ceremonies of the Mūṇḍās is a hybrid system composed of certain rites which appear to have been adopted directly or indirectly from Bengali Hindus as also other rites probably borrowed directly or indirectly from Bihāri Hindus. The female folk-customs of neighbouring Hindu castes appear to have in course of time infiltrated into the folk-customs of several of our aboriginal tribes and thus served to some extent as a civilizing agency for them as well.

Finally, in order to arrive at a positive conclusion as to the origin of any item of folk-lore, the student will require to make a further analysis and distributional study of such folk-lore item by plotting it out on a map and determining its focal centre and tracing its diffusion to marginal areas. Such investigation will show

that though independent invention or parallel evolution of one and the same cultural trait sometimes occur in different centres and among different peoples, diffusion from a single source is a more common process in culture history. The discontinuous distribution on the map of a particular cultural trait may suggest independent origin at different centres, although some cases of apparent similarity may, on closer examination, be found to be merely accidental and not cases of identity. Again, what began as a wave of diffusion is sometimes found in the course of its progress to break up into local modifications which continue to develop each on its own line, and these parallel lines may again be found to converge, or they may variously combine with other cultural elements and thus constitute new culture-complexes. Where several unrelated elements thus enter into combination to form a culture complex which is found in widely distant and unconnected regions, the common origin of such a culture-complex or culture-compound may be reasonably accepted. The greater the number of elements thus associated together in a single culture-complex, the more probable becomes the inference of their common origin.

From what I have said it will be seen that the task of the folklorist in tracing the origins of different folk-customs and beliefs of a people, and in searching the causes of similarities in the folk-customs of different peoples, is indeed not a very easy one. Either community of race, or racial intermixture may, of course, account for certain similarities in the folk-culture of different peoples. Some cases of similarity or identity of custom may be due to cultural diffusion or cultural contact. Some may not unreasonably be referred to the similar working of the human mind in the same stage of intellectual development to meet the same needs. And some, may be the peculiar heritage of a particular people, introduced by their religious and social leaders to educate the more backward sections of their population. It is when we come to the large class of incongruous and inconsistent folk-customs and beliefs surviving from different stages of culture and found among one and the same people that the difficulty in tracing folk-lore origins becomes much more serious.

A race of immigrants into a new region may adopt some items or elements from the folk-culture of the ruder indigenous population, and the indigenes may also in turn borrow from the incomers

elements of their comparatively more advanced folk-culture, and modify or degrade them in the process. And this dual element necessarily produces inconsistent elements in folk-lore.

In some cases, again, there may have been more than one ethnic wave of immigration into a region originally populated by a savage race. And this would naturally lead to greater complexities in the folk-lore of both the incoming and the indigenous populations, and make the task of the folk-lorist still more difficult. Again some earlier race or races may have disappeared, leaving some of their customs and beliefs as a legacy to their successors.

Thus the task of tracing what has been called 'the genealogy of folk-lore' or the ethnic elements in folk-customs and folk-beliefs, is a very arduous and perplexing one, albeit intensely interesting. And the student of folk-lore must not only acquire a full knowledge of the present culture and mentality and the past history of the people whose folk-lore he particularly studies, but he must also equip himself with an adequate knowledge of the life and culture of their neighbouring peoples and others with whom they may have come in cultural contact in the past. It is obvious therefore that the folk-lorist in his search for connections and causes will need all available assistance from every possible source, from comparative ethnology and social psychology, history and philology as well as from literary and other sources.

Those of us who cannot spare the time or energy to devote themselves to the study of the origins of folk-lore by the laborious process of analysis, classification and comparison, may, at any rate, help forward the progress of the science by the careful collection of such folk-lore data as are easily accessible to them.

Time will not permit me to speak of other fruitful fields for anthropological study which lie within easy reach of every earnest student of the Science. I shall only just indicate one more fascinating subject for such study to which any Indian student may apply himself, at least in the intervals of other business.

In every part of this vast continent, in every province, every district, every pargana and every taluk, every town, and almost every village, there are communities or families of what are now termed 'depressed classes'. These altogether number some sixty million souls in India.

To these classes belong in this Province of BIHAR AND ORISSA,

the Dōms (154,320),¹ the Hāris (98,084), the Mehtars (7,724), the Pelās Hālākhōrs (18,586), the Tūris (43,360), the Bāuris (15,826), the Mōchis (1,123), the Chāmārs (31,661), the Ghāsis (8,216), the Ghūsūrīās (1,972), the Gōkhās (44,873), the Kāndrās (148,671), the Kebās (6,103), the Pāns (199,519), the Siyāls (1,030), the Gāndās (87,717), the Musāhars (603,911), the Dhōbis (91,612) and few other smaller communities;

in BENGAL, the Bāgdis (1,015,738), the Bāuris (303,611), the Bhūinmālis (91,973), the Chāmārs (136,533) and their kinsmen the Mūchis (455,236), the Dōms (173,991) and their kinsmen the Hāris (173,706), the Dōsādhs (45,863), the Kāorās (112,281), the Nāmāsudras (1,908,728), the Pōds (536,568), the Tiyārs (215,270), the Dhōbās (228,052), and a few others;

in the UNITED PROVINCES, the Chāmārs (6,076,081), the Dōmārs (7,764) the Bānspōrs (7,292), the Bhāngis (397,861), the Khāṭik (181,873), the Bājgis (5,818), the Dhanuks (129,280), the Sunkārs (9,406), the Bālāhars (1,988), the Bābeliyās (34,211), the Saiqualgārs (1,250), the Kōris (859,882), the Rājēs (2,827), the Rangrezes (34,012), the Dhōbis (623,049), besides a few small communities such as the Rangāsāz, the Tāmoli, and the Gharāmi, etc.;

in the CENTRAL PROVINCES, the Chāmārs (901,549), the Mehtars (29,916), the Pānkās (214, 894), the Ghāsis (43,142), the Māngs (83,576), the Mehrās (1,65,177), the Basers (52,947), the Bālāhis (52,314), the Gāndās (157,787), the Kātias (41,311), the Kōris (39,628), the Dhōbis (165,427), the Kūmhārs (118, 520), and a few others;

in the BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, the Chāmārs or Chāmbārs or Mōchis (211,853), the Bhāngis (91,856), the Māhārs, the Hōliyās or Dheds (1,081,716), the Māngs or Mādigs (227,697), the Dhōrs (10,916), the Khalās (6,507), the Shindhavas (4,265), the Tūris (711), and the Kolghās (375), and a few others;

in the MADRAS PRESIDENCY, the Hāddis (23,124), the Bāvuris (57,400), the Oṛiyā Dāndāsis (41,768), the Medāres (21,158), the Pārāiyāns or Panchamas (2,337,036), the Hōleyās (91,558), the Valluvāns (59,163) the Mādīgās (737,427), the Chākkiliyāns (549,807), the Mālās (1,493,129), the Pallāns (862,635), the Kōrāgās, (5,287),

¹ All the census figures given in this paper are of the census of 1921.

the Cherumas (248,397), the Pānos (80,824), the Nāyādis (417), and some others ;

in the PUNJAB, the Chāmārs (854,530), the Chuhrās or Sweepers (785,284), the Moches (40,313), the Ōds (28,611), the Ghāsis (2,800), the Ramdāsīs (167,623), the Mazhbīs (19,878), the Marcheēs (1,273), the Mahtams (68,396), the Dhōbis (138,885), and a few others, and

in ASSAM, the Nāmāsudrās (166,564), the Pāṭnis (45,154), the Jōgis (161,441), the Dhōbās (33,466), besides a number of other castes all together estimated to number over twenty-seven lakhs.

These various depressed classes,—some of whom would appear to be the remnants of the earliest inhabitants of the land long since absorbed into Hinduism and relegated to the lowest position in the caste hierarchy, some sections of whom now live as village serfs and menials in Aryan villages as well as in purely aboriginal villages, and some appear to be of mixed aboriginal and non-aboriginal descent and others appear to be of heterogeneous origin,—these present a most interesting and fruitful field for anthropological and sociological study. Time will not permit me to enter into a discussion of the ethnology or sociology of any of these interesting communities, some of whom are now putting forward claims to Aryan ancestry. I shall only observe that a few of our depressed communities with no social organization worth the name present certain features even more primitive than those of some of our aboriginal tribes, whereas a larger number of these communities present cultural features of diverse varieties and grades which form interesting connecting links between the customs and beliefs of our various aboriginal tribes at one end of the cultural scale and those of the higher Hindu castes, at the other.

With these backward communities of different grades and varieties of culture at our very doors and with vast stores of folk-lore within doors, so to say, the Indian anthropologist stands in a most favourable position for the study and advancement of his science. In fact, few countries, if any, in the world can provide such rich and varied materials for the study *in situ* of the different stages in the slow and laborious development of human thought and culture from the lowest depth of savagery to a very high, if not the highest, stratum of civilization so far reached by mankind. And no Indian student of Anthropology can reasonably complain of lack of opportunities for advancing the science through suitable study and

research. If he lacks the means and opportunities for exploring ancient sites and investigating the prehistory of Indian Man by digging up human fossils and implements and artefacts of the Stone and Copper ages, he cannot surely lack opportunities for unravelling the prehistory of Indian thought and culture as revealed in folk-lore. If he lacks opportunities for pursuing field work in Anthropology among our primitive jungle tribes, he can surely find no less interesting subjects for anthropological investigation among our 'depressed classes' of different grades of culture, some of whom may be his own next-door neighbours.

ARE THE GOTRAS AND PRAVARAS OF KSHATRIYAS THE SAME AS THOSE OF BRĀHMAṆAS ?

MAJOR M. L. BHARGAVA, I.M.S.

Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B., in his *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Volume II, Chapter V and the note attached to the same, has tried to prove that the 'Gotras and Pravaras of Kshatriyas are the same as those of Brāhmaṇas, which are mentioned in the Vedic Sūtras'. But a careful study of his arguments shows that the learned author has not been able to study the subject thoroughly and has been consequently misled.

From certain *R̥g Vedic* Mantras, such as X-14-6 and 7, X-92-10, VIII-13-13 and VIII-6-18, etc., from the ancient name of the *Atharva Veda* being Bhṛgav-Āṅgirās or Atharv-Āṅgras Saṁhitā and even from certain passages in the *Mahābhārata*, Vana parva, Chapters 221, 223 and 230, it is possible to trace that, at the time of the formation of a separate priestly order amongst the Āryas of the Sapta-Sindhava, it consisted of three families or clans only, viz. the Bhṛguś, the Āṅgirās and the Atharvanas. It seems that the Atharvanas migrated to Persia. The priests of the Perso-Aryans were called Atharvanas (*vide* 'Indo-Aryan Races' by Chanda, part I, page 33 ; 'R̥g Vedic India' by Das, page 177 ; 'Vedic India' by Ragozin, page 165 ; 'Media, Babylonia and Persia' by Ragozin, pages 42, 118 and 179, etc.) ; while there is no mention of Atharvana R̥ṣi amongst the Pravaras or the founders of the Gotras of the Brāhmaṇas of India in the Śrauta Sūtras. Later on two more clans, viz. those of the Vasisthas and Kaśyapas joined the priestly order of India ; and thus we come to the passage in the Śānti parva of the *Mahābhārata* quoted by Mr. Vaidya, in which there is a clear mention of the number and names of the Root (मूल) Gotras of Brāhmaṇas. It shows that, at the time, to which the tradition mentioned in the śloka refers, there were only four original families, or Root Gotras, or clans, amongst the Brāhmaṇas, viz. those of the Bhṛguś, the Āṅgirās, the Vasisthas and the Kaśyapas.

Mr. Vaidya says 'They were progenitors of all the three Aryan classes, Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas' and 'They in fact were not Brāhmaṇa Rishis but Ārya Rishis'. The learned author,

however, gives no authority for his statement. Probably he relies on the fact that in the śloka quoted by him, it is not specifically mentioned that these are the Root Gotras of Brāhmaṇas only. But a reference to *Mahābhārata* Vana parva, Sections 115 and 26 will make the point quite clear. In the beginning of Section 115, according to the English translation by P. C. Roy, it is said 'The protector of the Earth spent there a single night and with his brothers paid the highest honour to the religious men. And Lomasha made him acquainted with the names of all of them, such as, the Bhrigus, the Aṅgrās, the Vasisthas and the Kaśyapas. And the royal saint paid a visit to them all and made obeisance to them with joined hands'. The word translated here as 'religious men' could only refer to Brāhmaṇas, and the mention of all the Brāhmaṇas, as belonging to four clans or Gotras, shows that this tradition also refers to the same period as the quotation from Śāntiparva given by Mr. Vaidya. In Section 26 it is said 'Behold O! Chief of the Kurus, O! Son of Prithā, the homa time is come for the Brāhmaṇas devoted to ascetic austerities, the time when the fires have all been lit up. These all, of rigid vows, protected by thee, are performing the rites of religion in the sacred region. The descendants of Bhrigu and Aṅgrā, along with those of Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa, the illustrious sons of Agastya and the offsprings of Atri, all of excellent vows, in fact, all the foremost Brāhmaṇas of the whole world are now united with thee.' This tradition, evidently, refers to a later period, when two more original families, or Root Gotras, or in other words clans, viz. those of the Agastyas and Atris had joined the Brāhmaṇa class. It is quite clear, that, these six are described as the clans of the Brāhmaṇas only and not of the Āryas as a whole. More passages can be quoted from the *Mahābhārata* and even the Vedas to show that by the names Bhrigus, Aṅgrās, Vasiṣṭhas, Kaśyapas, Agastyas, Atris and Viśvāmitras the authors mean Brāhmaṇas only and not Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas as well.

We, then, take up the second and later list, quoted by Mr. Vaidya from Baudhāyana. Both Baudhāyana and Āśvalāyana mention the eight founders of Gotras, as detailed by Mr. Vaidya, in their general statements. But in the details of their sub-clans, sections and sub-sections, they, as well as other Sūtra-kāras, and the author of the Matsya Purāṇa describe them under seven clans, viz. those of Bhrigu, Aṅgrā, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Agastya, Atri, and

Viśvāmitra, i.e. they also recognize the seven Root Gotras. Under the heading 'Bhrgus' they not only describe Jamadagnis (including Vatsas, Vidas and Aristaśenas) but also four other sub-clans, viz the (1) Śunakas or Gr̥tsamadas, (2) Vitahavyas or Yāskas, (3) Vadhryaśvas or Mitr̥yuvās, and (4) Venas, Pṛthas or Śāntas. Similarly, under the heading 'Āṅgrās' are described not only Gotamas and Bharadvājas but also six others, viz. (1) Rathitaras, (2) Mudgalas, (3) Viṣṇu-Vṛddhas, (4) Haritas or Kutsas, (5) Kaṇvas, and (6) Śaṅkritis. From the rules of exogamy described by them it is quite clear that these ten were also regarded as Gotras, as members of each of them are prohibited from intermarriages amongst themselves, and are directed to marry with girls of any of the other 17 sub-clans, barring a few exceptions in case of those who are called double-gotris (द्विगोत्री). There is no need to discuss them in detail here, except stating that the additional four sub-clans of the Bhrgus and the additional six sub-clans of the Āṅgrās are not descendants of Jamadagni and Gotama and Bharadvāja respectively. It is enough to add that the number of exogamous sub-clans or sub-gotras was in reality eighteen and not eight at that time. Five of these were divisions of the Bhrgu clan or Root Gotra and eight those of the Āṅgrā clan, while the remainder five clans had only one division each, bearing naturally the same name as the original clan.

This shows that the number of the Brāhmaṇa clans or Root Gotras had increased from four to seven by the addition of the Agastyas, the Atris, and the Viśvāmitras. From the story of the quarrel between the Vasiṣṭhas and the Viṣvāmitras, referred to in Rg. III-53 and narrated in Br̥haddevatā IV-112 to 120 and further elaborated in the Epics and the Purāṇas it is clear that, at the time of the admission of the Viśvāmitras to the Brāhmaṇa class, the Vasiṣṭhas had raised a strong opposition, though the Bhrgus (or Jamadagnis) had favoured it. It was, most probably, after this struggle that the then existing seven clans of the Brāhmaṇas appear to have decided not to allow any other Yajamāna family to join the Brāhmaṇa class and form more separate clans or Root Gotras. But as there were no fixed castes then, but only classes, and as naturally the Yajamānas would strongly object to this exclusion, a compromise was arrived at by allowing such Yajamāna families, as deserved and desired, to join the priestly order, provided they did not form

themselves into a separate clan, but joined either of the two oldest ones, viz the Bhrgus and the Angirās as sub-clans. It must have been for this reason, that, though several Yajamāna families joined the Brāhmana class after the Viśvāmitras, yet the number of the clans remained only seven, while that of the sub-clans rose to eighteen. Mr. Vaidya himself recognizes this by accepting Jamadagni as a descendant of Bhṛgu, and Bharadvāja and Gotama as grandsons of Angirā.

He then goes on to state that 'The Atri stock represents the second horde of Aryan invaders, viz. the Lunar race Aryans as the Moon is looked upon as a son of Atri and the Lunar race Aryans have generally the Atri Gotra'. I might state here, that the Kshatriyas of the Lunar race are not universally recognized as descendants of Atri. In the *Mahābhārata* Ādiparva, Section 95, Ilā is described as begotten by Manu, the son of Vivasvata. A reference to the Pravaras of the Kshatriyas, described in the Sūtras, confirms it. I am not yet convinced that the Aryans came to Sapta Sindhava or India from anywhere outside either in one or two hordes, but, taking it for granted for the sake of argument, it does not appear that the Yajamāna classes of the so-called second horde of Aryan invaders, viz Lunar race, were descendants of the Brāhmana Rṣi Atri; as the clan name Atri is always used for Brāhmanas only in the Sanskrit literature, so far as I know. Not being in possession of a list of all the Kshatriya and Vaiśya clans of the Lunar race and their Brāhmanical Gotras, I am unable to verify the statement, made by Mr. Vaidya towards the end of the above quoted sentence. But from the only example, given in his list of the Gotras of the Rājputs, about which I am sure that it belongs to the Lunar race, viz. Tuaras, I can say that the Brāhmanical Gotra, stated to be theirs, i.e. Vaiyāghrapādyā, is not a sub-section of the Atri Root Gotra. According to *Pravara Darpana* Chapter on double-gotris, Vaiyāghrapādyā is a sub-section of the Saṅkritis, who are shown to be born in the Vasiṣṭha and adopted in the Angirā clan.

Mr. Vaidya does not say who the Agastyas were. I do not think he believes in a third Aryan invasion. The Agastyas must, therefore, according to his theory, belong either to the first or the second horde of the Aryan invaders and therefore to either of the five other stocks.

Mr. Vaidya describes Viśvāmitras to be originally Kshatriyas

of the Solar race, who became Brāhmaṇas later on. So far as I remember the Purāṇas describe the Viśvāmitras as a branch of the Lunar race of Kshatriyas through Amāvasu, son of Pururavā. Be they of the Solar or the Lunar race, if the theory of Mr. Vaidya is correct, they must together with the Agastyas belong to one or other of the five original stocks, viz. the Bhṛgu, the Āṅgirās, the Vasisthas, the Kaśyapas, and the Atris.

Now if the above conclusion be correct, the Agastyas and the Viśvāmitras must be descendants of one or the other of the five original Ṛṣis and must therefore hold the same relation to that ancestor or those ancestors as that of the Jamadagnis to Bhṛgu and Bharadvājas and Gotamas to Āṅgirā. The first Pravara Ṛṣi of the Jamadagnis is Bhṛgu while that of the Bharadvājas and Gotamas is Āṅgirā. But the first Pravara Rsi of the Agastyas and Viśvāmitras are Ṛṣis of those very names and not one or two of the five older ones. This proves, as clearly as anything can, that Agastya and Viśvāmitra Ṛṣis were not descendants of any of the five older Ṛṣis, but that both were founders of the two clans, who under their headship joined the Brāhmaṇa class from the Yajamāna class in comparatively later days, just like the five others, who did so in earlier days, and that Bhṛgu, Āṅgirā, Vasistha, Kaśyapa and Atri were not the ancestors of all the Indo-Aryans but only certain clans who formed and joined the Brāhmaṇa Varna in ancient days.

Perhaps Mr. Vaidya again relies on the fact, that the eight Gotra Kāra Ṛṣis as well as the groups of Pravaras of the various sections of the 18 sub-clans, traditionally mentioned as 49, but actually 74 according to *Pravra Mañjari* and *Pravra Darpana* lists, are not distinctly mentioned as those of Brāhmaṇas. But he overlooks the fact that the Śrauta Sūtras are manuals of Vedic rituals, composed by Brāhmaṇas for the use and guidance of Brāhmaṇas only, and it was therefore not necessary for them to state that the Pravaras and the Gotras described under the heading Bhṛgu, etc., were those of Brāhmaṇas. He also does not appear to pay due attention to the fact that just after the description of the last clan of the Brāhmaṇas the Sūtras go on to describe the Pravaras of the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas. Freely translated these read :—

Baudhāyana.—‘Kshatriyas have three Ṛṣi Pravaras, Mānava, Aila and Paururavā thus the Hotā ; Pururvā, Ilā and Manu thus the Adhavaryū. Vaiśyas have three Ṛṣi Pravaras, Bhālandana,

Vātsapri and Māṅkil thus the Hotā, Mankil Vatsapri and Bhalandana thus the Adhavaryū.'

Āpastamba — 'Such Kshatriyas, as want to recite their own Pravaras, have one group of Pravaras, viz. Mānava, Aila and Paururavā thus the Hotā; and Pururavā, Ila and Manu thus the Adhavaryū. Those, who have got no Mantra Kṛtā ancestors, should recite the Pravaras of their Purohitas. The rule, however, is that both, viz. those who have their own and those who have none, should recite the Pravaras of their Purohitas. The Vaiśyas have one Pravara, viz. Vātsapri thus the Hotā; and Vatsapri thus the Adhavaryū.'

Kātyāyana-Laughākṣi.— 'The Rājanyas take the Pravaras of their Purohitas and so also the Vaiśyas. If they (the Rājanyas) want to recite their own Pravaras these are Mānava, Aila and Paururavā.'

Āśvalāyana.— 'The Rājanyas take the Pravaras of their Purohitas. If they want to recite their own Rṣi Pravaras these are Mānava, Aila and Paururavā.'

It is evident from these extracts that the authors for some reason or other have not described the clan organizations of the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas with the same care as that of the Brāhmaṇas. Probably, being Brāhmaṇas they were either ignorant or not interested in them. As will be shown later on the Kshatriyas, at least, had their separate Gotras then, as now. But it is clear that the Gotras described previously under the heading Bhṛgus, etc., were those of the Brāhmaṇas only and that the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas had separate Pravaras and therefore separate Gotras though they were enjoined to recite the Pravaras of their Purohitas.

The Author of *Pravara Mañjarī* comments as follows on these Sūtras:— 'There are two varieties of Kshatriyas. Firstly those, who have Mantra Kṛtās amongst them (their ancestors). Secondly, those who have none. Those who have should recite their own Pravaras. Those who have none should recite those of their Purohitas. But the general rule is that both, viz. all Kshatriyas, should recite the Pravaras of their Purohitas. The question is, why should there be this rule, that all Kshatriyas should recite the Pravaras of their Purohitas? The explanation is that, though all of them have not got Pravaras, yet, all Kshatriyas have got Purohitas and without Purohitas they are not entitled to perform any rites. Besides

the word "Purohita" means those who acted for the benefit of their Yajamānas since ancient days. Also, if they take their own Pravaras, all of them will have the same Pravaras and hence they will not be able to intermarry amongst themselves as that (avoidance of similar Pravaras in marriage) is the rule.

The same rule applies to the Vaiśyas, as their Purohitas are their advocates or representatives and priests and as, on account of the sameness of their own Pravaras, they too will not be able to intermarry amongst themselves on account of similar Pravaras.

Raja means one who is consecrated as a King. Some hold that even if a Brāhmana obtains a kingdom he should also recite the Pravaras of his Purohita as those (Brāhmana Kings) do have Purohitas.

According to this view Yajamānas should not intermarry if the Gotras (which evidently means clans or sub-clans here) of their Purohitas are the same.

Vijñāneshwar says 'Although, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, not having special Gotras of their own, have no Pravaras as well, the Gotra and Pravaras of the Purohita are to be understood. Thus Āśvalāyana having promised, "He takes the Pravaras of his sacrificer" says "the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas take the Pravaras of their Purohitas".'

The Author of *Pravara Darpana* says 'According to Āpastamba, there are two views.—

- (1) The Pravaras of the Kshatriyas are Mānava, Aīla, and Paururavā and their Gotra Manu. The Pravaras of Vaiśyas are Bhālandana, Vātsapri and Mānkil and their Gotra Bhalandana or Vatsapri.
- (2) They should take the Gotra and Pravaras of their Purohitas.

The rule given by Vijñāneshvara is based on the latter, viz. "they take the Pravaras of their Purohitas". This is according to Āpastamba. The basis of the rule is that all of them (Kshatriyas) being of Manu Gotra they cannot intermarry amongst themselves. Manu not being amongst the (Gotra Kāra) Rishis the meaning is that they have no real Gotra. Therefore Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas should avoid the Gotra and Pravaras of their Purohitas in marriage.'

Evidently these later writers were quite ignorant of the Gotra system of Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. The Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, of at least Northern India, have got their own special Gotras even

to-day. But I think it is quite clear from the above quotations that the Pravaras and Gotras, mentioned under the headings Bhṛgu, etc., in the Sūtras, were understood to be only those of Brāhmanas. The Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas had either no Pravaras, or one set each, of the three Pravaras, mentioned above, and therefore could not belong to the Gotras having Brāhmanical Pravaras. If any of the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas adopted the Brāhmanical Gotras and Pravaras later on, it must have been done under the above mentioned rules and therefore these Gotras and Pravaras must be really those of their Purohitas at the time of adoption.

Mr. Vaidya says that the Sūtra '*Purohita Pravara Rajnāma*' has been misinterpreted. I think it is, but not in the way suggested by him. According to him, it meant that the King should select priests of the same Pravaras as his own, to appoint them Hotā, Adhavyarū and other priests in his sacrifices. But from the names of Hotās, Adhavyarūs, etc., appointed in the sacrifices, of which we possess details in the *Brāhmaṇa Granthas*, the *Sūtra Granthas* the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, it does not appear to be so. In the story of Śunḥsepha Ājigarta, as given in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and Sāṅkhāyana Sūtra we find Viśvāmitra officiating as Hotā, Jamadagni (a Bhārgava) as Adhavyarū, Vasiṣṭha as Brahman, and Āyāsyā (a Gautam-Āṅgiras) as Udgātā of Hariś Candra Aikṣvaku. All four have absolutely different Pravaras. From the *Rāmāyana* (Griffith's translation) Book I, Cantos XII and XIII it is clear that, in the sacrifices of King Daśaratha, the chief priests (probably Brahman and Hotā) were Vasiṣṭha and Rṣyaṣṅga Kāśyapa, while the other priests might have been any of those mentioned in Canto XI, viz. Suyajña, Vāmadeva, Jāvāl and Kāśyapa, etc. The Vasiṣṭhas, the Kāśyapas and the Vāmadevas (Gautama Āṅgiras) have different Pravaras from each other. In the *Mahābhārata* Ādi Parva, Chapter LIII (P. C. Roy's translation), the names of the priests in the sacrifice of King Janamejaya are given as follows :—(1) Caṇḍa Bhārgava, a descendant of Cyavana and therefore a Jāmadagnya-Bhārgava, was the Hotā. (2) Kautsa, a Keval Āṅgiras, became Udgātā. (3) Jaimini, a Yāska or Vaitahavya-Bhārgava, was the Brahman. (4) Śārangarava, family not traceable, and (5) Piṅgala, a Bhāradvāja-Āṅgiras became Adhavyarū, (6) Vyāsa, a Vasiṣṭha, (7) Uddālaka and (8) Śveta Ketū, both Ātreyas, (9) Āsita and (10) Devala, both Kāśyapas, (11) Nārada, a Vaiśvāmitra, (12) Parvata,

the same or a Jāmadagnya-Bhārgava, (13) Ātreya, (14) Vatsya, a Jāmadagnya-Bhārgava, (15) Maudgalya, a Kevala Āṅgras and others, whose families I cannot trace, were the Sadasyus. I am not aware what the Brāhmanical Gotra, if any, of Janamejaya was. But it is quite evident that at least 14 of his Rtvijas and Sadasyus were members of different clans, viz. the Bhārgavas, Āṅgirasas, Vāsisthas, Kāśyapas, Ātreyas, and Vaiśvāmitras, and therefore of wholly different Pravaras. Consequently the interpretation of the Sūtra given by Mr. Vaidya could not be correct.

The learned author has raised certain questions regarding the above quoted Sūtras. The word 'सर्व' is quite clear. It means 'their own Rsis, i.e. Pravaras'. The word 'सर्ग' is evidently a misreading for सर्व. The Pravara group does not offer any puzzle at all. No doubt the modern Purāṇas give the story of Pururavas being the son of Ilā or Ilā changed into a woman Ilā. But obviously it could not be a historical fact. The older *Mahābhārata* clearly states that Manu begot Ilā and Ilā begot Pururavas (*vide* Ādiparva, Chapter 95). But even a woman could be a Mantra Kṛtā and hence a Pravara Rṣyāni. No doubt this Pravara group cannot be used by the Solar race Kshatriyas, but all Kshatriyas are not stated to possess their own Pravara Rṣis. In fact most of the Kshatriyas, having Mantra Kṛtās amongst their ancestors, joined the Brāhmaṇa Varṇa and many of them belonged to the Solar race. I do not know if the available Śākhās of the Rgveda contain any Mantra composed by Ilā or not, but it is not necessary that a Pravara Rṣi should be a composer of a *Rig Vedic* Mantra. There are three other Vedas, a composer of any of the Mantras of which, could become a Pravara Rṣi. In any case the name of Ilā or Ailā is mentioned in the list of Mantra Kṛtā Rṣis given in Chapter 145 of the Matsya Purāṇa.

The Smṛti rule असमानार्थगोत्रजास् could apply to and was meant only for Brāhmaṇas who have seven wholly different sets of Pravara groups. It could not and in fact did not apply to Kshatriyas in early days, as, otherwise, the Yādavas and the Pauravas and the Kauravas and the Pāṇcālas of old, who, according to traditions, were all descendants of Yayāti and the Sisodiās and Kachvāhās of to-day, who claim descent from Rama Candra, could not intermarry. In fact the confusion arose, when this dictum was mistakenly made to apply to Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. Otherwise, the Kshatriyas and

Vaiśyas had their own Gotra and Nukh and Khāmp system, which is current even to this day, at least in Northern India.

Mr. Vaidya refers to another Sūtra of *Kātyāyana-Laugākṣhī*. This evidently is a refutation of the arguments of the opponents of exogamy, who argued that, as all human beings were said to be descendants of Manu, they have all one common Pravara Mānava. But the counter-argument is not very convincing as Manu is a Vedic Rsi or composer of hymns and a Pravara of the Kshatriyas. Nor could it apply to others except the Brāhmanas and the Kshatriyas. The Śūdras have no Pravaras at all, while the Vaiśyas do not have Manu amongst their Pravaras. It only shows that the Sūtra Kāra himself did not understand the system.

The table of the Gotras of the Rājputs, given by Mr. Vaidya, shows that the Gotras of the present-day Purohitas of some of the Rājputs are different from the Brāhmanical Gotras of their Yajamānas. But this could be explained by the not very improbable fact that the Purohitas might have been changed by these families for some reason or other, but, as the rule was not properly understood at the time, they retained the Gotras of those Brāhmaṇa families, who were their Purohitas when they first adopted Brāhmanical Gotras.

Mr. Vaidya discusses the adoption of Kshatriyas into the above-mentioned seven clans or eighteen sub-clans of the Brāhmaṇas. It is a fact that, after the controversy over the entry of Viśvāmitra into the Brāhmaṇa Varna had ended and he was allowed to form a separate clan of the Brāhmanas, no other Yajamāna was allowed to do the same, as there are only seven clans found amongst the Brāhmaṇas even to this day. It appears that, after that, any Yajamāna families, who desired to become Brāhmaṇas and were considered fit for it, were adopted in either of the two oldest Brāhmaṇa clans (i.e. the Bhārgavas and the Āngirasas) and allowed to form sub-clans. It is also evident that the Yajamānas must have objected to it, though, they had to yield in the end. Hence the existence of certain sub-clans who have alternative first Pravara Ṛsis, one their own first Mantra Kṛtā ancestor, and the other the first Pravara Ṛsi or founder of their adoptive Brāhmaṇa clan. But, later on, this custom was dropped and the adopted Yajamāna families had to take the first Pravara Ṛsi of their adoptive priestly clan compulsorily. Several examples could be quoted, but I shall point out only from amongst the cases quoted by the learned author. The Maudgalyas are the

examples of the first, with Tāraksya as their first Kshatriya Mantra Kṛtā Pravara Rsi and Āngiras as their first Brāhmaṇa Pravara Rsi, while the Kānvas are an example of the other, having only one first Pravara Rsi, viz. Āngiras, the first Pravara Rsi of their adoptive clan

Still later the Yajamānas were not allowed to form even separate sub-clans, but had to join the Brāhmaṇa Varna as a section of one of the 18 sub-clans. The Gārgyas are an example of this, as indicated by their first group of five Pravaras, with Āngiras, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja as the first, second and third Pravaras respectively. The existence of their alternative group of three Pravaras, viz. Āngiras, Gārgya and Śanya, shows that they too had tried to establish a separate sub-clan, like the Kānvas, with only the Brāhmaṇa Pravara Āngiras as their first, but without success. They are considered a section of the Bhāradvāja sub-clan and are not allowed to intermarry with other Bhāradvājas.

Similarly the Kshatriyas, too, might have adopted Brāhmanas in their families, as in the case of a Bharadvāja giving himself as a son to Bharata, who had no issue left, quoted by Mr. Vaidya. This Bharadvāja must have become a Kshatriya in consequence, though evidently he could not have been the great Bharadvāja Rishi, son of Brihaspati and grandson of Āngirā. It might have been a Brāhmaṇa with accidentally the same name or possibly a Bhāradvāja, i.e. a descendant of Bharadvāja. He might have founded a separate clan or sub-clan, etc., of the Kshatriyas and might have kept his own Pravaras too.

But all that is proved by these facts is that, in those days, the Brāhmanas did not form a water-tight and exclusive caste and that Yajamāna families could become Brāhmanas, if they so desired and had Mantra Kṛtās amongst them. It is also proved that a Brāhmaṇa could adopt a Kshatriya as his son and vice versa. These facts also explain how certain sub-clans and sections of Brāhmanas happen to have certain Mantra Kṛtā ancestors amongst their Pravaras, who were born Kshatriyas. But it is not apparent, how it could be proved from them, that all Āryas, Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas are descendants of the first Pravara Rsis of Brāhmanas and have common Pravaras and Gotras, described under the seven clans of Brāhmanas in the Śrauta Sūtras. Nor is it clear, that as certain Brāhmanas, whose Kshatriya ancestors had joined the

Brāhmana Varna, or were adopted in a Brāhmana clan or sub-clan, and who therefore naturally came to possess both Kshatriya Mantra Krtā Ṛsis, who had probably become Brāhmanas by adoption, as well as born Brāhmanas amongst their Pravara Ṛsis, why there should not be any wonder in Kshatriyas having Brāhmanas as their Pravara Ṛshis, unless their ancestors were originally Brāhmanas and later joined the Kshatriya class. Surely a Brāhmana could become a Kshatriya and vice versa, if he wanted to, but that does not and cannot mean that all Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas are descendants of common ancestors, be they the four mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* or eight mentioned in Sūtras, and have common Pravaras and Gotras.

On the other hand, it is quite clear from the Sūtras that some Kshatriyas have their own Pravaras, viz Mānava, Aila and Paururavā, while others have none, also that they must have their own separate and peculiar Gotras such as Mānava, which are not mentioned in the Sūtras, but which could not be wholly the same as those of Brāhmanas.

I must, however, add that the accounts of the origin of various families, given in the Epics and Purānas, are not to be always taken as true. For example, according to the *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana-parva, Chapter XXX, quoted by Mr Vaidya, Gr̥tsamada was a Kshatriya, being the son of Vitahavya, adopted son of Śunahotra, with Suhotra as his son and Varcas as his grandson, in whose line Śunaka, the founder of a Gotra (a sub-clan of the Bhārgavas) was born. But in Ādiparva, Chapter V, Śunaka is described as the son of Ruru, son of Pramati, son of Cyavana, son of Bhṛgu. Sadgurūśiṣya, in his commentary on Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramanī*, quoted by Max Müller in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, page 232, describes Sunahotra as a son of Bharadvāja, while his son Saunahotra named Gr̥tsamada by Indra, was reborn in the race of Bhṛgu as Śaunaka, son of Śunaka. Max Muller interprets this legend as Śaunahotra, a descendant of Bharadvāja of the race of Āṅgirās, entering the family of Bhṛgu under the name of Śaunaka (Gr̥tsamada) and on page 463 describes Gr̥tsamada as son of Sunahotra (Āṅgiras) adopted by Śunaka (Bhārgava). It might be added that Purānas describe Gr̥tsamada as son of Śunahotra, grandson of Kṣetra Vṛddha, great-grandson of Ayū, and great-great-grandson of Pururava. Being confused by all these, the author of *Pravara Mañjari* states, 'In reality there are four kinds of Śunakas, who have no

relationship with each other. Some are descendants of a Śunaka with one Pravara Śaunaka ; others of Gr̥tsamada with one Pravara Gārtsamada ; others of Gr̥tsamada, son of Śunakahotra, a descendant of Bhṛgu with Bhārgava and Gārtsamada as their Pravaras , and still others descendants of another and different Śaunaka with Pravaras as Bhārgava, Śaunakahotra and Gārtsamada. But if that be true, why they all should be included in one sub-clan, the Śaunakas or Gārtsamadās of the Bhārgavas, and prohibited from intermarrying amongst themselves. The only conclusion one could safely arrive at is that Gr̥tsamada was an adopted son of Śunaka and that he was taken from another family, be it the Bhāradvāja Āṅgiras or Lunar race of Pururava or Solar race of Vitahavya.

Another noteworthy point in this connection is that there is a sub-clan of the Bhārgavas named after Vitahavya. It is also known as Yāsk. But there is no section or sub-section of this clan named after Gr̥tsamada. It is thus quite clear that the family histories given in the Epics and the Purāṇas cannot always be taken as authentic.

Now I take up another line of argument. I have myself not been able to collect the names of the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya families (clans and sub-clans, etc.) mentioned in the *Rig Veda*. But according to *The Indo-Aryan Races*, by Mr. R. Chanda, Part I, page 11, the Aryans of the *Rig Veda* were divided into two different social grades, one the Ṛṣis or priest-poet clans such as Atharvanas, Āṅgirasas, Bhṛgus (Jamadagnis), Atris, Vasiṣṭhas, Bharadvājas, Gotamas, Kaśyapas, Agastyas, Kaṇvas and Viśvāmitras (Kuşikas) ; and the other class including the warrior tribes such as Yadus, Turvasus, Purus, Anus, Druhyus, Tr̥tsus, Bharatas, Sr̥ñjayas, Ruṣmas, Matsyas, Cedis, Krivis and others. We know from the Sūtras, etc., that the first group consists of the names of the clans and sub-clans (Gotras) of Brāhmaṇas. Evidently the other group is composed of the names of the clans and sub-clans (Gotras) of Kshatriyas, if not of Vaiśyas as well. Thus it is clear that according to Mr. Chanda the Yajamānas, or in any case the Kshatriyas, had their own clans and sub-clans (Gotras), separate from those of Brāhmaṇas and peculiar to themselves, in the Rig Vedic age. In the Epics too, we find, that the same holds true. There are hundreds of Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas mentioned in the *Rāmāyāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, mostly by their personal names as well as family names, and often by personal or

family names alone. In these Epics one does not come across a single Kshatriya, whose family name is one of those known to be the names of the Gotras (clans, sub-clans, sections or sub-sections) of Brāhmanas. They have got their own special family names, which could be none else but those of their Gotras (clans, sub-clans, etc.). Rāma the son of Daśaratha is always described as Ikṣvāku, Kākutstha, Rāghava, etc., but his name is never associated with a Brāhmanical Gotra (clan or sub-clan, etc.). Similarly Sitā is called Jānakī and Vaidehī and her father Janaka and Vaideha, but their names are never associated with Bhṛgu, Aṅgirā, etc. In the recitation of the pedigree of Rāma and Janaka no Brāhmanical Gotras are mentioned. In one case the pedigree starts from Brahmā and there is an ancestor of the name of Kaśyapa mentioned as the son of Marīci and grandson of Brahmān and as father of Vivasvata, grandfather of Manu and great-grandfather of Ikṣvāku. But this Kaśyapa being, according to the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, etc., the father of all the Devas, Daityas, Dānavas, animals, plants and in fact all the creation, and hence a purely mythological being, could not be taken to be the human founder and first Pravara Ṛṣi of the Kāśyapa clan of Brāhmanas. In fact historically the pedigree of Rāma can only be taken to start with Ikṣvāku or at the most Manu. There is no such problem in the case of Janaka, whose pedigree starts with Nimi. According to *Purāṇas* Nimi was also a son of Ikṣvāku and therefore Sitā was a descendant of the same Kaśyapa as Rāma. Now if this Kaśyapa be taken as the Gotra Kāra Ṛṣi, Rāma and Sitā become Sagotris and therefore their marriage illegal and their children illegitimate according to Hindu *Dharma Śāstras*. Hence either the Purāṇic genealogy is wrong or this Kaśyapa was not the Gotra Kāra Ṛṣi. Besides the Sisodiyās or Guhilotas, who claim to be descendants of Rāma in the main line, are said to belong to Vaijvāpi Gotra, according to Mr. Vaidya. If Rāma belonged to Kāśyapa Gotra his descendants, Guhilotas, can belong only to one of the sub-sections of the Kāśyapa Mūla Gotra. But Vaijvāpi is not a sub-section of the Kāśyapa Root Gotra, but that of Ātreya, whose founder according to Mr. Vaidya is the ancestor of the Lunar race Aryans. It is thus clear that no value could be attached to the mention of Kaśyapa as one of the early ancestors of Rāma and that the real founder of the family so far as is known was Ikṣvāku or at the most Manu. The Brāhmanas, on the other hand, are described by such names as Vasiṣ-

tha, Gotama, Bharadvāja, Atri, Agastya, Jāmadagnya, Bhārgava, Vāmadeva, Jāvālī, Kāśyapa, etc.

Similarly in the *Mahābhārata* hundreds of Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas are mentioned by their family names (clans, sub-clans, sections, or sub-sections or in other words Gotras), but each class has its own special names. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva is called Yādava, Mādhava and Vārṣṇeya, etc., but never Ātreya or by any other Brāhmanical family name. The Pāṇḍavas and Dhārtarāṣṭras are called Paururavās, Pauravas, Bhāratas, and Kauravas, etc., but never by a Gotra name of the Brāhmanas. Similar is the case with Pāñcālas, Somakas, Śrījayas, Matsyas, Cedis, Andhakas, Bhojas, Saivyas, Saindhavas, Sauviras, Mādras, Gāndhāras, Āngas, Vaṅgas, and a host of other Kshatriyas. On the other hand, the Purohita of the Pāṇḍavas is called Dhaumya, Drona either Bhāradvāja or Āngiras, Kṛpa either Śāradvata, Gautama or Āngiras and Rāma of the axe, Jāmadagnya or Bhārgava.

The same is the case with Purāṇas, which are supposed to be the special repositories of the Kshatriya traditions. A certain school of thought refers to Purāṇas as 'Kshatriya Literature', as opposed to Śrūtis and Smṛtis, which they designate as 'Brāhmanical Literature'. But even in these, the Kshatriyas are mentioned by family names, stated above and not by Brāhmanical Gotra names.

In my opinion it is as clear as daylight, that from the times of the Rig Veda to those of the Purāṇas, the Brāhmanas and the Kshatriyas had separate family names (Gotras), peculiar to each class, and not common to both, except in the rare case of mere coincidence of names, such as Gotamas and Vatsas, etc.

The first mention of Brāhmanical Gotras in association with Kshatriya clan or sub-clan names, so far as I know, is found in the inscriptions, referred to by Mr. Vaidya. These start after the decline of Buddhism and after the conversion of majority of Hindus to the revived Brāhmanic religion. There is no doubt that some ruling and other well-to-do families of Rājputs describe their Brāhmanical Gotras and Pravaras, though the latter mostly incorrect, even to-day. But it is also a fact that the ordinary Rājputs of Rājputāna, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Ambala Division of the modern Punjab and the Delhi Province do not do so, and if asked to state their Gotras, will give the names of their Kshatriya clans or sub-clans, etc. A Chāhmāna of a certain type may describe his Gotra as

Vatsa with five Pravaras, but an ordinary Chāhmāna Rājput always declares his Gotra as Chāhmāna or more frequently Chauhāna and carefully and strictly avoids marriage connections with other Chāhmānas. He knows nothing of Vatsa Gotra and its five Pravaras. Same is the case with Guhilotas, Rāthodas, Kachvāhās, Tuaras, Parmāras, Jātus, and other Rājputs of at least the above-mentioned provinces. For the average Rājputs these are their Gotras. Considering the conservativeness of the Rājputs, regarding matters, religious and social, it can be safely asserted, that the same held good at the period, when the Rājput kings and nobles proudly mentioned their Brāhmaṇical Gotras with emphasis in their inscriptions, etc. For an ordinary Chauhāna Rājput, Chauhāna was his Gotra in those days as much as it is to-day.

But the cause of the Rajput kings and nobles adopting Brāhmaṇical Gotras and Pravaras was not that they were their own, as Mr. Vaidya holds, nor their transformation from foreign barbarians into orthodox Kshatriyas, as stated by others. The real cause lay in the conversion of these Kshatriyas from Buddhism to the revived Brāhmaṇism. As is well known Buddhism did not respect the laws of exogamy and endogamy of the Brāhmaṇism, or, in other words, the caste and Gotra systems. Naturally the converts were encouraged and took to these rules with the zeal of new converts, as one of the ostentatious signs of their new faith. Most of them had no Pravaras of their own, as a very large majority of Kshatriyas who had Mantra Kṛtā ancestors had already joined the Brāhmaṇa class in earlier days. But there was the dictum of the Sūtras that Kshatriyas should recite the Pravaras of their Purohitas, which was by this time not well understood and therefore misinterpreted. In my opinion, this dictum was also based on blind following of certain rules and customs. Not having studied the Vedic rituals and sacrifices I am not in a position to make a positive assertion but can offer my conjectures for what they are worth. It could not be denied that the inventors of the elaborate Vedic sacrifices and rituals were Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas were naturally proud of their Mantra Kṛtā Ṛṣi ancestors and wanted to perpetuate their memory; specially as they did not like and in fact abhorred the idea of even remotely consanguineous marriages. They were not rich enough to maintain well paid bards to keep up their genealogies, like the Kshatriyas. They, therefore, invented the Pravara system,

according to which every Brāhmana, while invoking the sacred Agni, had to recite the names of his most prominent early ancestors, who were Mantra Kṛtās, up to a total number of five and by means of which he could trace the relation of his sub-section (the present Gotra) with its parent section, sub-clan and clan. On the other hand many of the Kshatriyas did not have Mantra Kṛtā ancestors, whom they could mention in the invocation of Agni; nor were they particular in avoiding intermarriages between remote cousins, as evidenced by the marriages of Daśaratha with Kauśalyā, of Rāma with Sītā, of Pāndu with Kuntī, of the Pāṇḍavas with Draupadī, and of Arjuna with Subhadrā, etc., if the genealogies given in the Epics and the Purāṇas are to be trusted. Kauśalyā means a princess of the Kauśala family, to which also belonged Daśaratha, while the Yādavas, the Kauravas, and the Pāñcālas are all said to be descendants of Pururavā through Yayāti, both human ancestors. They therefore could not have a Pravara system like that of Brāhmanas, who had a separate group of Pravaras for each section of every sub-clan of the seven original clans. But the Brāhmanas had brought into practice the custom of reciting Pravaras every time the sacred Agni was invoked, and something had to be done to have the custom, at least formally, observed by the other Dvijas also, all of whom did not have Pravaras. They were therefore required to have the Pravaras of their Purohitas recited in the sacrifices and rituals performed on their behalf by their Purohitas. Hence the dictum 'Purohita Pravaro Rajnāma'.

On conversion from Buddhism to the revived Brāhmanism, the leading Kshatriya families were encouraged to consider the Pravaras of their Purohitas as their own, and as their own Gotras could not be associated with the Pravaras of their Purohitas, they were further taught to consider the Gotras of their Purohitas also as their own. And these new converts naturally accepted them with the proverbial zeal of new converts and mentioned them in their inscriptions, etc., as in their eyes this was an important part of their new religion. But to the ordinary Kshatriya his own family name, clan or sub-clan, etc., remained his Gotra as it does even to-day. The Rajput kings and nobles of to-day also remember their own clan names or Gotras, like Chauhāna, Tuara, Parmāra, etc., which they scrupulously avoid in marriage connections, in addition to their Brāhmanical Gotras, of which the ordinary Rajput knows nothing. It is

noteworthy that the Brāhmanas do not have any other family names denoting their descents except their Gotras *Vijñāneśvara*, *Kamalākara*, and *Purusottama*, etc., therefore, did not invent the idea that Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, having no Pravaras and Gotras of their own, should avoid the Pravaras and Gotras of their Purohitas in marriage, but only stated a custom, that must have been prevalent amongst the prominent Kshatriya and Vaiśya families of their times, and which was introduced by the apostles of the revived Brāhmanism with a view to bind their important Yajamānas by the laws of exogamy and endogamy, prevalent amongst the Brāhmanas of the orthodox faith themselves; so as to avoid their relapse to Buddhism. Otherwise the fact is that many Kshatriyas have no Pravaras of their own, some Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas have got one group of three Pravaras each, while all of them had and have even to-day separate and peculiar Gotras of their own which they recite on ceremonial occasions and avoid in marriage connections, though these Gotras are not mentioned in the Śrauta Sūtras.

It may be noted, in the end, that the custom of mentioning their supposed Brāhmanical Gotras in their inscriptions, etc., by the Rajput kings and nobles did not last long. It died with the final death of the Brāhmanic ritual cult and the rise of the present Paurānic religions based on the revised Purāṇas and the later Smṛtis. In the inscriptions dated after the eight century A.D. we find the Rajput kings and nobles mentioning their own Gotras such as the *Pratihāra*, *Guhila* or *Guhiloṭa*, etc.

It appears to be satisfactorily proved from the facts mentioned above that the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas are not descendants of the first known ancestors of the Brāhmaṇas either four, seven or eighteen. On the other hand, it is evident that the ancestors of the Brāhmanas before adopting the priestly profession, were members of families, who later formed the Kshatriya order, if not the Vaiśya, as well. The fact seems to be that before the division of the Indo-Aryans into the different Varnas all of them must have been, what may be described as, 'common people' or 'general public' or in other words, Vaiśyas. With the growth of culture, the most powerful and capable families amongst them must have formed a sort of combined political, military and religious aristocracy. Still later, when the military duties of the heads of these families became more arduous and occupied most of their time, more scholarly and peace-loving members of the

same families must have been detailed to take up the priestly work, and gradually the priestly class got differentiated from the warrior. Bhṛgu, Āṅgirā, Atharvana, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Agastya and Atri, the pioneers of the priestly order, must have been born in one or other of these aristocratic families, though we do not know the names of their parents and ancestors in most cases. It could thus be more safely asserted that the Brāhmaṇas are descendants of Kshatriya ancestors who in their turn are descendants of Vaiśya progenitors, both of them being specialized sections of the general Aryan public.

THE CULT OF BHŪTADĀMARA.

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It is now undisputed that the three great religious systems of India developed their own pantheons, each following its own traditions, and for this purpose deities were often borrowed from one pantheon to another. This process of borrowing has been going on from time immemorial, and as probably the Hindus were the first to develop their pantheon, both Jainism and Buddhism in earlier stages commonly ransacked the Hindu gods for building up their own pantheons. By using the word 'Pantheon' it is not the intention to emphasize that the Buddhists and Jainas worshipped the deities or were idol worshippers, but only to show that the followers of both acknowledged or recognized several gods in their earlier stages.

But later on, particularly in the Tāntric age, which practically begins with the beginning of the seventh century, the Buddhists were the first to claim a full, scientifically classified, and thoroughly efficient pantheon. The Hindus had their pantheon in the Purāṇas at some earlier period and as this was somewhat attractive to the Buddhists and the Jainas, the two latter freely incorporated a large number of the Paurāṇic deities into their own pantheons. But in the Tāntric age the Buddhists headed the list, and their pantheon, for reason of the wealth and variety of gods and goddesses, created a profound impression on the followers of the Hindu and Jaina faith, and they did not hesitate to borrow and incorporate as many of the deities of the Buddhist pantheon as would satisfy their wants. In the matter of the pantheon the Jainas were always lagging behind, and in this respect they never developed any originality or wealth of ideas, and as their pantheon is the smallest possible it is not proposed to deal with it at any great length. But the inter-relation between the Buddhist and Hindu pantheons was remarkable, and the deities in these two religious systems were so intermixed that it has now become almost impossible to distinguish between the two classes. The position has thus become very complicated as the Tāntric system of the Buddhists is almost forgotten, so much so, that many will not believe that the Buddhists ever had any pantheon or deities, and therefore a large

number of Buddhist deities are to-day recognized and worshipped as Hindu.

It is just to point out some instances where certain deities of purely Buddhist origin have been bodily incorporated into the Hindu pantheon, and even at the present moment being worshipped by the Hindus, that I contributed a paper before the last session of the Oriental Conference at Lahore, entitled, 'Buddhist Deities in Hindu Garb'. In this paper I made an attempt to show that some important Hindu deities like Kālī, Tārā, Bhadrakālī, Sarasvatī, Mañjuṣṣa, Chinnamastā, etc., were originally Buddhist in conception, form and character, but later on incorporated in the Hindu pantheon and widely worshipped throughout the length and breadth of India. This was due to the fact that the Hindus of the Tāntric age were very probably struck by the power of the gods and the Mantras of the Buddhists, which could be employed for all conceivable objects; and thus they did not waste their time in borrowing and incorporating such deities of the Buddhists as were wanting in Hinduism. The reason why this fact remains undetected even now is the complete disappearance of Buddhism from the soil of India at the advent of the Muhammadans who made it a point to kill the monks, loot their monasteries, and burn their libraries of valuable manuscript treasures¹. The great popularity of the Buddhist Tāntras, Tāntric system, doctrines and practices proved so attractive to the masses that it was a sheer impossibility on the part of the Hindus not to accept some of the doctrines and practices into Hinduism, which would have otherwise been threatened with destruction. The Hindus, however, could not surpass the Buddhists either in the sublimity of their doctrines or the heinousness of their practices; and therefore, the Buddhists were the supreme masters in the field of Tāntrism by the number of books written and the followers practising the Tāntric methods. No one can conceive what would have happened if the Buddhists were allowed to go their own way as they were doing during the Tāntric age. The consequence would certainly have been very grave for the future of the Hinduism and Hindu culture, both of which would have entirely collapsed. It was very lucky for the Hindus that the Muhammadans came and by one

¹ *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* in Elliot's *History of India as told by her own historians*, Vol. II, p. 306, gives an account of the doings of the Muhammadans at the 'Odantapuri monastery.

stroke of their sword destroyed all vestige of this once mighty religion. Few people can imagine why the Muhammadans fixed the Buddhists as their target of attack, but the reason for this is not very far to seek. The Buddhist religion believed in concentration in monasteries since its very inception at the time of Buddha, and one reason of the great popularity it at that time and subsequently enjoyed, was that Buddhism could provide a haven of rest for its followers. Hinduism never believed in concentration, but always advocated decentralisation. With the Hindus the religion was a cottage industry, and the heads of social organizations always made it a point to see that every one in every house follows the doctrines and practices prescribed in the Śāstras. There was a powerful social organization behind the Śāstras, and the individuals and householders had to take care not to provoke the wrath of the society by disobeying the mandates of the Śāstras.

With the Buddhists, monasteries were a necessity from very early times owing to the peculiar restrictions and discipline enjoined by Buddha on his followers. Buddhism, moreover, had no respect for the society, as it was mostly concerned with outcastes or low castes consisting of original inhabitants of the country not affiliated to the orthodox social hierarchy, and for that reason also separate organizations like the monasteries were a necessity in Buddhism. Since then, the followers of Buddhism believed in monasteries, built new ones, equipped them with buildings, paintings, beautiful carvings of stone, images of exquisite beauty, and enriched them to a great extent with the accumulated wealth of ages. Some of the monasteries presented the appearance of forts, and as the monks were dressed in one particular fashion they resembled an army of soldiers. So long the Hindus remained at the helm of political power in India these monasteries, monks and even the Buddhists were not harmed except on rare occasions, because the Hindu rulers always practised toleration in religious matters, and sometimes even embraced religions other than their own. And hence the Buddhists were safe in the hands of the Hindu rulers, but when the Muhammadans came their chief objective was to loot and conquer. They took the monasteries to be forts, and the monks to be uniformed soldiers, and forthwith annihilated them and Buddhism along with them, and thus indirectly saved Hinduism from further disruption, and helped its followers in consolidating their position. To Hinduism they could do very little

direct harm, as the religion with the Hindus was a cottage industry, and to destroy Hinduism it becomes necessary to destroy all villages and cottages and the literature scattered over the whole country. The Muhammadans did not come with the object of destroying any religion as such, and they were satisfied when they could get enough money and enough territory by subjugating the different rulers all over India. So the destruction of Buddhism at the hands of the Muhammadans was a mere accident, though a great landmark in the history of the development of the different Indian religions.

It would have been very wise if the Hindus could throw off the pernicious Tāntric system and Tāntric doctrines and practices they obtained from the Buddhists, immediately on the destruction of Buddhism. It is, therefore, very unfortunate that this very Tāntrism was allowed to remain, which is now eating into the vitals of the Hindu society. The unscrupulous priests found the deities, temples and all paraphernalia attached to them to be very lucrative, particularly because the masses were very superstitious and ignorant, and thus the system and the practices continued to flourish until now when the society has lost almost all vigour, which religion seeks to intensify. In fact the result has been disastrous. Even to this day we find genuine Buddhist deities being worshipped in genuine Hindu temples by genuine followers of Hinduism, with the greatest possible devotion, for whose good and benefit God alone knows!

Bhūtaḍāmara is a peculiar deity acknowledged both by the Hindus and the Buddhists. It is not known whether Bhūtaḍāmara is even now worshipped in any part of India, but this deity is selected because it is possible to compare minutely the Hindu and Buddhist forms of the same deity from the available materials. This is one more example to show how a Buddhist deity is taken into Hinduism for its multifarious usefulness. A comparison of the two forms becomes quite easy as there are extant two Bhūtaḍāmara Tantras, one belonging to the Hindus and the other to the Buddhists. As will be shown in the sequel this Bhūtaḍāmara was borrowed in the Hindu pantheon along with a large number of doctrines and practices current among the Buddhists. The cult of Bhūtaḍāmara is remarkable as illustrating mutual borrowings of deities from one pantheon to another.

Besides the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra there are extant four Sādhanaś 2

² Bhattacharyya, B. ed : *Sādhanaśālā*, vol. II, 264, 265, 266, 267.

in the Sādhnamālā referring to the worship of the same deity. Two of these Sādhnanas are assigned to two authors of Tāntric Buddhism, namely, Vairocana and Trailokyavajra.³ It is easy to assign a date to Vairocana as he is the same as Vairocana Raksita who is said to have been a disciple of Guru Padmasambhava who went to Tibet to reform the Buddhism of that country when king Khri Sron lde Btsan was reigning in Tibet. This king is believed to have reigned between A D 728-764 and as Vairocana was also his contemporary it is not unreasonable to assign him a period ranging from the second quarter of the 8th century. Very little, however, is known about the other author who referred to the deity Bhūtaḍāmara, except to mention that his name occurs in a manuscript of the Sādhnamālā which was written in 1165 A.D., and therefore the author cannot be later than the beginning of the 12th century⁴ It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the cult of Bhūtaḍāmara was very well known in the time of Vairocana Raksita in the middle of the 8th century.

As regards the Tantra of Bhūtaḍāmara it must be stated in the beginning that it has no connection with the Ḍāmara literature of the Hindus. The Ḍāmaras⁵ is a division of the Tāntric literature of the Hindus and six principal Ḍāmaras are recognized, namely, Śivaḍāmara (11,007 verses), Yogaḍāmara (23,533 verses), Dūrgāḍāmara (11,503), Sārasvataḍāmara (9,905 verses), Brahmaḍāmara (7,105 verses) and Gandharvaḍāmara (60,060 verses). Though a list of Ḍāmaras is mentioned in the Vārāhitantra, the Ḍāmaras as a rule exist only in name. The word Ḍāmara means 'Camatkāra' or magic, and as the Tantras are concerned mostly with magic and magical feats it is no wonder that a class of literature will be called by the name of Ḍāmara. Bhūtaḍāmara, however, seems to be the name of a deity and as the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra deals with the different rites connected with his worship it is known by that name, and therefore is unconnected with the Ḍāmara literature of the Hindus. Moreover, as will be shown later on, the origin of the Tantra is definitely Buddhist, and so it is unreasonable to associate

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 514, 524.

⁴ For the dates of Vairocana and Trailokyavajra, see also *ibid.* Introduction, cxx, cxxi; and P. N. Bose: *Indian Teachers in Indian Universities*, p. 42.

⁵ *Sabdakalpādruma*: article on Ḍāmara.

the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra with the Ḍāmara literature of the Hindus, because the Buddhists never recognized the existence of a special class of Tāntric literature as the Ḍāmaras.

It is difficult to say to what period the cult of Bhūtaḍāmara may be assigned. What is learnt from the Tantra dedicated to Bhūtaḍāmara, is that the deity when invoked gives the worshipper the power to exorcise all kinds of pseudo-human beings such as the ghosts, demons, Piśācas, Nāgas, Kinnaras, Apsarasas and so forth, and coerce them to submission, in order that they may supply the worshippers with all the amenities of life, such as wealth, women, palaces and so forth, and after death, re-birth in the families of Brahmins, or kings. Such supernatural beings as ghosts, demons, etc., were always regarded as more powerful than men, with extraordinary capability of inflicting severe injuries to human beings. The existence of these beings was recognized in India from time immemorial, and people were constantly in terror of these semi-divine, mysterious, invisible and highly mischievous beings since very early times. It was also recognized from very early times that these beings are highly susceptible to the effect of Mantras, and when pleased or coerced they are able to do great good to human beings. They were capable of being properly handled, pleased, coerced or bewitched by the application of diverse formulæ. Therefore, for a long time from the Vedic times onwards, various kinds of civilized and uncivilized methods are being applied in order either to propitiate or coerce them. In the Tāntric age or just a little earlier, the Buddhists were busy making a pantheon and creating gods and goddesses for all conceivable objects; it is no wonder that they should pay adequate attention to the necessity of subduing such a huge lot of mysterious, invisible and mischievous beings, particularly because of their great susceptibility to charms. What they wanted is that in their pantheon there should be a god who should exercise power over these beings, and a set of Mantras to enchant or coerce them. This culminated in the creation of Bhūtaḍāmara and a number of Mantras mentioned in the body of the Tantra for the enchantment of the different classes of beings mentioned before.

But no one can introduce any new idea or innovation into Buddhism except the Bhagavān whose authority even in later Buddhism was supreme. Thus a class of literature was created by the Buddhists and were known by the name of Saṅgītis. A Saṅgīti in a full-fledged form generally begins with the description

of an Assembly of the Faithful surrounding Buddha Bhagavān, who sits in a variety of meditations and gives out certain new truths not preached by him before when he came down to the earth as Kāśyapa or Dīpaṅkara.⁶ The Assembly 'members occasionally interrupt the Bhagavān with their doubts which are cleared by him. Occasionally, his new tenets are opposed by the members when Bhagavān becomes angry and mysteriously makes every one unconscious,⁷ but revives them again when they realize their folly and send forth a volley of praise for the Bhagavān. The more important Tantras are in this form, but later on the elaborate proceedings of the Saṅgītis began shortening and ultimately the introductory portions were considered as unnecessary and useless, and therefore discarded.

The Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra begins abruptly without much introduction in the form of an elaborate description of the Assembly of the Faithful together with the names of the principal members as is usual with this class of Saṅgītis. Therefore, the Tantra, though in a Saṅgiti form, does not conform to all the rules that make a Saṅgiti. This leads us to believe that the Tantra must have belonged to a later age when elaborate formalities were not considered necessary in Buddhism for introducing new innovations. In the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra, Bhagavān Mahāvajradhara is the principal speaker, and the Assembly contain several important and powerful personages among whom we recognize the familiar figure of Mahādeva who is represented as freely interrupting the Bhagavān either with his doubts or prayers for the elucidation of particular points.

It is not at all unlikely that the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra for the first time ushered into existence the cult of Bhūtaḍāmara, because, otherwise, we do not see any necessity of a special Saṅgiti introducing his worship, as Saṅgītis only become necessary when new ideas, new thoughts, and new doctrines are introduced into Buddhism. Before a summary of the Tantra and its subject matter is given it may be said that though the cult of Bhūtaḍāmara may not be contemporaneous with the introduction of such ancient deities as

⁶ In the *Guhyasamāja*, 17th Chapter, this has been distinctly stated. This work which is expected to come out shortly is being printed for the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*. [Since published, 1931.]

⁷ This episode occurs both in the *Guhyasamāja* and in the *Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra*.

Amitābha, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, is sufficiently old, and that the introduction of this deity may be placed in the very beginning of the Tāntric age itself. At any rate the date of the introduction of the Tantra as well as the deity cannot be later than the 8th century as Vairocana Raksita actually mentions their names in the Sādhana composed by him.

There is, however, another point which helps us in finding out the date of the introduction of the Tantra. The Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra while mentioning the manifold benefits accruing from the coercion of the different kinds of supernatural beings several times refers to golden Dināras as coming from them in varying quantities in accordance with the Mantra practised. Now these Dināras⁸ were the name of an Indian coin struck in imitation of the Roman coin called the *Denarii* which were current in India perhaps from the middle of the Gupta period. Thus it is not unlikely to place the introduction of the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra in the beginning of the 7th century. Moreover, Amarakośa mentions the Dināras as equivalent to golden Niskas which were current. In the 5th century which is believed to be the date of the Amarakośa, the Dināras had widespread currency, as otherwise a foreign word like this would not have found a place in a Kośa work.

Before we take up a detailed comparison of the two Tantras assigned to Bhūtaḍāmara by the adherents of the Hindu and Buddhist Tāntrism, it is necessary to state at the outset that I had the opportunity of examining one single manuscript each of the two versions which are preserved in the Manuscript Library of the Oriental Institute at Baroda. The Buddhist manuscript (Acc. No. 13247) is a recent copy of some older manuscript of the Tantra as found in Nepal very probably in the Durbar Library; but the Hindu version (Acc. No. 9168) seems to be somewhat older, say, about two hundred years. Both the manuscripts are full of scribe's errors and numerous other kinds of errors, but the Hindu version has, in addition, some notes explaining the difficult portions of the text, and invariably giving the Mantras expressed in the text by means of code words. As is usual with this class of literature no name of any author can be found. As I consider the Hindu Tantra to be

⁸ See article on Dināra in A. X. Soares: *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages*. Also Jhalikar's *Amarakośa*, p. 290: दीनारैः च निष्क्रोऽस्ती ।

the later and the more modified form of the original Buddhist Tantra, I shall give here the contents of the two Tantras side by side for the facility of comparison. —

Buddhist.

1. The first chapter opens with a description of Mahāvajradhara who recites at the request of Mahādeva a particular Mantra for subduing the diverse kinds of ghosts and demons. Immediately destructive rays of light issue forth from the person of the Bhagavān, and all the diverse kinds of ghosts and demons are seen consumed by the fire of the rays. Later on, he again utters the Mṛtasañjivani Mantra in order to revive the demons after showing his wonderful might and valour, and the wind that comes out from the nose of Vajradhara touches the dead bodies of the ghosts and demons and they are revived forthwith. They begin trembling thereafter and unconditionally place themselves at the protection of Vajradhara, and their lord Aparājita falls at his feet and wants protection. The Bhagavān later on extracts from them a promise that they will render all possible help to the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa, supply them with their daily needs, food, garments, gold, jewels and the like, and keep them protected from the fear

Hindu.

First Paṭala.

1 Unmattabhairava wants to know how gods like Brahmā Indra, Śiva, etc., were killed and the methods by which the dead come back to life again. In reply Unmattabhairava recites the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra which bestows the final liberation as soon as it is known. At this stage the commentary begins with 'asyārthaḥ' thus :

‘Atha Bhūtaḍāmaram vak-
ṣye mantrinām hitakām-
yayā

Yasya vijñānamātrena man-
trasiddhim-upalabhet

Unmattau Vajrapāṇaye ma-
hākrodhādhipataye

Vyomavyāpi mahākāyam
abhedyabhedakam tathā
Pralayārkam-iva tyugram
prabhāmaṇḍaladuḥsaḥam

Guṇaratnākaram śuddham
baddham bhumau pratiṣ-
ṭhitam

Namāmi sarvabhāvena Bhū-
taḍāmaranāyakam

Athato Bhūtaḍāmaramahā-
tantrarāja bhūtabhūtinī-
sā dhanāvidhivistaram
pravakṣyāmi

Ityāha bhagavān Mahā-
vajradharas-trailokyādhi-
patiḥ....’

Buddhist.

of kings and enemies. He also threatens all the supernatural beings, namely the Vidyādhari, Bhūtinī, Nāginī, Yakṣinī, Śālabhānjikā, Asurī, Kinnarī, Mahānāgī, Gārudī, Piśācī, and Gāndharvī with destruction if they do not faithfully carry out his wishes in the matter of providing the people of Jambudvīpa with all that has been suggested by him

Hindu

And further on practically the two chief figures Unmattabhairava and Unmattabhairavī disappear and the whole chapter is delivered by Mahāvajradhara.

Second Paṭala

Vajradhara gives out the Mantra which can successfully accomplish the destruction of the gods and the ghosts, demons and other supernatural beings. He utters the Mantra and the gods like Indra, Brahmā are killed, who are characterized as Bhūta-devatās Aparājita, the lord of ghosts, thereupon, touches the feet of the Bhagavān and throws himself at his mercy, and promises to destroy the enemies of the people of Jambudvīpa and supply them with all their needs and protect them. On this assurance being given the Bhagavān recites the Mṛtasāñjivani Mantra which miraculously revives the dead Bhūta-devatās, and they begin trembling in terror.

Third Paṭala.

2. Vajradhara later on makes the eight principal ghosts give out their Hṛdaya Mantras called in the Hindu version as the Sundarī Mantras, eight in number. Then follow certain Gāthās and detailed instructions for reciting the different Mantras in

2. Unmattabhairavī asks her lord to reveal to her the details by which perfection may be gained through the recitation of the different Sundarī Mantras and in reply Unmattabhairava gives the directions for the Sādhana, and reveals the Mantras

Buddhist.

order to attain the different perfections. These Sundaris are named as Śrī Bhūtakula-Sundarī, Śrī Vijaya-Sundarī, Śrī Vimala-Sundarī, Śrī Ceti-Sundarī, Śrī Manohara-Sundarī, Śrī Bhūkhaṇḍa-Sundarī, Śrī Dha-vala-Sundarī and Śrī Caksumati-Sundarī

Hindu.

and Mudrās connected with the rites. The Sundaris when pleased or subdued by Mantras do immense service to the worshipper and a list of such works as can be obtained from them then follow in the same line, mainly in the same words as found in the Buddhist version. The number and names of the Sundaris are the same as given in the Buddhist version.

Fourth Patala.

3. In the second chapter the Mahābhūtini Śmaśānapraveśinī by name touches the feet of Vajradhara and reveals to him her Mantras. As the number of Śmaśānas are eight she also gives eight Mantras for the eight presiding deities of the different burning grounds. Then follows the description of the different Mudrās and Sādhana for the attainment of perfection (Siddhi). The eight Śmaśānapraveśinīs are named in the Tantra as follows : Ghoramukhī, Daṁṣṭrākarālī, Jarjjaramukhī, Kamalalocanī, Vikatāmukhī, Dhundharī, Vidyutkarālī, Saumyamukhī.

3 Describes the Sādhana, Mantra, and Mudrā of the eight Śmaśānavāsiniś or the presiding deities of the burning grounds. The names and number of the deities are the same as described in the Buddhist version.

Fifth Patala.

4. In the third chapter Mahāraudrabhūtini, Caṇḍakātyāyanī by name, touches the feet of the Bhagavān and reveals her Mantra. As Kātyāyanīs are eight

4. Unmattabhairava reveals the Sādhana, Mudrā and Mantra for the eight Bhūta-Kātyāyanīs and describes the method of worship and the perfections

Buddhist.

in number eight different Mantras are enumerated. Then follows descriptions of the different Mudrās connected with the eight Kātyāyanīs and the rites for attaining perfection. The eight Kātyāyanīs are named in the Tantra as Mūlakātyāyanī, Mahā-kātyāyanī, Rudrakātyāyanī, Bhadrakātyāyanī, Kuṇḍalakātyāyanī, Caṇḍakātyāyanī, Vajrakātyāyanī and Jayakātyāyanī.

Hindu.

obtainable therefrom. The name and number of the eight Kātyāyanīs are the same as in the Buddhist version.

Sixth Paṭala.

5. In the fourth chapter the Bhagavān gives a description of the Maṇḍala which he characterizes as the Krodhamandala. The Maṇḍala describes Bhūta-dāmara and a large number of his companions arranged in four rows round him. The Maṇḍala is described further on.

5. Unmattabhairavī gives out to his consort the description of the Maṇḍala together with the Dhyāna of the principal deity Bhūta-dāmara and the different gods and goddesses surrounding him as companions, in the same way as described in the Buddhist version.

6. Next follows the procedure of entering into the Maṇḍala described above, and immediately following are enumerated a large number of Mantras pertaining to the Maṇḍala which lead to the diverse Siddhis or perfections along with the different Mudrās and their descriptions which refer to the companion deities placed in the Maṇḍala.

6. After giving the directions for entering the Maṇḍala the Tantra enumerates the relevant Mantras a large number of which are in code words, unlike those in the Buddhist version.

Buddhist

7. In the fifth Kalpa Vajrapāṇi gives a sermon on the merits to be gained by the mere sight of the Maṇḍala, by the mere utterance of the name of Vajradhara, and perfections to be gained by the various practices recommended. Then he gives a list of Sādhana and detailed directions for the attainment of Siddhi, and for killing and subduing a number of gods such as Mahādeva, Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Śakra, Kumāra, Gaṇeśa, Bhairava, Nartteśvara, Mahākāla and others.

8. Then follow some verses and Mantras and directions for making the Bhūtiniś work as servants or protect the worshipper as his mother by supplying him with all his needs, wealth and comforts. The Bhūtiniś are recognized here as eight in number to wit: Vibhūṣaṇi, Kuṇḍalahāriṇi, Simhali, Hāsini, Naṭi, Rati, Kāmeśvari and Devī.

9. Next the Tantra deals with the Mantras and the differ-

Hindu.

Seventh Paṭala.

7 In this small chapter Unmattabhairava gives directions for certain rites which lead to diverse kinds of perfections by killing or destroying (Mārana) several important gods.

Eighth Paṭala.

8. Unmattabhairava reveals the Sādhana of Ceṭikās and enumerates the different services obtainable from Bhūtini and Kuṣjaravati.

Ninth Paṭala.

The same subject is continued here and directions for the Sādhana of Vibhūtini, Kuṇḍalahāriṇi, Sinduriṇi, Apahāriṇi, Mahānati, Ceṭi, Kāmeśvari and Kumāri are given. These beings are called in the chapter as Bhūtiniś.

Tenth Paṭala.

9. Unmattabhairavi asks her consort to reveal to her the

Buddhist.

ent Sādhana for subduing the eight Apsarasas and attaining the diverse Siddhis. The Apsarasas are also mentioned as eight, namely, Śasīdevī, Tilotamā, Kāñcanamālā, Kundalahārīnī, Ratnamālā, Rambhā, Urvaśī and Bhūsinī.

Hindu.

secret methods by which the gods beginning from Brahmā may be mysteriously destroyed. Unmattabhairava quite contrary to expectations reveals the Mantras and Sādhana of the eight Apsarasas namely, Śasīdevī, Tilotamā, Kāñcanamālā, Kula-hārīnī, Ratnamālā, Rambhā, Urvaśī, Bhūsanā.

Eleventh Paṭala

10. In the eighth Kalpa the Yakṣiṇīs rise up and pay homage to the Lord Vajradhara and reveal their Mantras. The number of the Yakṣiṇīs is also recognised as eight, namely, Surasundarī, Maṇihārīnī, Kanakamatī, Kāmeśvarī, Ratipriyā, Padminī, Natī and Anurāginī. In this section details are given showing the procedure to be followed by the worshipper in order that he may obtain power over these supernatural beings.

10. Unmattabhairava in reply to a question reveals the Sādhana, Mantras, and Mudrās for the worship of the Yakṣiṇīs, and describes the different perfections obtainable therefrom. The Yakṣiṇīs are eight in number and their names are the same as found in the Buddhist version.

Twelfth Paṭala.

11. In the next section the Nāginīs rise up and pay their homage to the Lord Vajradhara in the august assembly by touching his feet and reveal their Hrdaya Mantras. The Nāginīs are also eight in number and their names are given in the Tantra as Anantamukhī, Karkkoṭakamukhī, Padmamukhī, Mahāpadmamukhī, Vāsukī, Jvālā-

11. He reveals the Mantra, Mudrā, Sādhana of the Nāginīs, and describes the different perfections which can be obtained by having a control over them. The number of the Nāginīs is recognized as eight and their names are the same as given in the Buddhist version.

Buddhist.

mukhī and Śaṅkhaṇāmukhī. Then follows the enumeration of the manifold Siddhis obtainable therefrom.

12 In the section which comes next the six Kinnarīs rise up and after paying homage to Vajradhara reveal their Hṛdaya Mantras. The six Kinnarīs are mentioned as Manohārīṇī, Subhagā, Viśālanetrī, Suratapriyā, Sumukhī and Divākaramukhī. Then follows the Sādhana, Mudrās and Mantras as usual.

13. Then follows a second description of the Maṇḍala with less details, and practically including the same gods and goddesses mentioned in the fourth chapter, with the directions for entering the Maṇḍala along with a number of Mantras connected with the rites.

14. In the subsequent section details are given of rites for subduing and conquering the eight Bhūtas, namely, Aparājita, Ajita, Purāṇa, Apurāṇa, Śmaśānādhipati, Kalaśa, Bhūteśa and Kiṅkarottama (Kinnarottama in Hindu) and Sādhana, Mantras and Mudrās connected with the

Hindu.

Thirteenth Paṭala
12. The Siddhi of the Kinnarīs is described with details of Mudrās and Sādhana. Their number is recognized here also as six and their names are the same as given in the Buddhist version of the Bhūtadāmara Tantra .

Fourteenth Paṭala.
13. Describes again the Maṇḍala of Bhūtadāmara for the second time though with less details than before. This chapter describes also the method of entering the Maṇḍala and gives description of several Mudrās and enumerates a number of Mantras and Mudrās connected with the rites.

Fifteenth Paṭala.
14. Unmattabhairava describes the methods by which mastery over the Bhūtas may be obtained, and for this purpose reveals a number of Mantras, Mudrās and gives elaborate description of the procedure to be followed for the different kinds of power. Here also their

Buddhist	Hindu.
rites. This section is fairly long and very detailed after which the work comes to an end after enumerating the different varieties of Sūnyatā, namely :	number is recognized as eight, and their names are materially the same as given in the Buddhist version

Sixteenth Patala.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. Bāhyādhyātmaśūnyatā. | Gives a few stanzas at the |
| 2. Adhyātmaśūnyatā. | end and calls the chapter as the |
| 3. Adhyātmabāhyādhyātmaśūnyatā. | Granthastuti 'praise for the book'. Then follows the Man- |
| 4. Śūnyatāśūnyatā. | trakośa after which the work |
| 5. Mahāśūnyatā. | comes to a close. |
| 6. Paramārthaśūnyatā. | |
| 7. Asaṃskṛtaśūnyatā. | |
| 8. Atyantaśūnyatā | |
| 9. Anavarāgraśūnyatā. | |
| 10. Prakṛtiśūnyatā | |
| 11. Sarvadharmāśūnyatā. | |
| 12. Svalakṣaṇaśūnyatā. | |
| 13. Anupalambhaśūnyatā. | |
| 14. Svabhāvaśūnyatā. | |
| 15. Abhāvaśūnyatā. | |
| 16. Abhāvasvabhāvaśūnyatā. | |

From the comparative statement of contents given above it may be noticed that the Buddhist Tantra is not careful enough to divide the chapters systematically, and as a matter of fact beyond the fourth Kalpa no chapter colophons are to be seen except at the end of the eighth. Even at the end the colophon does not mention the chapter. The Hindu version, on the other hand, comprises sixteen paṭalas; after the sixteenth there is a long extract giving what is called the Mantrakośa where the symbols like Hṛīm, Kṛīm, etc. are explained. In these sixteen chapters the Hindu version practically goes over the same ground and treats of the same topics as given in the Buddhist version, but the character is somewhat changed, as here in the opening Paṭala instead of Vajradhara addressing the Assembly, Unmattabhairava is introduced

as being pleased to answer the queries of his consort Unmattabhairavi.

But no one can deny that there is a great deal that is common to both the versions of the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra, though the two belong to two widely different religious systems. But that is not sufficient to establish the relative priority of the two versions. The general impression of the reader who compares the two versions closely is that the Hindu version is later in which the earlier Buddhist version has been remodelled. There are also several reasons for considering the Hindu version to be an imitation of the earlier and the original Buddhist version of the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra. The Buddhist version puts the whole Tantra in the mouth of Vajradhara who is regarded as the highest deity in Buddhism, but in the Hindu version sometimes Vajradhara is also represented as giving out certain Mantras, though in the beginning of almost every chapter the work opens with a conversation between the Unmattabhairava and Unmattabhairavi. Moreover, it is quite natural with the Buddhist to consider the highest Hindu deities as Bhūtas or supernatural or inferior beings ready to do service for the worshipper. But even in the Hindu version the same sentiments are expressed and Mantras and methods are given for the Māraṇa of Brahmā, and others who are considered as Bhūtas. Again, it is natural with the Buddhists to make the highest Hindu gods as companions and inferior to the principal god Bhūtaḍāmara because that shows clearly that the Buddhist gods are far more powerful than the impotent Hindu gods who are much inferior to them and are given definitely subordinate position in the Maṇḍala of Bhūtaḍāmara. But it is certainly strange in a Hindu Tantra to make the highest Hindu gods to be given definitely an inferior position in the Maṇḍala.⁹ Moreover, the Hindu version of the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra mentions a large number of Buddhist terms in the body of the book and introduces some avowedly Buddhist characters in it. Thus we find Vajradhara frequently introduced and mentioned, Vajrapāṇi another Bodhisattva of the Buddhist pantheon introduced as giving certain instructions to the gods and particularly to Maheśvara. On fol. 8

⁹ The Buddhists maintained a very hostile attitude towards the Hindu gods and goddesses in their rituals and in the sculptures, images and paintings. For details see B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 162,

Aparājita, the lord of Ghosts, is represented as saying that he will supply all the needs to those who mutter the Mantra relating to the Sarvatathāgatas. Bodhisattva is mentioned in several places and in one place Mahādeva is addressed as a Bodhisattva (fol 9) and in some places the worshipper is recommended even to meditate on Śūnya (fol 20). In the Sādhana-mālā Tantra where four Sādhana are dedicated to the worship of Bhūtaḍāmara the deity is described as an expert in destroying the pride of Śakra, Brahmā, Kuvera and others. It is a well-known fact that the Buddhists cherished a great hatred towards Hinduism and the Hindu gods, and they took particular pleasure in defaming Hindu gods both in writing and in art. It is thus easy to think that Bhūtaḍāmara should be created as the destroyer of the pride of Hindu gods and this explains the position of the greatest Hindu gods placed in a subordinate position in the Bhūtaḍāmara Maṇḍala. The Hindu version of the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra is therefore a revision of the Buddhist Tantra which is original, and that there is enough in the Hindu version to show that the character of the original Tantra is wholly Buddhist. Furthermore, the Sādhana-mālā is a Buddhist Tantra and there is no other reason why the work should include the different Sādhana for Bhūtaḍāmara unless these are Buddhist in origin and character.

The Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra centres round the figure of Bhūtaḍāmara and his Maṇḍala which is described twice in each of the two versions of the Tantra above referred to. Four Sādhana in the Sādhana-mālā professedly of an abridged character also describe the principal god of the Maṇḍala. The two versions of the Tantra describe the form of the deity differently and the difference is worth noting in the comparative statement given below.

Buddhist.	Hindu.
1. Tantra madhye nyased- raudram jvālāmālāsamā- kulam Caturbhujam mahākrodham bhinnāñjanasamaprabham Dakṣiṇe vajramullālya tar- jayan vāmapāninā Daṁṣṭrākarālavadanam nāg- āṣṭakavibhūsitam	1 Jvālāmālākulam diptam yugāntāgnisamaprabham Bhinnāñjanamahākāyam ka- pālakulabhūṣaṇam Attahāsam mahābhīmam trai- lokyātibhayaṅkaram Tatra madhye mahāraudram Vajrakrodham nivesayet

Buddhist.	Hindu.
Kapālamālāmukutam trai- lokyasyāpi nāśanam	
Attahāsam mahāśāntam (nā- dam) trailokyādhipatim pra- bhum	
Pratyāliḍha-susamsthānam ād- ityakotīsannibham	
Aparājitapadākrāntam mudrā- bandhena tiṣṭhati	
2. Tantra madhye nyased-bhi- mam taptajvālāsamākulam	2 Jvālāmālākulam dīptam yugāntāgnisamaprabham
Sāttahāsam mahāraudram bhinnāñjanacayopamam	Bhinnāñjanamahākāyam kapālakṛtabbhūṣanam
Pratyāliḍham caturbāhum daksiṇe vajradhārīnam	Sāttahāsamahāraudram triṣu- lokabhayaṅkaram
Tarjanam vāmahastena tik- snam daṁṣṭrākarālinam	Tanmadhye to mahābhimam Vajrakrodham caturbhujam
Kapālaratnamukutam trai- lokyasya vināśanam	Dakṣiṇorddhvakare vajram tarjanavāmapānnam
Ādityakotīsankāśam astanā- gavibhūsitam	Krodhamudrānvitam [devam] pāṇibhyām dhāraṇam bhaje
Aparājitamākrāntam mudrā- bandhena tiṣṭhati	

It may be noticed from the different descriptions of the deity as given in the Buddhist and Hindu versions that the original language of the Buddhist has been changed in the Hindu version to a more dignified and correct form of Sanskrit, although the deity whom the two versions describe remains the same in all particulars.

The form of Bhūtaḍāmara can now be clearly understood from the different Dhyānas quoted above. It appears from the description that Bhūtaḍāmara is one-faced and four-armed and stands in the Pratyāliḍha attitude on Aparājita—the lord of the ghosts and demons. The two principal hands are crossed against the breast in what is called the Bhūtaḍāmara Mudrā or the Krodha Mudrā which requires that the two Anāmikās should be entwined,

the two Tarjanis slightly bent, while the middle and the last fingers should be pressed with the thumb. The second right hand of the deity is raised and carries the thunderbolt, while the left shows the index finger raised in a menacing attitude. His appearance is awe-inspiring and terrible with his body as dark as collyrium, garland of heads, ornament of snakes and skulls; he resembles the Pralaya Fire and is capable of destroying the three worlds ¹⁰

The descriptions in the *Sādhana-mālā* are mere copies of the *Dhyānas* already given in the original Tantra, as it ought to be. But the Mandala or magic circle seems to be very complicated in as much as there are four rows of deities surrounding him. In the first row there are —

- (1) Mahādeva in the right (South) who carries the Śūla, the chowrie, the bow and the Śakti, and sits on a bull.
- (2) Viṣṇu in the left (North) who carries the conch, the disc, the mace, and the chowrie and sits on Garuḍa.
- (3) Indra behind (East) who is decked in all ornaments with the chowrie in hand and sitting on an elephant.
- (4) Kārttika in front (East) carrying the chowrie and sitting on a peacock.
- (5) Ganapati in the Īśāna corner.
- (6) The Sun in the Agni corner.
- (7) Rāhu in the Nairṛta corner.
- (8) Nandikeśvara (Nateśvara in H.) in the Vāyu corner.

In the second circle similarly there are eight deities, four in the four cardinal directions, and four others in the four intermediate corners.

- (1) Umādevī in the left (North) of golden colour, decked in all ornaments, with face wearing a pleasant smile.
- (2) Śrīdevī in front (East) of similar appearance and carrying the flower.
- (3) Tilottamā in the right (South) of similar appearance carrying the Dhūpa or incense sticks.
- (4) Śasīdevī behind (West) of similar appearance carrying the light stick.

¹⁰ See also *Sādhana-mālā*, Vol. II, pp. 513, 516, 521, where other *Dhyānas* of Bhūtaḍāmara are to be found. A description of the deity is to be found in the *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 144, 145,

- (5) Ratnaśrī (H. Rambhā) in the Agni corner carrying the Gandha or scent and decked in all ornaments
- (6) Sarasvatī in the Nairṛta corner of beautiful appearance and carrying the Vinā
- (7) Surasundarī in the Vāyu corner carrying a garland of jewels (Rātnamālā)
- (8) Viśālākṣī in the Īśāna corner of beautiful appearance, decked in all ornaments and resplendent with youthful bloom.

In the third circle the deities presiding over the different quarters with their own weapons and symbols and Vāhanas are placed thus :—

- (1) Agni in the Agni corner.
- (2) Yama in the South.
- (3) Narṛta in the Nairṛta corner
- (4) Varuna in the West.
- (5) Vāyu in the Vāyu corner.
- (6) Kubera in the North.
- (7) The Moon in the Īśāna corner.
- (8) Indra in the East.

In the fourth circle there is another set of deities which are omitted in the Hindu version on the first occasion, but appear in the second occasion at the end of the work. These eight deities are placed in the Mandala as under :—

- (1) Simhādhvajā in the East.
- (2) Vibhūti in the South
- (3) Padmāvatī behind (West)
- (4) Surahārini in the North
- (5) Varahārṇi in the Īśāna corner.
- (6) Ratneśvarī in the Agni corner
- (7) Bhusiṇi in the Nairṛta corner.
- (8) Jagatpālīni in the Vāyu corner.

All these deities are beautiful in appearance, decked in all ornaments having their original complexion and weapons held in their hands, and resting in the Sattvaparyāṅka attitude

This elaborate Maṇḍala is twice described in each of the two versions of the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra. The Sādhana-mālā, however, is silent with regard to the companion deities because obviously

the purpose of the work is to give a description of the main deity with the principal Mantras which may be necessary for the reference of the priests who were engaged in a variety of work in connection with the needs of their clients. But this seems to be very probable that the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra of the Buddhists ushered into existence a variety of Sādhana which are even to-day practised in several parts of India, namely the Karnapisāci Sādhana, Yakṣiṇi Sādhana, Kinnari Sādhana, Nāga Sādhana and a number of other Sādhana. It may be also surmised that the various methods of exorcisms of ghosts, demons and other supernatural beings now current in India have much to do with the contents of this once popular and excellent Tantra.

The two versions of the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra must be considered a very lucky find, as it throws a considerable light on the vexed question of the priority or posteriority of the Tāntric literature affiliated to the Hindu and Buddhist religious systems, and as furnishing a concrete example for the purpose of a comparative study. Let us hope that materials will be forthcoming for a critical edition of both the Tantras which, when published, will enable the scholar to understand and appreciate several problems usually confronting a student of the Tantras.

Oriya Section.

President :

MR. GOPAL CHANDRA PRAHARAJ,
Advocate, Patna High Court.

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UTKAL OR ORDISSA

The Country and its Language.

GOPAL CHANDRA PRAHARAJ

DEAR PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
GENTLEMEN, AND LADIES PRESENT,

At the start I beg, on behalf of the Oria people, to tender our gratefulness to the Committee of this Conference for having included 'Oria' in its scope.

We Orias had not, till lately, taken up philological studies. The late Pandit Gopeenath Nanda of Ganjam in the Madras Presidency had begun the same by a series of articles in Oria Magazines which he compiled into a book, *The Oria Bhāṣā-tattva*. The late Syamsunder Rajguru, B.A., of District Ganjam and the late Tarini Charan Rath had made some valuable contributions towards Oria Philology, but unfortunately their researches were cut short by their untimely death. Leaving aside these three Oria gentlemen we cannot boast of any methodical work having been done on a scientific basis regarding Oria language, literature, and history. Though the recording of contemporary events to form the basis of future history of the country was begun in the 11th century A.D. by Choraṅga Deb, the first king of the Orissa Gaṅga Dynasty, by maintaining the 'Mādlā Pāñji' in the Jagannath Temple at Puri, though the cave inscriptions of King Aira and Khāravela (1st century B.C.) were the forerunners of archæological and historical records of the country, though the architectural inscriptions and carvings of the caves and temples in and around Bhuvanesvar and Konarak (District Puri), Khiching (in Mourbhanj State), Jaugarḍa (District Ganjam), and Jajpur (District Cuttack) and in various places within the boundaries of ancient Odra-deśa, and copperplates unearthed from various quarters prove beyond doubt that the Orias had a history, a civilisation, and traditions of which any nation on the face of the earth would be proud, still none of these have been brought to light or to the prominent notice of the civilised world by any Oria scholar. Many European and British scholars and some of our Bengali and Behari brethren have contributed valuable materials towards the compila-

tion of comprehensive history of Oria people, their language, literature, civilisation, and culture. All of them have naturally laboured under the disadvantage of not being familiar with the language and dialects of Orissa, and of not being Orias themselves, and so of lacking in that genuine sympathy and imagination which a scholar can have in the ancient doings of his forefathers. The late Pandit Kṛpāsindhu Miśra, M.A., an Oria, had begun researches with the help of materials gathered by non-Oria scholars and had brought out a small history of Orissa, but his labours were cut short by his untimely death. Professor B. Mazumdar—a Bengali having some intimate connections with Orissa under the patronage of the Maharaja and Ruling Chief of Sonapur State—brought out Selections from Oria literature in three volumes for use in the Universities for the study of the Oria and contributed some very valuable essays to the Asiatic Society journal and compiled a book '*Orissa in the Making*'. With Mr. Mazumdar's inspiration, an Oria Pandit Binayak Miśra has compiled two small books under the names of *History of the Oria Literature* and *History of the Oria Language*. Pandit Binayak's contribution being based mostly on the conclusions of Professor Mazumdar does not bear the stamp of originality. Still they have awakened a desire in the hearts of the younger generation of Orissa to attend to the study of philology and history on independent lines. Professor Arta Vallabh Mahanty of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, has started a literary institution and a Press—*The Prācī*—and has been editing and annotating some ancient books and manuscripts which throw a new light on many phases of Oria literature, religion, and culture. Here and there we find sporadic endeavours by our young people to throw light on the ancient history and culture of the Orias. The Chief of Maurbhanj State has continued the excavations in Khiching which had been initiated by his illustrious predecessor and which throw a flood of light on an ancient Oria culture. The Bihar and Orissa Research Society and Mr. Jayaswal have been unearthing many ancient materials. Babu Jagabandhu Singha of Puri has collected some valuable materials in his Oria book '*Prācīna Utkal*'. Still, it is a matter of deep regret that most of the contributions of the present-day Oria scholars are not marked with any depth of learning and research, though we are ready to find fault with our non-Oria pioneers Babu Satyanarayan Rajguru, of Ganjam, by some of his contributions is raising great hopes in our minds,

The Orissa of the present map of India is not the Orissa of history. We have been using two names, viz.:—

1. *Orissa*, for the present administrative Orissa of the 19th century comprising the three coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack, and Balasore, the upland district of Sambalpur recently added to it in 1904, the non-regulation district of Angul, and the Orissa Feudatory States; and
2. *Utkal*, for the linguistic or historical Oria-speaking tracts now lying within the borders of four different provinces of Bihar and Orissa, Bengal, Central Provinces, and Madras.

The modern use of the word Utkal to denote the Oria-speaking tracts can be traced to the Utkal Union Conference started in 1903 by Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E., the grand old man of Orissa and perhaps the oldest Indian leader now living. Since then we have been calling the area Utkal and the people who are permanent residents of this area as Utkaliyas, as distinguished from Orias, i.e. people whose mother-tongue is Oria.

The area of Utkal as defined above has been approximately though incorrectly laid down by Sir Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India*. It is bounded on the east by the Bay of Bengal. Taking the mouth of the Haldi River near Tamluk (ancient Tamralipta) in the Contai Subdivision of Midnapore District of Bengal as the north-eastern point, the boundary line runs westwards along the rivers Haldi and Kaligai up to Bankura and then turns towards the south and runs along the eastern boundary of the Singhbhum District through Saraikala State up to the valley of Ranchi in Chotanagpur Division, then along Jaspur State, Raigarh, Sarangarh and Raipur districts in Central Provinces up to the Bastar State (C.P.) which may be taken as the south-western corner of this area. Then the line proceeds south-east along the Joypur State and the districts and agencies of Vizagapatam and Ganjam (in Madras) whence it takes an easterly turn from Parlakemudi and meets the Bay of Bengal at Barua Bandar (Kalingapaṭam).

The area of the present administrative Orissa is roughly forty thousand square miles while that of the Utkal would be about fifty-five thousand square miles. According to a rough calculation based on Census figures the number of Oria-speaking people inside Orissa

would be $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions while those outside but within the Utkal area would be $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions more.

There has been much confusion in the use of the words Odra (from which comes the word Oria) and Utkal (from which comes the word Utkaliya). We should remember that Orissa and Oria are not old words. Odras as a nation are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Manusamhitā*, in *Skanda Purāṇa*, Utkal-Khaṇḍa, and in some other Purāṇas. From copperplates discovered in the Utkal area we find the names of Ordisu and Ordessa as a nation inhabiting the western part of the present Orissa (identified with the Bonai, Bamra, and Gangpur Feudatory States). We also find that Maurbhanj Feudatory State was within the ambits of Odradeśa.

From the Purāṇas and Sanskrit and Buddhistic classical works we find mention of 'Utkal' as the name of a nation and a country to the south of Gya and extending from the Kasai river in Midnapore to the Mahendra hills in Ganjam. We find mention of two merchants amongst the first disciples of the Buddha.

That the country of Utkal and Orḍesu was the same and one appears from another curious coincidence. Those who are conversant with philology state that in Tamil Okkala means a cultivator, and in Canarese 'Orḍisu' also means a cultivator. In Tamil the root Uḍu means ploughing. When a plot of land has been ploughed once or more than once we the Oris now say the land has been ploughed so many 'Orḍas'. In Khurda and adjoining States we find castes of Orḍa Chasā and Orḍa Pāikas, and in Sambalpur we also find a caste of Orḍa Swansias. Philologists aver that the Tamil words Okkala and Orḍesu having the same meaning (cultivator), the two words have been loosely used for one and the same caste and that the Dravidian Okkala is the same as Pali Ukkala and Sanscrit Utkala. The Utkal country has, since ancient times, been called 'Odradeśa' owing to its residents being Orḍesus or cultivators. In the historical manuscripts found in Tibet scholars have found the country named 'Oṭiśa' as inhabited by Orḍesus.

There has been another theory started by research scholars that Utkal is a contraction of Utkaliṅga which again is contracted from Uttara Kāliṅga—the northerly Kalinga. The supporters of this theory say that Kāliṅga consisted of three parts, viz.: (1) Kāliṅga proper to the south (with Kāliṅgapattana as its capital); (2) The middle Kāliṅga, extending from the Godavari River up to the Rṣikulyā

River (with Sompetta in Ganjam as its capital) ; and (3) The northern or Utkaliṅga, extending from Ṛsikulyā to the Ganges (with Tośali—identified with Bhuvanesvar—as its capital) The name of Kaliṅga had been well known to Greek historians Ptolemy and Pliny and to the Buddhists and to the Chinese travellers Hiuan Tsang and Fa Hian. In the *Harivaṃśa* we find the territory of Kaliṅga beginning from Tamralipta (Tamluk in Midnapore) King Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga in the 8th year of his reign and caused some inscriptions in Jau-garḍa (Ganjam) and Dhauḥ (District Puri).

The Utkal was originally separate from the two other portions of Kaliṅga, but latterly it devoured up the two other Kaliṅgas and came under the sway of the Gupta dynasty of Sirpur who styled themselves the lords of Trikaliṅga from 10th to 11th century A.D. This Utkal country was bounded on the north by the Ganges, on the east by the Bay of Bengal, on the south by the Godavari, and on the west by Central India Marhatta-speaking country. The Oḍras were inhabiting the western fringe of Utkal. They were originally Aryans but got mixed up with the Dravidians of Kaliṅga and were branded as fallen Kṣatriyas by Manu. When again new colonies of Aryans settled in Kaliṅga these Oḍras were driven to the forests and mountains of Jeypur, Bastar, and Vizagapatam. The Oḍras were a hardy and martial caste. The Ganga Vamśa kings of Orissa engaged them as soldiers and got them settled in various parts of Orissa by granting them jagirs ; and their descendants are still styled as Oṛḍa Chasā, Oṛḍa Pāika, Oṛḍa Khaṇḍāita, and Oṛḍa Swānsiās. That this country Utkal or Oṛḍissa and its people Utkaliyas or Oṛḍias, under one name or another name, have been long on the face of India admits of no doubt. At times Utkal was amalgamated with Kaliṅga and its civilisation spread far and wide beyond the boundaries of India. This Utkal comprised the Koṅgada (identified with Ganjam), Kośala (identified with Sambalpur), Gaṇḍamālā (Bamra, Gangpur, and Bonai States), and the three coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack, and Balasore. This Utkal extended from the Ganges to the Godavari and from the Bay of Bengal westwards towards C.P. and Gya. The Utkal merchants who visited the Buddha brought his tooth relic to Orissa in the 5th or 6th century B.C. In Manu (3rd century B.C.) we find mention of Uḍras as fallen Kṣatriyas. The Buddhist King Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga and established a capital near Bhuvanesvar and got inscriptions carved in Orissa in 3rd century B.C. After Aśoka,

Jainism flourished in Orissa and we find inscriptions of Khāravela (100 B.C.) in the Khandagiri caves. From evidences compiled from China and Tibet and from copperplate inscriptions we find that the people of Utkal were Buddhists between 200 and 700 A.D.

Though the Chinese traveller Hiuan Tsang describes the original inhabitants of this country as dark coloured and uncivilised, still we find that colonies of civilised and civilising Aryans settled here from the time of Khāravela (100 B.C.) to that of King Jajatikeśari (500 A.D.).

Though the language of the original or aboriginal inhabitants of Orissa was Dravidian, it was gradually influenced and overlaid with the Pali language introduced by Khāravela and Aśoka. In dramatic works of 200 to 300 A.D. we find mention of Oḍra as a Vibhāsā (dialect), and this Vibhāsā modified and influenced by the Pali (Magadha) became the forerunner of the present-day Oria and was established as a distinct vernacular by the 7th century A.D. From the *Bauddha Gāna and Dohā* and from other manuscripts so laboriously collected by the revered President of this Association which are considered to belong to 10th century A.D., we find a language which was full of many words now current in the Oria language, and it can be safely asserted that the language of those manuscripts is more akin to the present-day Oria than to the present-day Bengali.

From the stone inscriptions and copperplates unearthed by research scholars we gather that by 1000 A.D. Oria had begun to assume the form of a special Prakrit and that by the 12th century A.D. the Oria language had developed into what it now is. The stone inscriptions of Bhuvanesvar (13th century) are in prose. The inroads and influx of Mahomedans and Moghals into India brought with them thousands of Arabic and Persian words, and the influence of Europeans beginning from the 15th century downwards has introduced thousands of European words. In modern times we find hundreds of Bengali, Hindi, and Telugu words creeping into the Oria language of the outlying Oria-speaking tracts in Bengal, C.P., and Madras respectively.

So we find that the Oria language consists of Dravidian, Pali (Māgadhi Prakrit), Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, and European words. Linguistic scholars have classified the present-day Oria words into some defined classes, viz. :—

1. Tatsama (words bearing the form of the original Sanscrit);

2. Tadbhava—words corrupted from Sanscrit or Prakrit or Pali ;
3. Deśaja—words of which the origin cannot be traced or remotely traced to Sanscrit or Prakrit or Dravidian ;
4. Foreign—words brought from Arabic, Persian, or any European language, and
5. Dialectical—words used in particular Oria-speaking tracts but not common to the whole Orissa, and in which can be traced the influence of Bengalee, Hindi, Marhatti, and Telugu with which the Orias of these particular tracts have come in contact. This class includes ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟ (Grāmya) and vulgar words and words used by low caste people and untouchables.

To one peculiarity of the Oria language I would draw the attention of scholars. The Oria language preserves the distinct pronunciations of $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} l \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} l \\ \text{ᳶ} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$; $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ \text{ᳶ} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$; $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} d \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} rd \\ \text{ᳶ} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} dh \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} rdh \\ \text{ᳶ} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$; $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} s \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} ś \\ \text{ᳶ} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$; $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} j \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} jy \\ \text{ᳶ} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, though some sister-languages do not do this. The pronunciation of the vowels ᳵ (as ru) and ᳶ (as lu) are different from those of the Bengalee. So when we find in any old writing the distinction clearly preserved between $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ \text{ᳶ} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$; $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} l \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} l \\ \text{ᳶ} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ we would have reason to presume the writing to be Oria, if there be other indications (use of palm leaf, the circular toppings of letters), internal and external, that the language is Oria.

From the language of some old inscriptions and copperplates and Mādālā Pāñji we conclude that the present-day Oria has stuck to the old Oria form more faithfully than many of the modern vernaculars.

Now let us deal with the Oria script. The Oria script has been adopted from the Magadhi script which was the descendant of Brahmi script through Kuṭila and Devnāgar scripts. From stone inscriptions and copperplates scholars infer that by the 10th century A.D. Oria script had developed into a peculiar one and had become distinct from its mother. A comparison of Devnāgar with the present-day Oria script, as well as with the Oria script of the 13th and 14th centuries, convinces even a casual observer that except for the curves,

caps, and circles, the Oria follows Devnāgar faithfully. These circular curves, the Oria has in common with the Dravidian scripts, the Telugu letters have most of the big curves below and the Tamil have the curves both below and above, the Sinhalese and Burmese letters seem more akin to the Oria scripts in this respect. From the connection of Ceylon with Orissa from the Buddhistic period and from Kalinga Settlements in Burmese coasts, it would be interesting for the research scholar to try to find out if the comparison of Sinhalese, Burmese, and Oria scripts can lead us to some linguistic, historical, and philological discoveries. The curves of the Oria script have the peculiarity that except a few letters $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a, \bar{a}, dh, th \\ \text{ଐ, ଈ, ଋ, ୠ} \end{array} \right\}$ the Oria letters have bigger curves on the head than at the foot. However, the curvatures were the outcome of the necessity of writing on palm leafs with iron stylos (lekhana) which forced the writer to evade the drawing of horizontal lines and make them circular.

One can very easily and without fear of contradiction infer that the Bengali and Oria scripts have descended from the same mother, whoever she be, and that Bengali and Oria are two uterine sisters. Still Oria script is quite different from the Bengali in the north and north-east, the Kaithi, Hindi, and Behari in the north and north-west, and the Marhatti and Gujrati on the west, though these are either Devnagar or descended from that script. However, it can be affirmed with certainty that the Oria script had been established as a quite different script by the 14th century A.D.

These remarks have been deemed necessary as some scholars have urged that the Oria did not possess a different script or language and that it is a dialect of the Bengali.

It may be mentioned here that the authors and architects of the peculiar carvings and architectural products of Khandagiri, Bhubaneswar, Konarak (ranging from the 3rd to the 13th century A.D.) must have possessed a language and technique of their own which they must have used, learnt, and taught during these centuries. But we have not yet been able to get any writing or text in Prakrit of those periods, and no attempt has been made by us to collect such books.

Buddhism declined in Orissa by 500 A.D. and a religious conflict or rather fusion was going on between Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism down to the 12th century A.D., and this conflict ended

in the rise of the Sahajā Dharma which is Buddhism in the garb of Hinduism and which became the popular religion. This movement and religion must have their peculiar phraseology, rituals, and text-books, which also remain to be unearthed. We have not yet been able to get any religious writing of that period.

The paucity of books written in Oria language is due to the influence of the Brahmans who were brought from Kanyakubja by Jajāṭikeśari and who settled in Orissa in the 5th century A.D. These Brahman settlers did not like the civilisation and language of the original inhabitants of the province and called the language Prakrit. Then came the great Hindu religious reformer Śaṅkara in the 8th century A.D. He gave a blow to Prakrit by composing everything in easy Sanscrit, so that people might understand and use it in preference to the Pah, the vernacular of the Buddhists. Buddhism, finding itself nonplussed by Śaṅkara, gradually merged into Hinduism which took delight in expressing religious formulas and rites in mystic forms and songs.

The oldest Oria can be traced in some copperplate inscriptions found in Patia (Cuttack District) and Bhuvanesvar (Puri District) and ascribed to Śubhākarakeśari, a king of Orissa in the 7th century A.D. It is in Brāhmi-Kuṭila script and the language is Oria.

Then we come to some palm leaf and paper manuscripts discovered from Nepal by the President of our Association and published under the name of *Bauddha Gāna and Dohā*, to which I have referred above. They are ascribed to the 10th century A.D. Pandit Binayak Miśra has advanced some arguments and internal evidence to prove that some of the songs are Oria. Before we can claim the fruits of the Mahāmahopādhyāya's labours to be ours, we must devote much more research to the subject than we have done yet and unearth some materials from which we can independently establish that the language and script used in the Nepalese manuscripts are Oria and not Bengalee. From a reference to the list of the authors of Buddhist Tantras appended to the book we find the names of six Orias who were either authors or translators. Attempts should be made to discover some of their writings before we can pronounce any opinion on the Bauddha Gānas and Dohās, though some of them appear to be composed by an Oria Sādhaka—Kāhṇupāda alias Kṛṣṇācārya Pāda. By these 'Dohās' one's attention is drawn to a similar class of songs under the name of '*Jogindra dānda Dhuā*' and '*Śarira*

bheda Bhajana ' which are sung in almost every hamlet of Orissa by illiterate cultivators and labourers.

Leaving these Dohās we come to the *Mādlā Pāñji*, the annals, which were begun to be preserved in the Puri Temple since the 11th century A.D. by King Choraṅga Deva. Though there are reasons to hold that there have been interpolations, additions, and alterations to the original entries, still the language used by them and preserved up-to-date clearly show them to be the bygone form of the present-day Oria.

As *Bhāgavatagharas* are peculiar to Orissa, *Bhāgvat Gādis*—collection of palm leaf manuscripts—are also to be found in every ancient and respectable family of Orissa, having a place near the domestic Deity. The contents of most of these *Bhāgvat Gādis* of Orissa are yet a sealed book to the research scholar. The first thing our research scholars and literary associations should take in hand should be the rummaging of these *Bhāgvat Gādis* to find out what gems of Prakrit and Oria they contain, which will enable us to fill up the gap between Śubhākarakeśari and *Mādlā Pāñji*.

However, from some of the manuscripts ranging from the 11th century A.D. to the present time which have been printed and published, we find a gradual growth and development of the Oria language and literature which show that there have been distinct marks of change in taste and character of the people.

Markanda Das, the author of the *Keshaba Koili* which exhibits a finished cut of pure Oria style and a high order of romantic poetry, is the first poet known. He was of the 12th or 13th century A.D. His piece is a *Chautisa*, i.e. 34 stanzas, each successive stanza beginning with each successive consonant. This *Chautisa* form has been followed by authors even up to the present time. These *Chautisas* paint domestic love, either filial or conjugal, and many of them consist of religious prayers. Their subject-matter is taken either from the *Bhāgvat* or the *Rāmāyaṇ*. From the finished style of Markanda Das one is led to infer that there must have been earlier poets and poems which culminated in Markanda Das. The *Chautisa* was markedly developed during 11th to 14th century A.D. Then came the Oria *Purāṇas*. Sarala Das of the 13th century was the pioneer of *Purāṇa* writing. He seems not to be a Sanscrit scholar. He heard the great epic recited and explained by learned Pandits, remembered the narratives, came home and composed his

Mahābhārat from memory, tinging it with imagination. His Mahābhārat is rich in Oria words, phrases, manners, and customs. His Mahābhārat is read, recited, and worshipped in every village. After Sarala many writers have composed Purāṇas in their own way instead of faithfully translating the Sanscrit originals, so much so, that Pitambar Das has composed a big *Nrsingha Purāṇa* in seven volumes, of which there is no Sanscrit counterpart and which includes the Bhāgvat, the Rāmāyan, the Mahābhārat, and many other Purāṇas. The political condition of the country encouraged the Purāṇa-writings. Buddhism had been suppressed by Śaṅkara, and Hinduism was coming to the forefront and was assuming a popular form. The people became eager to know something of the epics and the Purāṇas. It was not possible for them to read and understand the original Sanscrit works, and there was no facility for getting the books to be read. The Jagannath Temple was complete by the 12th century A.D. and was the centre of a religious revival by the amalgamation of Buddhism with Hinduism. To Lord Jagannath the people and the writers turned their faces, and so we find that the writings are religious and devoted to Lord Jagannath, where they do not relate to the great epics. We mark the style as popular. The kings of Keśari and Gaṅga dynasties set up Brahman villages and made liberal grants to them, but they seem to have encouraged Sanscrit learning and Brahminical lore, instead of the vernacular or the tongue of the masses.

During this period we find many an Oria scholar and expert, famous in many branches of Sanscrit lore throughout India, e.g. Rhetoric, Astronomy, Law, Lexicography, Logic, and annotations of Vedānta Philosophy. Among poets who devoted themselves to the vernacular, we find two classes: (1) authors and composers of Chautisa headed by Markanda Das, and (2) composers of Purāṇas headed by Pitambar Das. These writings evolve a purely Oria style which was termed as Prākṛta. Except a few, all the authors of Prakrit works were non-Brahmans. Towards the end of the rule of the kings of Gaṅga dynasty we find a vernacular literature full of allusions to Buddhistic faith trained into the Vaiṣṇavie trellise. Jagannath Das, an Oria Brahman, was engaged in popularising the Bhāgvat, and he translated the 12 Skandas into popular Oria. When Sri Chaitanya visited Orissa he found a popular form of Vaiṣṇavism prevailing in Orissa which, when analysed, was found to be a veiled form of Buddhism. To the devotees of this faith Chaitanya extended

his embracing hand and styled them as Pañca Śākhās, though they were not strict followers of the Bhāgavata faith.

The Vaiṣṇava faith preached by Chaitanya was different from what he found prevailing in Orissa. However, the prevailing vernacular literature of Orissa was influenced by Chaitanya and we find the vernacular gradually embracing Tantric worship and rituals till it again approached towards the Sanscritic mould.

Then came the Mahomedan invasion and occupation of Orissa in the beginning of the 16th century. For some time the Oria writers went on composing *Rāmāyaṇ*, *Mahābhārat*, *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇ* by translating from the original Sanscrit. Then came a set of poets who may be said to have laid the foundation for the later-day literature. These poets were Sanscrit scholars and tried their best to graft Sanscrit into their Oria writings and followed the rules of composition and rhetoric of Sanscrit. Viswanath Khuntia, the composer of *Vicitra Rāmāyaṇ* which is still sung in every village party of the Ram Lila performance, introduced the various chhandas or metres which are peculiar to the Oria literature. His language is not only easy and homely but has always stuck to the rules of grammar. Then came the poets headed by Dinakṛṣṇa who composed poems under hundreds of chhandas (metres) during the 16th and 17th centuries but were intelligible to the masses. Then came Upendra Bhañja in the 18th century whose command over Sanscrit rhetoric and lexicon made him compose lyrics and ballads which are full of linguistic feats of a very high order. The school of Upendra Bhañja composed works which drew the language again towards Sanscrit rhetoric and vocabulary, and so the masses became gradually separated from this class of writings. In this period we find another class of writers who composed very easy Oria but which were full of Esoteric truths and Tantric formulas which none but the initiated could follow. Amongst these we can count Bhakta Charan, Bhima Dhibar, Bhima Bhoi, Bhupati. However, though Orissa had lost its independence from the 16th century and was the field of plundering operation of the Marhattas, the feudatory chiefs thrived in their strongholds and patronised literature and learning. Many of the Rajas of this period (16th to 18th century) were themselves great scholars and Oria poets. Upendra Bhañja was himself the son of a Raja. Kṛṣṇa Singh was a Raja of Dharakoṭa; the successive Rajas of Chikati were poets of a high order.

Abhimanu followed Bhañja and gave a new turn to the language. He followed the composition and metres and rhetoric of Upendra but made the language comparatively easy and popular. Now a word about 'Chhanda' or metre in Oria will not be out of place here. Though old and modern Sanscrit abounds in metres, still the development of chhandas in Oria poetry is a peculiarity of its own. These metres are sung to the tune by experts and one composition can be sung in more than one metre. For instance, the metre Vaṅgala Śrī can be sung in four different modes to suit different sentiments (Rasas)—the Vira, the Karuṇā, the Raudra, and the Śānta Rasas. The Oria poets of the class of Bhañja have filled our language with rhetorical and linguistic peculiarities of composition, alliterations, and linguistic ornaments which very few Aryan vernaculars of India can boast of. These songs were sung by the masses and till 50 years ago it was common to find ordinary people and even women who could recite pages and pages of Bhañja's poems and explain them very clearly. This shows that the standard of language was then higher than now. Then came the poets who composed Alekha and Nirākāra Bhajans which were revivals of Tantric and Buddhistic garb of Vaisnavism of the old days. Then we come to the age of songs. Bhañja has composed some love songs and Chaupadis, but it was reserved for poets headed by Kavisūrya Baladeva Ratha to develop the song and music-literature of Orissa. The songs are mostly love songs and deal with the love-stories of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The songsters flourished till the classical Oria composition gave rise to the modern composition, influenced by modern English and Bengali literature. For some time when in the beginning of the 19th century Orissa came under the sway of the British, the Bengalees were dominant in the administration, and there came a time when it was doubted whether Oria could maintain its place as a separate language and literature. However, by the middle of the 19th century Oria had been acknowledged as a separate language. Some educated sons of Orissa translated Bengali and English for being used as text-books in schools; and Oria classics were utterly ignored for a time. Then we find that Bengali which was making rapid strides under writers headed by Iswar Chandra and Bankim, was held up as a model on which young writers wanted to build the structure of modern Oria. Poet Radhanath, Rāmśaṅkar, Phakirmohan, Madhusudan moulded Oria poetry, whereas Gourīśaṅkar,

Jagamohan, Bichhanda, Sir Sudhal Deb, Nilamoni Vidyaratna moulded Oriá prose. Formerly, like the poetry of the Bhañja period, the prose style was cumbrous and Sanscritic. But these styles are being gradually abandoned and are giving place to easy style which is used in every-day parlance. Some of the writings of Bhañja period having been couched in language which to our modern taste seems indecorous, English-educated young men, without diving deep into the classics, shunned them like hot potatoes. However, the tendency of the modern civilisation is making itself felt over the Oriá literature, and educated young men have been devoting their time and attention to the study of ancient and classical Oriá, finding out Oriá manuscripts, unearthing Oriá treasures; and we find that scientific, dramatic, archæological, linguistic, philological research and studies are attracting the attention of the younger generations. Still, one is disheartened by the superficial nature of the labours of most of our scholars who lack the patience, depth, and sustained energy of research scholars in sister-provinces.

WESTERN INFLUENCE IN ORIYA LITERATURE.

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The contact of the west with Orissa is not of recent date, her geographical position made her coast a vantage-ground for trade-seeking invaders, we need not dwell on any ancient or mediæval accounts of the contact between Orissa and the west, but may point, in modern times, to the Portuguese who, coming up from Madras along the coast, founded an establishment at Pipili, which they utilised as a prosperous slave market, for residence, and also as a church (Our Lady of Rosary). The Portuguese had another settlement at Balasore where also they built a church. These settlements flourished in the middle of the 17th century and from that period up to the 19th the political turmoils stirred the life of the times and that made it impossible for western culture to act upon the inhabitants of the province. These settlers had perhaps then very little culture to give, busy as they must have been in stabilising their own position and recruited as they were mainly from a class of people not conspicuous for intellectual culture. The result of these 150 years' stay and sway of the Portuguese is to be found, among other things, in the vocabulary of the Oriya language in which 34 words have been traced to a Portuguese origin by Mr. J J A. Campos in his account of the rise and decline of the Portuguese power in Bengal. It was only in the first years of the 19th century that the English came into power in Orissa and so they could not, until towards the end of the century, when they were well-established, set in motion forces which turned the current of Orissan thought, and along with it Orissan literature, in a distinct channel,—to indicate which is the aim of this paper.

It is interesting to observe that the British influence, once it had begun, was made to spread in a systematic way and with thoroughness. This is true of all India. A system of education by which the minds while in a plastic condition may feed on English literature, western philosophy, European history, and may receive practical lessons in democracy, into giving up all notions of caste, at least for the period of training in schools and colleges; the printing

press and the newspapers which have helped in linking the country, however slightly, both to its ancient traditions and its present environment and thus promoted a solidarity which has greatly contributed to the growth of nationality; movements, religious, social and political, which have passed over India causing numerous changes in the shades of thought and ways of living; an administration which levelled barriers through its courts of law and code of procedure, criminal and civil, uniform throughout the provinces; the mere fact that neighbouring provinces are affected by the influence, —all these served as channels opening up the new currents through the hills and dales of Orissa and bringing about changes in mentality which in turn would be, as they actually have been, reflected in the literature of the country.

What has been the result in literature? Let us detail some of the changes. First, in prose forms; for the consolidation of prose, grammars and dictionaries are necessary, and western attempts laid the foundation. The first grammar of the Oriya language¹ was written by Rev. A. Sutton and published in 1831. To the author of this pioneer attempt it came as a discovery that 'the Oriya language was a distinct, and an original one'. The printing press in Orissa had come into being along with the initiation of active propaganda by the Baptist Mission of England and Rev. Sutton was a member of the Mission. The difference between the traditional *kośa*, in which a string of synonyms was given as in the *Gṛābhidhān* of Upendra Bhañja authorship (which must be a doubtful matter), and between the new type which gives different uses of the same word, with illustrative references, as in Jagannath Rao's *Utkal Abhidhān*,² must be put down as due to English and Bengali models, which Mr. Rao acknowledges in the preface. It may be noted that Rev. Sutton had followed his Oriya Grammar with an Oriya Dictionary in 1841 and this book was published in three volumes in Cuttack. Mr. Sutton was aware of the importance of his work and wrote: 'A compiler of dictionaries is a kind of pioneer in literature.' W. C. Lacy, Rev. W. Miller, and H. C. B. Hallam are other names worth recording by those who wish to trace

¹ Rev. A. Sutton—*An Introductory Grammar of the Oriya language*, Calcutta, 1831.

Jagannath Rao—*Utkal Abhidhān*.

western influence in Oriya, in the making of modern Oriya language and literature. Like many other Indian Vernaculars, more or less, modern Oriya prose has been largely due to western models and necessities of life and civil administration, and the different prose forms, the novel, the essay, the newspaper, etc. are directly or indirectly traceable to English influence. Such a work as *Bibāsini* or *Māmu* was impossible in the past, before the days of British influence, not only with regard to the critical, satirical attitude towards life, but also in point of prose style. The whole world of prose—and it is not a small world either—is due directly or indirectly to similar works in English prose.

Let us now turn to verse forms. The major portion of Oriya verse is even to-day quite classical or traditional in diction and style, but while this is true of the poetry of Radhanath Ray, one of the three pioneers in modern Oriya literature, how much has been the influence of the west on him in the matter of literary forms and in a new literary sense which, passing out from him, forms a rich contribution to modern Oriya literature. *Mahāyātrā*, incomplete in 9 cantos or *sargas*, is in blank verse, and though the preface written by a friend of the poet's asserts that there is nothing strange in the medium but that the Sanskrit poetry has many models to show the way to blank verse, we must put that down to the patriotic bias. The western influence in it has been acknowledged by Mr. Rao in that same preface. Again, the book is an epic, an epic fragment which, in tone and composition, is something new, not familiar to the language,—it is in perfect consonance with the influence of Milton and other westerners, filtrating through the writings of Michael Madhusudan Datta, to whom Radhanath had served an apprenticeship in literature. The address of homage which begins the book, the patriotic motive, the romance of history,—all these new features are traceable to western influence. Again, the few fragments on the plan of the *Virāṅganā Kāvya* which are to be found in his writings, as ସୂକ୍ଷ୍ମରକ୍ତ ପ୍ରଭ ବ୍ୟାସ or ସତୀ ପ୍ରଭ ସତୀଦ୍ରୋହୀ ସତର ଉକ୍ତି, are also new forms animated by a new spirit. The reader of Radhanath's writings cannot help noticing that he was widely read in Scott and Byron, or their Bengali admirers who popularised their methods through Bengali literature. Madhusudan Rao, the literary comrade of Radhanath, in spite of his deep admiration for things of the land, had also been influenced by the west, e.g. in his sonnets and elegies,—

forms new to Oriya. It remained for succeeding writers to continue in their line and to adopt or acclimatise the new forms whose newness has worn off with use.

Similarly with regard to drama; the old *yātrās* which had charmed by the stories of Rama and Sita were no longer to please the changed spirit of the people. Both in subject and in technique there had been much of a change. The dramatists of the new age were busy satirising the follies of the times. Ram Shankar Ray is a suitable example, being the leader of the new school. It is interesting to note the different attempts at finding suitable terms for the English names—*scene* and *act*. Harihar Rath, Mrityunjoy Rath and Ramshankar Ray sometimes use *Aṅka* and *Abhinay*, sometimes *Drśya* and *Aṅka*, in order to convey the distinction, and the student is reminded of similar attempts in Bengali literature.

It is still an open question how far Oriya literature received western influence directly and how far through the medium of Bengali. The bond of Vaishnavism between the two countries, the establishment of one university for both, and many other ways of interaction make it probable that Oriya was influenced through Bengali. Even many of the words cited by Mr Campos referred to above are common to Bengali and Oriya, and it would be an interesting problem for the philologist to answer—‘Which of the two sets, Bengali and Oriya, first adopted these words from the Portuguese?’ The comparative delay of the influence is explained by the medium of Bengali, which could not work and did not, till the seventies. There could not have been any talks of cultural interchange so long as the baneful results of the dire famine of 1867 raged through the province, when rice sold at 10 to 12 seers per rupee¹ and made 15,000 children helpless and destitute, in the city of Cuttack alone, and over which there had been a debate, deserving better publicity, in the House of Commons on August 2, 1867. The great pioneer of modern Oriya literature was Radhanath Ray, whose *Lekhāvalī* was written in Bengali and under the influence of Michael Madhusudan. The mere fact that Bhudev Mukhopadhyaya, a mentor to Radhanath in matters literary and miscellaneous, took up the rôle of Mr. Drinkwater Bethune to the young poet and induced him to

¹ *Indian Mirror*, July 15, 1867.

write in Oriya shows the part played by Bengali literature in the make-up of Radhanath. The Oriya poet himself complained that the literature of his country had been too much under the shadow of the Bengali literature which was very much to be deplored. He complained that not to speak of the Bengali literature, but even the Hindi literature was marching ahead, while Oriya was in a static condition. The Bengali had been a help in bringing within the scope of the Oriya, a wealth of information, but at the sacrifice of his distinctiveness.

ବଙ୍ଗୀୟ ସାହିତ୍ୟର ତା କଥା ନାହିଁ, ହିନ୍ଦି ସାହିତ୍ୟ ମଧ୍ୟ ସେପରି ସିପ୍ରଗଣରେ
ଅଗ୍ରସର ହେଉଅଛି ତାହାର ଭୁଲନାରେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ସାହିତ୍ୟକୁ ଜଡ଼ବଳ ସ୍ଥାୟୀ
କହିଲେ ଅଭୁକ୍ତି ହେବ ନାହିଁ ।.....ବଙ୍ଗସାହିତ୍ୟର ଚର୍ଚ୍ଚା ଦ୍ଵାରା ଆତ୍ମମାନକର
ଜୀବନ ପ୍ରସାର ହୋଇଅଛି ସତ୍ୟ, ମାତ୍ର ମୌଳିକତା ବହୁସରମାଣରେ ନଷ୍ଟ ହୋଇଅଛି ।¹

Speaking of modern times, it is a common experience to come across specimens of Oriya literature composed under the influence of Bengali, and thus exhibiting traces of western influence in form and temper.

It is, however, apparent that there has been less, far less, of western influence in Oriya than in Bengali. It has been neither so deep nor so extensive. And there are reasons for it. Among others it may be suggested that the centre of distribution of the influence has been Calcutta, the seat of the university, the seat of the provincial government and the centre of commerce. Cultural confusion has been nowhere so great as in Bengal, as may be seen on reference to the Census figures for 1921, in Bengal 339 males per ten thousand of age 5 and up were literate in English, while the number of Bihar and Orissa was only 78. The force applied at the centre becomes attenuated a great deal as it passes on to the periphery, and the physical inaccessibility of Orissa has also helped in preserving her literature, as it has her architecture, intact, her indigenous culture uncontaminated, and who knows if that is not one of the reasons why there is no artistic renaissance in Orissa as there is in Bengal ?

¹ Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Utkal Sahitya Samaj by Radhanath Ray.

ANCIENT RHETORICAL COMPOSITION IN ORISSA.

PANDIT BINAYAK MIŚRA.

Among the ancient Indian vernaculars, Oriya possessed a unique position in the matter of rhetoric literary composition. Scholars are often inclined to say that the Oriya rhetoric style owes its origin to the great poet Upendrabhañja who flourished in the first part of the 18th century A.C. As regards the rhetoric composition, it is admitted on all hands that Upendrabhañja surpasses Magha, the renowned author of the Sanskrit *Śiśupālavadha*. But the view held by the majority of the scholars that Upendrabhañja was the originator of the rhetoric style in Oriya composition, can hardly be unchallenged. In nature we observe that everything develops gradually and as such the Oriya literature may not be believed to have escaped the law of nature. In that case, it can be conjectured that the composition under discussion was earlier than Upendrabhañja's time. This assumption is corroborated by *Pūrnātama-Candrodaya* written by Brindāvatī Dāsi who is undoubtedly known to be earlier in date than Upendrabhañja.

Brindāvatī Dāsi was a poetess and her work is replete with the Śrīṅkhalā Alāṅkāra. It is, therefore, evident that the rhetoric style was so popular in the ancient literary society of Orissa that Brindāvatī Dāsi could not resist her temptation of following the style under discussion. Apparently she followed it in order to popularise her work and to acquire a poetic reputation. But the source of such style has not properly been investigated. According to the view of some scholars, the rhetoric composition, found in the Sanskrit work *Śiśupālavadha*, exercised a great influence on the ancient Oriya literature. But none has taken note of the fact that long before the date of composition of the said Sanskrit work, the style in question was in vogue in the Sanskrit literary field of Orissa. In support of this, the ancient copperplate records discovered in Orissa may be taken into consideration.

In the text of the Hindol plate of Śubhākara (*J.B. & O.R.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 77), we find the Virodhābhāṣa alāṅkāra, which conveys the double meaning, each opposite to the other. (*Nikhila jana pramoda vikaṣita kamalopyativrakaraḥ*.) In the text quoted

here, the donor of the grant has been compared with the sun, in respect of causing the delight of every person to bloom and at the same time he is said to be unlike the sun having the glowing heat. Similarly, the following stanza, occurring in the *Premasudhānīdhī*, discloses that the hero of the poem was attached and at the same time averse to 'Varavarṇṇinī'.

Varavarṇṇinī—lilāre nohilā lālasa

Varavarṇṇinī—lilāre hoi ati vaśa

The word 'Varavarṇṇinī' gives here two significances, lovely woman and turmeric paste, as the word Tivrakara occurring in the text quoted above signifies the scorching heat of the sun as well as the oppressive tax.

The Anuprāsa Alaṅkāra or alliteration found in the text of the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana Mahādevī bears comparison with that occurring in the *Lavanyavatī* of Upendrabhaṇḍa. Again we find the Śrīṅkhala Alaṅkāra in the text of the plate of Ranabhaṇḍa the remote ancestor of Upendrabhaṇḍa. I now quote below the lines from the text of Ranabhaṇḍa's plate for illustration.

Ghora sambhrānta kiṅkara kṛitānta nitānta bhinnam |

Bhinnāndhakāśura mahāgahanātapatra |

These lines may be compared with the following lines of Upendrabhaṇḍa's *Lavanyavatī*.

Dara chaya hara dhira praśamsāra |

Sāra āya kara kara e saṁsāra ||

The final word Sāra of the 1st line of Upendrabhaṇḍa's writing, has become the initial word of the succeeding line as second line of the Sanskrit text quoted above begins with the word Bhinna, which is the final word of the first line of the same verse.

I have proved without the fear of contradiction in my article on the plate of Nittabhaṇḍa which is expected to be shortly published in the *Journal* of Bihar and Orissa Research Society that the plates referred to above belong to the 8th century A.C.

The work *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* of the 13th century A.C. proves beyond doubt that Orissa was famous for the rhetoric Sanskrit composition. It is therefore not difficult to ascertain why the ancient Oriya poets resorted to a style of composition which is quite unknown to the ancient poets of all other Indian vernaculars.

Hindi Section.

President :

BABU ŚYAM SUNDAR DAS.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

BABU SYAM SUNDAR DAS.

यद्यपि अनेक वर्षों से भारतीयों में अपने देश संबंधी प्राचीन शोधों की चर्चा चल रही है और उन्होंने उस क्षेत्र में गौरव का स्थान भी प्राप्त कर लिया है, फिर भी उनका ध्यान अपने देश में प्रचलित आधुनिक देश-भाषाओं की ओर अब तक आकृष्ट नहीं हुआ था और प्रायः उपेक्षा के भाव से ही उनका आदर सत्कार होता रहा, पर अब समय के प्रवाह में पड़कर हममें जो अपनी सब वस्तुओं के लिये एक विशेष प्रकार के आदर-भाव की जागृति हुई है उसी के प्रभाव से प्रेरित होकर हमको अपनी भिन्न भिन्न देश-भाषाओं की ओर भी उचित ध्यान देना पड़ा है और हम उनके प्राचीन इतिहास की खोज करने तथा उसके तथ्यों का विवेचन करने के लिये प्रयत्न हुए हैं। यह हमारे लिये कम आनंद और संतोष की बात नहीं है, यद्यपि कदाचित् यह कह देना भी अनुचित न होगा कि इस प्रयत्न को अभी अधिक पुष्ट और परिमार्जित करने की आवश्यकता है। जहाँ हम प्राचीन शोध की ओर आकृष्ट हुए हैं और उसमें हमने अच्छी सफलता प्राप्त की है वहाँ साथ ही हमारे तथा अन्य देशवासियों के भारतीय प्राचीन शोधों के परिणामों से हमारी देशभाषाएं प्रायः वंचित रही हैं और हम भ्रमवश अपने भारतीय साहित्य की अगुण्टि तथा त्रुटि न करके विदेशीय माध्यम द्वारा विदेशीय साहित्य का भांडार भरने में लगे हुए हैं। कुछ लोग कह सकते हैं कि मनुष्य की वस्तु तो शोध है, माध्यम का स्थान अत्यंत गौण है; पर इस कथन में तथ्य होते हुए भी यह केवल हेतुवाद ही पर अवलंबित है। संसार के सब काम हेतुवाद से नहीं, वरन् भावनाओं से ही प्रेरित होकर होते हैं और उन्हीं देश, साहित्य तथा भाषा का मान होता है जिनके सेवकों में परिमार्जित तथा उत्कृष्ट भावनाओं का बाहुल्य है और जो उससे प्रेरित होकर अपने कर्तव्यपथ पर अग्रसर होते रहते हैं। क्या यह आशा करना अनुचित होगा कि शीघ्र ही हमारी प्रयत्न में भी वांछित परिवर्तन होगा और हम पहले क्षुधा से व्याकुल अपने उदरों की तृप्ति करके तब दूसरों के परिहर्ष उदरों पर हाथ फेरेंगे। उन्हीं भावनाओं से प्रेरित होकर मैं अपना नम्र निवेदन अपनी भाषा में उपस्थित करने का साहस करता हूँ और ऐसा करने का अवसर देने के लिये आप सबके प्रति अपनी हार्दिक कृतज्ञता प्रकट करता हूँ।

ओरियंटल कानफरेंस का यह तीसरा अधिवेशन है जिसमें हिंदी का अलग विभाग स्थापित करके इसके संचालकों ने अपनी दूरदर्शिता, देशहितैषिता, मातृ-भाषा-प्रेम तथा काष्ठ-ज्ञान का जो परिचय दिया है उसके लिये वे सब हमारे धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं। इस अधिवेशन के हिंदी विभाग के सभापति का आसन देकर आप सभासद्यों ने जो मेरा आदर किया है और मुझे गौरव प्रदान किया है उसके लिये मैं आपका हृदय से कृतज्ञ हूँ तथा सादर आपका अभिवादन करता हूँ।

हिंदी भाषा और साहित्य का इतिहास अन्य आर्य देश-भाषाओं की अपेक्षा अपने प्राचीन साहित्य की गरिमा के कारण तथा हिंदी भाषा के साम्राज्य की सीमा अधिक विस्तृत होने के कारण, अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण है और इसी लिए उसमें प्राचीन शोध की सामग्री भी अधिक उपलब्ध है। मेरा उद्देश्य इस छोटे से भाषण में आप लोगों का ध्यान उन विषयों की ओर दिलाना होगा जिनके संबंध में अभी बहुत कुछ शोध करने की आवश्यकता है।

हिंदी-भाषा और साहित्य के काल-विभाग पर बहुत कुछ मतभेद रहा है और अभी तक है। मैंने यह विभाग इस प्रकार किया है और मुझे संतोष है कि इसे बहुत से विद्वानों ने उपयुक्त ठहराया है, जिनमें हमारी कानफरेंस के खनामधन्य विद्वान् सभापति रायबहादुर बाबू हीरालाल जी भी हैं।

वीरगाथाकाल	१०५०	१४००	वि०
भक्तिकाल	१४००	१७००	वि०
रौतिकाल	१७००	१८००	वि०
गद्यकाल	१८००	१८८७	वि०

हिंदी-साहित्य का आरंभ कब से हुआ इसका कोई स्पष्ट प्रमाण अब तक नहीं मिला। इसमें तो कोई संदेह नहीं है कि जब अपभ्रंश ने पूर्णतया साहित्यिक रूप धारण कर लिया होगा और उसमें रचनाएँ बज्जलता से होने लगी होंगी उसके पहले ही से हिंदी-साहित्य का आरंभ हुआ होगा। दोनों बहुत दिनों तक साथ साथ चलती रहीं होंगी और आपस में शब्दों, उनके कारकरूपों तथा क्रियापदों का प्रचुरता से आदान प्रदान होता रहा होगा; जिससे अपभ्रंश के उत्तर रूप और हिंदी के आदिम रूप में क्रमशः समानता आकर हिंदी का नया रूप विकसित हुआ होगा। जो कुछ पता अब तक चला है उसके अनुसार अपभ्रंश की प्राचीनतम कविता संवत् ८९० की देवसेन नामक एक जैन ग्रंथकार की लिखी मिली है जिसकी भाषा को हम हिंदी का आदिम रूप कह सकते हैं। इनकी कविता में बहुत से शब्द और उनके रूप ऐसे मिलते हैं जो अब तक या तो ज्यों के त्यों अथवा बहुत कम परिवर्तन के साथ हिंदी में प्रयुक्त होते हैं। अपभ्रंश का जो अंतिम नमूना हमें प्राप्य है वह विद्यापति ठाकुर की कविता का है। इनका काल १४६० के लगभग है। अतएव यह स्पष्ट है कि कम से कम ८९० से लेकर १४६० तक, लगभग ५०० वर्षों तक, अपभ्रंश साहित्य की भाषा रही; पर ८९० के नमूने देखकर यह स्पष्ट अनुमान किया जा सकता है कि साहित्य में अपभ्रंश का आरंभ कम से कम १५०—२०० वर्ष पहले अवश्य हुआ होगा। बाबू हीरालाल जी मेरी पुस्तक 'हिंदी भाषा और साहित्य' की नागरीप्रचारिणी पत्रिका (भाग ११ अंक २) में आलोचना करते हुए लिखते हैं "वर्णचरित्र में लिखा है कि बाण जब धमण करने को निकलता तब उसके साथ एक भाषा कवि और प्राकृत कवि रहता। यह ईसवी सातवीं सदी की बात है। इसके पूर्व पाँचवीं सदी के लगभग गुप्त नरेशों के समय में भी देशभाषा के अस्तित्व का पता लगता है। नारद-स्मृति में लिखा है कि गुप्त की साहित्य कि अपने शिष्य को संस्कृत, प्राकृत और देशभाषा द्वारा बोध करावे। यह देशभाषा कोई द्राविड़ी भाषा थी जो

इस देश के मूल निवासियों की बोली थी या आर्यभाषा से निकली हुई जनसमूह के बोलचाल की भाषा थी? विद्यामहोदय श्रीमान् काशीप्रसाद जायसवाल ने सतर्क बतलाया है कि नारद के समय में प्राकृत पड़िताज भाषा हो गई थी और बोलचाल की भाषा न रह गई थी। बोलचाल की भाषा देशभाषा कहलाती थी और यही पुरानी हिंदी थी। जब इसका तारतम्य सातवीं सदी तक पाया जाता है तब इसकी खोज लगाना और यथोचित विवेचन करना आवश्यक जान पड़ता है।” इस अवतरण से और ऊपर जो कुछ कहा गया है उससे स्पष्ट है कि वर्षचरित्र की भाषा और नारद-स्मृति की देशभाषा से तात्पर्य अपभ्रंश के अतिरिक्त दूसरी किसी भाषा से नहीं हो सकता। यह उस समय बोलचाल की भाषा रही होगी और पीछे से इसने साहित्यिक रूप धारण किया होगा। इस अवस्था में यह कह देना कि हिंदी का आदि कवि पुष्प या पुण्य नाम का था जिसने संवत् ७७० के लगभग अलंकार शास्त्र पर एक ग्रंथ दोहों में लिखा था सर्वथा अनुचित जान पड़ता है। अपभ्रंश का दूदा हद प्रसिद्ध है। शिवसिंह सेगर ने अपने ‘सरोज’ में इसको ‘हिंदी की जड़’ कहा है। इससे यह अनुमान कर लेना कि वह हिंदी का आदि कवि था बड़े साहस की बात है। यदि ‘जड़’ शब्द को सार्थक करना ही अभिप्रेत ही तो उससे पुष्प या पुण्य अपभ्रंश का आदि कवि माना जाना कोई असंगत बात न होगी, क्योंकि आधुनिक हिंदी और उसकी उपभाषाओं की उत्पत्ति अपभ्रंश से ही हुई है। यहाँ तक बात रहती तो कोई चिंता नहीं थी। पर पुष्प के अनंतर छुमानरासो के रचयिता एक ब्रह्मभट्ट, भुवाल, नंद, कुतुब अलौ, अकरम फैज आदि अनेक कवियों के नाम लिए जाते हैं जिनकी छति का एक भी जमूना कहीं नहीं मिलता। इस अवस्था में उनके अस्तित्व की मानकर तथा उन्हें हिंदी के आदि काल का कवि स्वीकार करके ऐतिहासिक तथ्य का विवेचन करना कहाँ तक संगत है यह मैं आप लोगों को विवेक-बुद्धि पर ही छोड़ता हूँ। इन कल्पित नामों को (क्योंकि उन्हें कल्पित के अतिरिक्त दूसरा विशेषण देना संगत नहीं जान पड़ता) ढोड़कर मित्रबधुओं ने अपने ‘विनोद’ में कई ऐसे कवियों के नाम दिए हैं जिन्हें वे आदि काल के मानते हैं। इनमें से मैं केवल दो तीन नामों को आपके सम्मुख उपस्थित करके यह दिखलाना चाहता हूँ कि वे वास्तव में आदि काल के नहीं वरन् बड़त पीछे के हैं।

इनमें से एक तो भगवद्गीता का अनुवाद है जो १००० संवत् का माना गया है। पर वास्तव में यह १७०० संवत् का है जैसा कि स्पष्ट प्रमाणित हो चुका है। दूसरा ग्रंथ ‘पतली’ है जिसके विषय में मित्र-बंधुओं का कहना है कि यह ग्रंथ संवत् १९४७ में बना। पर यह स्पष्ट प्रमाणित हो गया है कि इस ग्रंथ का निर्माण-काल संवत् १८०० है। यह सब कहने का तात्पर्य इतना ही है कि हिंदीसाहित्य का आदि काल संवत् १०५० के पूर्व ले जाने के लिये अभी तक कोई ऐतिहासिक प्रमाण प्राप्त नहीं हुआ है, वरन् जो कुछ प्रमाण मिलते हैं उनसे यही सिद्धान्त निकलता है कि इसका आरंभ विक्रम की ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी के आरंभ में हुआ होगा। यह काल उत्तर-पश्चिम से मुसलमानों के आक्रमणों के आरंभ का था। इस समय से लेकर हजौरेद के समय तक मुसलमानों के आक्रमण निरंतर होते रहे। पहले तो वे लूट-मार करके अपने देश की लूट जाते थे, पर पीछे से उनके

प्रतिनिधि भारतवर्ष में रहकर यहाँ का शासन-कार्य करते रहे और अंत में हम्मीरदेव के पराजय के साथ उनके पैर इस देश में पूर्णतया जम गए। यह ३०० वर्षों का काल हिंदी का आदि युग माना गया है। इस युग में हमें विशेषकर दो प्रकार की रचनाएँ मिलती हैं—एक तो गीत काव्य के रूप में, दूसरी प्रबंध काव्य के रूप में। गीत काव्य का आरंभ सब देशों में पहले हुआ है और यही बात यहाँ भी हुई। पर इस प्रकार की रचनाओं के अस्तित्व का आधार मानव-स्मृति रहने के कारण उनकी भाषा में बहुत कुछ उलट फेर हो गया है और उनमें प्रचिप्त अंश भी बहुत कुछ मिल गया है। इस स्थिति में ये गीत काव्य हमारे विवेचन में असंदिग्ध रूप से सहायक नहीं हो सकते। प्रबंध काव्यों के रूप में सब से पुराना ग्रंथ किंवदन्ती के आधार पर शृङ्गाररासो है। इसके असली होने के संबंध में भी विद्वानों में बड़ा मतभेद है। कोई तो इसे वास्तविक रूप में वर्तमान मानते हैं और कोई इसको सर्वथा जाली बतलाकर इसका वर्तमान रूप में आविर्भाव संवत् १९०० के पीछे का मानते हैं। इस ग्रंथ के वर्तमान रूप को देखकर यह अवश्य मानना पड़ता है कि यह ग्रंथ जिस रूप में इस समय वर्तमान है वह पुराना नहीं है, वरन् उसमें बहुत कुछ प्रचिप्त अंश मिला हुआ है।

उदयपुर के विहोरिया हवाल पुस्तकालय में शृङ्गाररासो की एक हस्तलिखित प्रति है। यह संवत् १८१७ की लिखी है। इसमें सब मिलाकर ६९ प्रस्ताव हैं। प्रत्येक प्रस्ताव के अंत में उस प्रस्ताव की समाप्ति तथा अगले प्रस्ताव का नाम दिया है, जैसे तीसरे प्रस्ताव के अंत की पुष्पिका इस प्रकार है—“इति श्री कवि चंद्र विरचिते शृङ्गाररासो के दिल्ली किल्ली कथा वर्णने नाम तृतीय प्रस्ताव संपूर्णम् ॥ अथ कन्हपटि लिखते।” इस प्रति में अंतिम प्रस्ताव विवाह प्रस्ताव है जिसकी समाप्ति के अनन्तर पुष्पिका इस प्रकार है—

“इति श्री विवाह संम्यो संपूर्ण। शुभ भवतु। संवत् १८१७ रा वर्षे मांसीत्तम मासे भाद्रपदमासती कृष्णपक्षे तिथि ॥ ६ ॥ बुधे लिषति श्री उदयपुर मध्ये माहाराणाजी श्री श्री श्री १०८ श्री सरूप सिंहजी विजय राजे लिषितं यास अन्दरनाथ चन्द्रनाथ मन्यानी बड़ा पलीपास खोम राय श्री निवासजी री अंसपुरी मध्ये श्री हजूर में लषाणी श्रीरसु कल्याणमस्तु शुभं भवतु ॥”

६८ वें समय की पुष्पिका के अनन्तर नीचे लिखे दो क्ये और एक दोहा दिया है—

“मिलि पंकज गन उदधि करद कागद कातरनी।

कोटि कवी काजलद कमल करिक ते करनी ॥

इहि तिथि संख्या गुनित कहै कका कवियांने।

इह अस लेपनहार भेद भेदे सोइ जाने ॥

इन कष्ट ग्रंथ पूरन करय जन वंश्या दुख नां लखय।

पाखिये जतन पुस्तक पवित्र लिपि लेषक विनती करय ॥

गुन मनियन रस पोइ चंद कवियन कर दिखिय।

बंद गुनी ते तुष्टि मंद कवि भिन भिन किहिय ॥

देस देस विषयि मेल गुन पार न पावय ।

उदिस करि मेखवत आसविन आलय आवय ॥

चित्रकोट रान अमरेस नप हित त्रैमुष आयस द्यौ ।

गुन विन बीन करुणा उदधि लिखि रासौ उदिस कियौ ॥

दूहा—लघु दौरघ ओहौ अधिक जो ककु अतर होय ।

सो कवियन मुष सुद्ध तें कहौ आप बुधि सोय ॥”

पहले हमें दूसरे बंद पर विचार करना है। इसमें स्पष्ट लिखा है कि गुण रूपी मणियों को रस में पिरोकर चंद ने इसे कवियों के हाथ में दिया, पर बंद रस्सी से टूट गये और मंद कवियों ने उन्हें अलग अलग कर दिया। वे देश देश में बिखर गए और उनका मेल नहीं बैठता था। चित्रकोट (चित्तौड़) के राणा अमरेस नृपति की आज्ञा से उद्योग कर इन बिखरे हुए बंदों को मिलाकर इस रासो को पूर्ण करने का उद्योग किया गया। इसका सारांश यही है कि चंद कवि का प्रथीराजरासो मंद कवियों के हाथ में पड़कर बिन्न-भिन्न हो गया था और उसके बंद बिखर गए थे। महाराणा अमरसिंह की आज्ञा से इन बंदों का संग्रह किया गया और रासो को नवीन रूप दिया गया। अमरसिंह नाम के दो महाराणा चित्रकोट (चित्तौड़) की गद्दी पर बैठे। पहले अमरसिंह खनामधन्य महाराणा प्रतापसिंह के पुत्र थे। इनका जन्म संवत् १६१६ में, राज्य-प्राप्ति संवत् १६५२ में और स्वर्गारोहण संवत् १६७६ में हुआ। दूसरे महाराणा अमरसिंह का जन्म १७२९, राज्य-प्राप्ति संवत् १७५५ और स्वर्गारोहण संवत् १७६७ में हुआ। इस बात का प्रमाण मिलता है कि दूसरे महाराणा अमरसिंह के पहले प्रथीराजरासो की प्रसिद्धि हो चुकी थी। अतएव यदि रासो का संकलन पहले पहल किसी महाराणा अमरसिंह के समय में हुआ होगा तो वह पहले ही अमरसिंह हो सकते हैं, दूसरे नहीं। महासहोपाध्याय पंडित गौरीशंकर हीराचंद ओझा अपने ‘राजपूताना का इतिहास’ में इस प्रथम अमरसिंह के विषय में लिखते हैं—“वह वीर होने के अतिरिक्त नीतिज्ञ, दयालु, अपने सद्गुणों से अपने सरदारों की प्रीति संपादन करनेवाला, गायी, सुकवि और विद्वानों का आश्रयदाता था।” इन आधारों से हम इस निर्णय पर पहुँचते हैं कि यह काम संवत् १६२६ और १६७६ के बीच में हुआ होगा। काशी-नागरीप्रचारिणी सभा के पुस्तकालय में संवत् १६४२ की लिखी हुई एक प्रति प्रथीराजरासो की है। अतएव हमको इस तथ्य पर पहुँचना पड़ता है कि यह संकलन-कार्य संवत् १६२६ और १६४२ के बीच में हुआ होगा।

अब पहले बंद को लीजिए। इसका पाठ तथा अर्थ बद्धत संदिग्ध है। तीसरी पंक्ति में “इहि तिथि संख्या गुनित” लिखा है जिससे यह भाव निकलता है कि पहली दो पंक्तियों में इस संकलन का संवत् तिथि आदि दी होगी। पर उसका अर्थ स्पष्ट नहीं है। यदि हम पंकज से पंकज नाल (१), गुन को गुन (६) का अष्टाद रूप, उदधि से समुद्र (४) और करद से कटार या चाकू (१) जिसका एक फल होता है, मान लें तो संवत् १६४१ बनता है। शेष शब्दों में मास तिथि आदि होगी। पर वह स्पष्ट

नहीं होता। यदि इस हिसाब से रासो के संकलन का संवत् १६४१ मान लिया जाय तो कुछ अनुचित नहीं होगा। इससे कई बातों का सामंजस्य हो जायगा।

चाहे जो कुछ हो, यह तो स्पष्ट है कि संवत् १६२६ और १६४१ के बीच में इसको जो नया रूप दिया गया वही कुछ और प्रक्षेपकों के साथ इसका वर्तमान रूप है। क्या हमारा यह कर्तव्य नहीं है कि हम चंद के बिखरे छंद बड़ों को खोज करें और भाषा को कसौटी पर कसकर यह जानने का उद्योग करें कि उनका प्राचीन वास्तविक रूप कैसा था।

टासीटोरी महाशय ने राजपूताने के चारणों के लिखे ऐतिहासिक काव्यों की खोज की थी। बीकानेर राज-पुस्तकालय की पुस्तकों की उन्होंने एक सूची भी तैयार की है। उसमें एक स्थान पर सिढायच दयालदाम कृत “बीकानेर रै राठोड़ा री ख्यात” का वर्णन करते हुए वे लिखते हैं—

‘After the above stanza and other 5 stanzas in honour of Ganapati, Maharaj Sirdar Singha and the five gods, the work proper begins with a chapter on the Suryavamsa re pidhiya. Starting from Nārāyaṇa, in the genealogical series, Rama Candra is the 64th and Je Canda the 254th. The life and exploits of Je Canda of Kanoja are described at great length, partly in verses and partly in rhymed prose (vacanika) in Hindi, and the authority of two works is quoted, which are stated to have been composed during Je Canda’s life-time, namely the Je Mayanka Jasa Candrikā by Kavi Madukara, and the Je Canda Prakāśa by Bhaṭṭa Kedāra. The date of the birth of Scho is given in Samvat 1175.’

दुःख है कि टासीटोरी महोदय ने जयचंद के विवरण से एक भी उद्धरण नहीं दिया है। संभावना यह है कि जयचंद का जो कुछ वर्णन इस ग्रंथ में दिया गया है उस में कुछ छंद तो अवश्य सधुकर और केदार के होंगे। यदि इनका निश्चयपूर्वक पता चल जाता तो उस समय की काव्य-भाषा के स्वरूप का ज्ञान हो जाता और उसके आधार पर हम पृथ्वीराजरासो का विवेचन भाषा विज्ञान की दृष्टि से कर सकते। मैंने इस पुस्तक के इस अंश के प्राप्त करने के अनेक उद्योग किए, पर सफलता न प्राप्त हुई।

ये दो बातें जिनका मैंने ऊपर उल्लेख किया है इस बात की आवश्यकता को प्रतिपादित करने के लिये पर्याप्त हैं कि हिंदी-साहित्य के आदि युग का पूरा तथ्य जानने के लिये यदि कहीं से उपयोगी सामग्री प्राप्त हो सकती है तो वह राजपूताने से ही मिल सकती है। इसलिये राजपूताने में प्राचीन पुस्तकों की खोज का काम एक सुव्यवस्थित रीति पर शीघ्र ही आरंभ करने की आवश्यकता है। जितनी ही देर इस काम में की जायगी उतनी ही अधिक आशङ्का उस सामग्री के नष्ट-भ्रष्ट अथवा अस्त-व्यस्त हो जाने की होगी।

मलिक मुहम्मद जायसी ने अपने पदमावत काव्य के अंत में लिखा है—

“ विक्रम धँसा प्रेम के बारा ।
 सपनावति कह गयउ पतारा ॥
 मधुपाठ सुगुधावति लागी ।
 गगनपूर होइगा बैरागी ॥
 राजकुँअर कचनपुर गयउ ।
 भिरगावति कहँ जोगी भयउ ॥
 साधा कुँअर मनोहर जोगू ।
 मधुमालति कहँ कौन्ह वियोगू ॥
 प्रेमावती कहँ सुरसरि साधा ।
 जया लागि अनिरुध बर बाँधा ॥”

इससे प्रगट होता है कि जायसी के पूर्व सपनावती, सुगुधावती, मृगावती, मधुमालती और प्रेमावती नाम की चार प्रेम-कहानियाँ प्रसिद्ध थीं। इनमें से मृगावती की एक खंडित प्रति भारतेन्दु हरिश्चन्द्र के पुस्तकालय में वर्तमान थी और मधुमालती की एक खंडित और अशुद्ध प्रति नागरीप्रचारिणी सभा के पुस्तकालय में वर्तमान है। जायसी के पीछे भी इन प्रेम कहानियों की परंपरा चलती रही, क्योंकि चिचावली और इन्द्रावती नाम की पुस्तकें प्राप्त हो चुकी हैं। प्रयाग की हिंदुस्तानी अकाडेमी के पुस्तकालय में युसुफ-जुलैखा नाम की प्रेमकहानी की एक हस्तलिखित प्रति रक्षित है। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि इन सूफ़ी कवियों का एक अलग संप्रदाय हिंदी साहित्य के मध्य युग में आरम्भ हुआ और बहुत दिनों तक चला। इन कहानियों के कलेवर में इन सूफ़ी कवियों ने मसनवी के ढंग पर अवधौ भाषा के दोहे चौपाई बंदों में परमात्मा और आत्मा के घनिष्ठ संबंध का तथा आत्मा को परमात्मा के लिये उन्मत्त होकर उसी की सत्ता और महत्ता को समस्त प्रकृति और दृष्टि में देखने का बड़े चिन्ताकर्षक ढंग से प्रतिपादन किया है। इस संप्रदाय के जो कुछ ग्रंथ अब तक मिले हैं उनके विवेचन से यह पता लगता है कि किस प्रकार भारतीय सिद्धान्तों और विचारों का इन कवियों पर प्रभाव पड़ा है और कैसे उनमें क्रमशः परिवर्तन हुआ है। पर इस लड़ी की आदि की तथा बीच की कड़ियों के न मिलने से पूरा पूरा इतिवृत्त उपस्थित नहीं किया जा सकता।

श्र्वैराजरासी तथा सूफ़ी कवियों के संबंध में कुछ बातें कहने का मेरा उद्देश्य यही था कि आप लोगों का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित किया जाय कि हिंदी-साहित्य के संबंध में बहुत जाँच पड़ताल और खोज खबर की आवश्यकता है। जब तक यह काम सुव्यवस्थित तथा सुघटित ढंग से विशेषज्ञों द्वारा नहीं किया जायगा तब तक हम अपनी इस अमूल्य संपत्ति की रक्षा और उपभोग नहीं कर सकेंगे।

यह सच है कि काशी-नागरीप्रचारिणी सभागत २० वर्षों से हस्तलिखित हिंदी पुस्तकों की खोज का काम कर रही है और इस संबंध के उसके कई विवरण प्रकाशित भी हो चुके हैं। इसमें भी संदेह नहीं कि जो कुछ काम अब तक हुआ है वह बहुत

महत्त्वपूर्ण है। बङ्गत सौ नई बातों का जो अब तक पता लगा है अथवा पुरानी बातों का जो कुछ सशोधन ऊँचा है उन सब के लिये हमको इस खोज के काम का उपकार मानना पड़ेगा। पर यह काम संयुक्त प्रांत में हो रहा है जहाँ केवल मध्य युग की सामग्री के अधिकतर मिलने की संभावना है। अन्य प्रांतों तथा विशेषकर राजपूताने में इस ओर कुछ भी ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। अस्तु, केवल हिंदी पुस्तकों की खोज से ही काम नहीं चल सकता। इस कार्य के तीन विशेष अंग हैं—अनुसंधान, संरक्षण और प्रकाशन। अनुसंधान के संबंध में यह कहना है कि यह सुव्यवस्थित रीति से समस्त उत्तर भारतवर्ष में होना चाहिए। इसका आयोजन उसी रूप में होना चाहिए जिस रूप में भारतवर्ष की भाषाओं की जाँच का ऊँचा था। प्रत्येक शहर और उसके समस्त गाँवों में प्रत्येक हस्तलिखित हिंदी पुस्तक की जाँच होकर उसका विवरण तैयार किया जाना चाहिए और एक विशेषज्ञ के निरीक्षण तथा तत्त्वावधान में उन सब विवरणों का संकलन तथा संपादन होकर उनका प्रकाशन होना चाहिए। इस कार्य में अवश्य थय अधिक होगा, पर कार्य की महत्ता को समझते हुए यह द्रव्य का सदुपयोग ही कहलावेगा, दुर्लभ उपयोग नहीं। बङ्गत सौ हस्तलिखित पुस्तकों अब तक नष्ट हो चुकी हैं और बङ्गत सौ क्रमशः नष्ट होती जा रही हैं। इस नाश के कई कारण हैं—कुछ तो उनके स्वामियों की उपेक्षा, कुछ अधिकारियों की असावधानता और सबसे बढ़कर उनकी प्राप्ति तथा रक्षण के उपायों का अभाव है। इस अमूल्य संपत्ति का क्रमशः नाश हमारे लिये केवल दुःख ही की नहीं, लज्जा की भी बात है। बङ्गत सौ हस्तलिखित पुस्तकें थोड़ा सा खर्च करने पर प्राप्त हो सकती हैं। जब इस प्रकार अनुसंधान तथा संरक्षण का कार्य हो जाय अथवा कम से कम जब पहला कार्य हो जाय तब प्रकाशन की ओर ध्यान देना उचित होगा। यह कार्य इतने महत्त्व का है कि ओरियंटल कानफरेंस ऐसी संस्था ही इसे कर सकती है। मेरी समझ में उसे भारत गवर्मेन्ट का ध्यान इस ओर आकृष्ट करना चाहिए और उसकी महत्ता दिखाते हुए इस कार्य को अपने हाथ में लेने के लिये प्रेरित करना चाहिए। यदि ओरियंटल कानफरेंस हिंदी-साहित्य की यह सेवा कर सके तो उसे कर्तव्य-पालन का श्रेय प्राप्त हो जाय।

अब मैं आप लोगों का ध्यान हिंदी-भाषा के संबंध की दो एक बातों पर दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

हिंदी की मुख्य उपभाषाएँ तीन हैं—अवधी, ब्रजभाषा और खड़ीबोली। अवधी और ब्रजभाषा की उत्पत्ति के विषय में किसी को संदेह नहीं है। इस संबंध में भाषाविद् भी सहमत हैं। पर खड़ीबोली के संबंध में बड़ा गड़बड़ है। डाक्टर ग्रियर्सन ने इसे पश्चिमी हिंदी के अंतर्गत माना है। पश्चिमी हिंदी की मुख्य भाषा ब्रजभाषा है जो शौरसेनी प्राकृत एवं नागर अपभ्रंश से निकली है। इसकी बड़ी भारी विशेषता यह है कि यह ओकार-बङ्गला भाषा है, पर खड़ीबोली आकार-बङ्गला है। आकार-बङ्गला भाषा ओकार-बङ्गला के अंतर्गत कैसे आ सकती है, यह विचारणीय विषय है। यह ठीक है कि ब्रजभाषा और खड़ीबोली दोनों के बङ्गत से व्याकरणसंबंधी प्रयोग समान हैं और दोनों में कर्ता का विकारी रूप सकर्मक भूतकाल में 'ने' विभक्ति लेता है। इस समानता के आधार पर उसे

पश्चिमी हिंदी के अंतर्गत मानना उचित हो सकता हो तो हो, पर दोनों में आकारांतल और आकारांतल का विभेद भी कम महत्त्व का नहीं है। खड़ीबोली के ब्रजभाषा से उत्पन्न होने का धर्म मौलाना मुहम्मद उसेन आजाद ने फैलाया है। उन्होंने अपने 'आवेदयात' के 'जबान उर्दू की तारीफ' शीर्षक में लिखा था—“इतनी बात हर शख्स जानता है कि हमारी उर्दू जबान ब्रजभाषा से निकली है और ब्रजभाषा खास हिंदुस्तानी जबान है लेकिन वह ऐसी जबान नहीं कि दुनिया के परदे पर हिंदुस्तानी के साथ आई हो इसकी उमर आठ सौ बरस के ज़ादा नहीं है और ब्रज का सज़ाज़ार इसका बतन है।” इस कथन में पहली भूल तो यह है कि उर्दू की उत्पत्ति ब्रजभाषा से नहीं किंतु खड़ीबोली से हुई है। खड़ीबोली उर्दू से बड़न पुरानी है। उर्दू की उत्पत्ति के बड़न पहले से इसका पता चलता है। उर्दू के क्रियापद और कारक-चिह्न तथा सर्वनाम आदि सब खड़ीबोली के हैं। सारांश यह कि उर्दू का समस्त ढाँचा खड़ीबोली का है। उस पर खड़ीबोली के व्याकरण का पूर्ण शासन रहा है। हाँ, आधुनिक प्रगति अवश्य यह हो रही है कि उर्दू में फारसी व्याकरण का अनुसरण यथासाध्य अधिकाधिक हो और साथ ही जहाँ तक संभव हो फारसी शब्दों के शब्दों का बाहुल्य हो। यह प्रगति आज की है, पुरानी उर्दू में यह बात नहीं थी। इस अवस्था में यह मानना कि उर्दू ब्रजभाषा से निकली है सर्वथा अप्रामाणिक है। इसकी उत्पत्ति खड़ीबोली से ही हुई है। अतः मौलाना आजाद की उर्दू वह खड़ीबोली भी नहीं हो सकती जिसकी उत्पत्ति ब्रजभाषा से संभावित हो।

मौलाना आजाद के इस कथन के कारण जो धर्म फैला वह अभी तक दूर नहीं उछा। श्री रामबाबू सकसेना अपने उर्दू-साहित्य के इतिहास में लिखते हैं—

‘Urdu by origin is a dialect of western Hindi spoken for centuries in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Meerut and is directly descended from Sauraseni Prakrit. This living language has formed the basis of Urdu, the name being given at a later period.’ आगे चलकर वे पुनः लिखते हैं ‘Modern high Hindi was developed from Urdu by the ejection of Persian words and substitution of those of Sanskrit origin Hindi and Urdu are of the same parentage and in their nature they are not different from one another.’ सबसे आश्चर्य की बात यह है कि सर जार्ज ग्रियर्सन ने भी इस मत को ग्रहण किया है। वे अपनी खिंजीखक सर्वे की रिपोर्ट में लिखते हैं—‘This Hindi (i.e. Sanskritised or at least non-Persianised form of Hindustani), therefore, or as it is sometime called High Hindi, is the prose literary language of those Hindus who do not employ Urdu. It is of modern origin, having been introduced under English influences at the commencement of the last century. Lallulal under the inspiration of Dr. Gilchrist changed all this by writing the well-known Prem-Sāgar, a work which

was, so far as the prose portion went, practically written in Urdu with Indo-Aryan words substituted wherever a writer in that form of speech would use Persian ones.'

इन कथनों में दो भ्रमात्मक बातें आ गई हैं। पहली बात तो यह है कि खड़ीबोली की उत्पत्ति शौरसेनी प्राकृत तथा ब्रजभाषा से हुई है। ब्रजभाषा की उत्पत्ति अवश्य शौरसेनी प्राकृत और तदनंतर नागर अपभ्रंश से हुई है, पर यह बात निर्विवाद रूप से अभी तक सिद्ध नहीं हो पाई है कि खड़ीबोली की उत्पत्ति ब्रजभाषा से हुई है।

खड़ीबोली की विस्तार-सौमा ब्रजभाषा और पश्चिमी पंजाबी से घिरी हुई है। इस पर पंजाबी का बल्लत कुछ प्रभाव स्पष्ट देख पड़ता है। खड़ीबोली को आकारबल्लत पंजाबी के ही प्रभाव के कारण है। अतएव यह मानना अधिक संगत होगा कि खड़ीबोली की उत्पत्ति ब्रजभाषा तथा पश्चिमी पंजाबी के संयोग से हुई है। दोनों में से अधिकांश प्रभाव पंजाबी का ही देख पड़ता है। पंजाबी की उत्पत्ति के विषय में अभी तक कोई सिद्धांत निश्चित नहीं हुआ है। इस संबंध में मेरा विचार यह है कि पंजाबी की जननी पेशाची भाषा है। अथवा यदि जननी नहीं तो उस पर पेशाची का बल्लत अधिक प्रभाव पड़ा है। यदि यह बात न सिद्ध हो सके तो यह मानना पड़ेगा कि खड़ीबोली की उत्पत्ति पेशाची से है। यह विषय अभी बल्लत संदिग्ध स्थिति में है और इसके संबंध में विशेष अनुसंधान और विवेचन की आवश्यकता है।

दूसरा भ्रम, जिसकी ओर मैंने ऊपर संकेत किया है, यह है कि उर्दू की उत्पत्ति ब्रजभाषा से हुई है। इस कथन में कुछ तथ्य नहीं है। खड़ीबोली भी उतनी ही पुरानी है जितनी ब्रजभाषा और अवधी। हाँ, यह बात अवश्य है कि खड़ीबोली में साहित्य-रचना बल्लत पीछे हुई है। साहित्य की भाषा विशेषकर ब्रजभाषा ही बनी रहती। अवधी में ब्रजभाषा की अपेक्षा बल्लत कम साहित्य रचा गया। जब उर्दू का जन्म भी नहीं हुआ था तब केवल अरबी फारसी के कुछ चलते हुए शब्दों के प्रचार के लिये तत्कालीन राजसत्ता की ओर से उद्योग हो रहा था। उस समय के साहित्य में खड़ीबोली का प्रयोग बल्लत कुछ मिलता है। अतएव यह स्पष्ट है कि उर्दू की उत्पत्ति जिस भाषा से हुई वह खड़ीबोली है, ब्रजभाषा नहीं। खड़ीबोली के व्याकरण का अनुशासन उर्दू ने माना है और अब तक विशेष रूप से मान रही है, यद्यपि आधुनिक प्रवृत्ति कुछ फारसी प्रयोगों के समावेश की ओर देख पड़ रही है। इस प्रवृत्ति का फल यह हो सकता है कि उर्दू अधिकतर विदेशी होकर भारतीय न रह जाय। जो लोग यह कहते हैं कि उर्दू में से फारसी अरबी के शब्दों को निकालकर संस्कृतजन्य शब्दों के प्रयोग से आधुनिक हिंदी का ढाँचा खड़ा किया गया है उनके संबंध में हम इतना ही कहना चाहते हैं कि वे भ्रम में पड़े हैं और ऐतिहासिक तथा भाषाविज्ञानीय तत्त्वों की अवहेलना करके ऐसा कहते हैं। उनके भ्रम का मूल डाक्टर मिलक्रिस्त के तत्त्वावधान में फोर्ट विलियम कालेज में प्रेमसागर की रचना मात्र है। यदि उर्दू का कोई ऐसा ग्रंथ उपलब्ध किया जा सकता जिसमें फारसी शब्दों को निकालकर संस्कृत के शब्द बैठाए गए हों तो हम इस कथन पर कुछ आदर की दृष्टि से विचार कर सकते, पर ऐसा

एक भी ग्रंथ कहीं नहीं है। प्रेमसागर ब्रजवासीलाल के ब्रजविलास का, जो ब्रजभाषा में लिखा हुआ है, ऋणी है। कछने का तात्पर्य इतना ही है कि उर्दू की उत्पत्ति खड़ीबोली से हुई और हिंदी अपनी ग्रीक और अंग्रेज के लिये उर्दू की ऋणी नहीं है। इसमें संदेह नहीं कि हिंदी गद्य के विकास और प्रसार के लिए हम उर्दू के अंशतः ऋणी हैं, पर विशेष ऋणी हैं ब्रिटिश शासन-काल में सर्वतोमुखी जागृति के, जिसने इसके विकास, प्रसार और प्रचार में परोक्ष तथा प्रत्यक्ष रूपों में उभेजना दी है। अतः, खड़ीबोली की उत्पत्ति का विषय ऐसा है जिस पर भाषातत्त्वज्ञों का ध्यान आकर्षित होना चाहिए और जिसके वास्तविक इतिहास को जानने के लिए उन्हें प्रयत्न करना चाहिए।

हिंदीभाषा से संबंध रखनेवाला दूसरा विषय, जिस पर अभी विशेष अनुसंधान और विवेचन की आवश्यकता है, कारक चिह्नों की उत्पत्ति का है। अनेक विद्वानों ने इस संबंध में खतब विचार किया है, पर अभी तक कोई सर्वसम्मत मत निर्धारित नहीं हुआ है। विद्वानों को इस ओर ध्यान देना चाहिए।

तीसरा विषय जिस पर अभी बहुत कम विचार हुआ है हिंदी की संयुक्त क्रियाओं का है। वैयाकरणों ने इन्हें तीन मुख्य भागों में विभक्त किया है—(१) पहले भाग में वे संयुक्त क्रियाएँ रखी गई हैं जिनमें से पूर्व-प्रयुक्त अशुद्ध मुख्य भाव को प्रदर्शित करता और अनु-प्रयुक्त अंश उसी भाव को किसी प्रकार से घटाता या बढ़ाता है, जैसे मिटा देना, मान लेना, जल उठना इत्यादि। इस श्रेणी की संयुक्त क्रियाओं में अनु-प्रयुक्त क्रियाएँ प्रायः देना, लेना, जाना, डालना, पड़ना, उठना, बैठना, रखना, खाना, निकलना, रहना आदि हैं। विचारणीय विषय यह है कि क्या अनु-प्रयुक्त क्रियाएँ केवल पहली क्रिया का उत्कर्ष या अपकर्ष ही प्रदर्शित करनेवाली होती हैं अथवा वे किसी और अर्थ को भी परोक्ष रूप से प्रदर्शित करती हैं, जैसे लौटा देना और लौटा लेना में। (२) दूसरी श्रेणी के अंतर्गत वे संयुक्त क्रियाएँ ली गई हैं जिनमें दोनों अपने अपने अर्थ की रक्षा किसी न किसी अंश में करती रहती हैं। इनकी विशेषता यह है कि पूर्व-प्रयुक्त क्रिया अपनी भाव-प्रधान अवस्था के विकारी या अविकारी रूप में रहती है और अनु-प्रयुक्त के ही रूप चलते हैं। ऐसी क्रियाएँ विशेषकर सहायक क्रियाओं का काम करती हैं। इस प्रकार की क्रियाएँ, सकना, चुकना, लगना, देना, पाना, करना, रहना, जाना, चाहना आदि हैं। (३) तीसरी श्रेणी उन क्रियाओं की है जिनका पहला अंश संज्ञावाचक अथवा कभी कभी विशेषणवाचक होता है और दूसरा करना, देना, लेना, खाना, मारना होता है। इनमें से अधिकांश प्रयोग 'करना' का ही होता है।

अध्यापक बर्नीकाफ अपने एक लेख में इन संयुक्त क्रियाओं का उल्लेख करते हुए लिखते हैं—'The sentence in any of the modern Indian languages is no longer bound by the abstractedness of nominal constructions; it becomes more vivid and concrete. In this respect the Hindi language is specially interesting, as it differs from all the other Indo-Aryan tongues in the originality of its verbal groups. The attention

of a linguist is involuntarily attracted by the compound verbs, the most original trait of Hindi morphology, syntax and semantics. The compound verbs, being the latest stage in the development of the Indo-Aryan verb, strike us not only as a historical fact, they are even more interesting when considered from a psychological and a general theoretical point of view.'

इस संबंध में वैयाकरणों ने यथेष्ट विचार नहीं किया है और भाषा-तत्त्वज्ञों का तो इस ओर ध्यान ही नहीं गया है। अभी तक इस बात का ठीक ठीक विवेचन नहीं हुआ है कि इन सयुक्त क्रियाओं में दोनों अंगों का प्रथक् प्रथक् क्या कार्य होता है और किस किस विशिष्ट अर्थ की अभिव्यक्ति वे करते हैं। लौटा देना और लौटा लेना क्रियाओं को लौजिए। इनमें 'देना' से कर्ता व्यापार का प्रभव प्रतीत होता है और 'लेना' से कर्ता व्यापार का पात्र। परंतु बोल उठना, बोल पड़ना और बोल बैठना में उठना, पड़ना और बैठना क्रियाओं से न कर्ता प्रभव ही जान पड़ता है और न पात्र ही। हाँ, कर्ता के व्यापार की गति ऊपर नीचे की ओर अवश्य ज्ञात होती है, पर इनके अर्थ में विशेषता की प्रतीति इतनी धुंधली होती है कि कुछ निश्चय नहीं हो पाता। सारांश यह कि यह विषय भी ऐसा है जिस पर विद्वानों का ध्यान जाना चाहिए।

मैंने अपने इस कथन में संक्षेप रूप से आप लोगों का ध्यान हिंदी साहित्य और भाषा के कुछ महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रश्नों पर दिलाया है जिनके विषय में अनुसंधान और विवेचन की आवश्यकता है। यदि भाषाविद् विद्वान् इन प्रश्नों पर विचार करने की ओर दत्तचित्त हों और तथ्य-निरूपण कर सकें तो हिंदीभाषा और साहित्य का बड़त कुछ उपकार हो सकेगा। मुझे आशा है कि ऑरियंटल कानफरंस का हिंदी विभाग इन प्रश्नों को तथा ऐसे ही अन्य प्रश्नों को अपने हाथ में लेगा और उन पर यथोचित विवेचन कर अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करेगा।

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA IN HINDI TRANSLATIONS.

(*A résumé*)

GAURI SHUNKAR, M.A.,

Lecturer, Government College, Lahore.

1. The popularity of the Epic The Mahābhārata used profusely as a source-book for various Hindi compositions
- 2 The printed translations of the Epic Important works being those of Sabal Singh Chauhan and Gopi Nath
- 3 The first translators in Hindi of this great Epic in the middle ages, viz. 1700–1800 Vikrama
4. Hindi translations of the Epic in manuscripts not yet printed and scattered over Northern India. Important works being those of Naval Singh, Lakhan Sena, Kulpati, Mansaram Pandeya, and Lala Kavi. Discussion with regard to the merit of their translations.
5. The 'Central' and 'Northern' recensions of the translations in Hindi. This division is based on the extant manuscripts and printed editions of the Epic.
6. The Vir Vinod of Padma Singh—translation of 'Karna parva' Its peculiarities.
7. The two manuscripts hitherto unpublished which were secured by me are :—'The Vir Vilās' and 'The Niti Vinoda'. Description of the manuscripts.
8. 'The Vir Vilās' Translation of Droṇa parva. Author Datta Kavi, his age, poetic talents, style and language. Comparison of his poem with the Sanskrit original.
9. Peculiarities of his translation · how far does he follow the original? Its merits and demerits.
10. The Niti Vinoda by Trilochan—translation of Śānti parva Comparison with Datta, Trilochan being the grandson of Datta.
11. Modern Hindi Translations in Prose. Their value and importance.

Urdu Section.

President :

MR. S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

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Urdu Section.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

The beginnings of Urdu as a literary language are wrapped, like most beginnings, in mist and obscurity. Legends grow and popular imagination adds to them decade by decade. Tradition assigns its rise to the time of Timur's invasion (1398), but some claim a still higher antiquity for it, maintaining that Mas'ud, son of Sa'd, wrote *Rekhta* in Urdu in the first half of the XIth century and that in the XIIIth century Amir Khusrau composed poems in that language. But putting these extravagant claims aside, it is clear that during the early centuries of Muslim rule, Muslims did use the language and metrical forms of this country in their compositions. And thus Persian was gradually interwoven in the popular speech. In the writings of Chand and Kabir, which admittedly are in Hindi, Persian words constantly occur. And this process of adoption and incorporation continues uninterrupted, and, indeed, in larger and larger measure. The vernacular speech is thus enriched by Persian words and phrases. What gave a tremendous impetus to this mutual interchange of words and thought was Akbar's catholicity of mind, which, soaring above the trammels of religion, sought and received light and wisdom from all quarters. The translation of Sanskrit works into Persian brought the indigenous and foreign literatures into closer and closer contact. Manifestly this influence was signally predominant over the language of the Capital, the Hindi spoken about Delhi and thence northwards to the Himalayas. The steady expansion of the Moghul empire, and its extension under Akbar and his successors in the South, made the idiom of the Capital the idiom of the Musalman kingdoms of the Deccan—nay, their court-language.

But, singularly enough, the first impulse to literary composition in Urdu is given not by Delhi, but by the Muslim Courts of Golkonda and Bijapur. The newly-risen literature, it is to be noted however, is neither the literature of the people nor a revealer of their ideas, for the people at Golkonda spoke Telugu, and at Bijapur Kanarese—

both Dravidian languages, poles apart from the Aryan tongues of the North. From its very inception, this literature was modelled upon Persian. Indeed, it borrowed wholesale from it; it borrowed forms and conventions of poetic diction: the *Qasida* or laudatory ode, the *Ghazal* or love-sonnet, the *Marsiya* or dirge; the *Masnawi* or narrative-poem with coupled rhymes, the *Hija* or satire; the *Ruba'i* or epigram.

Golkonda became a literary focus. Quli Qutb Shah and his successor Abdullah Qutb Shah were both poets of distinction. During the reign of Qutb Shah, Ibn Nishati composed two works, still regarded as models in Dakhni dialect: the *Tutinamah* and *Phul-ban*. The Court of Bijapur was a brilliant literary centre too. Ibrahim Adil Shah (1599-1626) wrote the *Nau-ras* or 'nine savours'. The court poet of his successor, Ali Adil Shah, was a Brahman, poetically known as Nusrati, author of *Gulshan-i-Ishq*, a *Masnawi* of rare note and distinction. These, indeed, were the heralds and pioneers. It was, however, reserved for Wali of Aurangabad (circa 1680-1720) and his contemporary and townsman Siraj to fix the poetical standard which received the homage of their countrymen for nearly a couple of centuries. Indeed, competent judges are unanimous in their verdict that the development of Urdu poetry in Northern India in the XVIIIth century was pre-eminently due to Wali's initiative and influence.

Like that of many others of equal or of lesser note, the life of Wali is but little known. Turning from Aurangabad to Delhi we find in Zahuruddin Hatim (b. 1699, d. 1792) the first of the galaxy of Delhi poets who confer lustre on that glorious but ill-starred city. The light came from Wali. In the second year of the reign of Mohammad Shah (1719) the *Diwan* of Wali made its appearance at Delhi. It aroused and stimulated rivalry and emulation. It set literary Delhi ablaze. Hatim, her poetical pioneer, caught the enthusiasm and followed the lead of Wali, but with this all-important difference that the vehicle of his thought was not the dialect of Wali but the language of the North. The efforts of Hatim were seconded and reinforced by the genius of his friends Naji, Mazmun, and Abru. A fresh path was opened—a new vein struck. Hatim headed a school the brightest ornament of which was Rafi-us-Sauda. But the glory of the headship was shared by another of equal renown, Khan Arzu (1689-1756). Though Khan Arzu's fame rests

largely on his Persian scholarship,¹ he was yet a poet of supreme power and singular endowment. Mir, the compeer of Sauda, was a pupil of this writer of prodigious literary fecundity and versatility. Arzu retired to Lucknow after the devastation of Delhi by Nadir Shah (1739), where he died. Mention must here be made of Yaqin, who, beloved of the gods, died young in the reign of Ahmad Shah (1748-1754), and of Khajjah Mir Dard of immortal memory, poet and mystic, sweet singer of sweetest songs, combining infinite pathos with infinite yearning, bright hopes with intense melancholy, deep religious piety with broad catholicity of mind. We shall revert to him later when we speak of the Patna School of poetry.

Like Khan Arzu, Sauda and Mir betook themselves too to Lucknow and enjoyed the favours of Asaf-ud-Dawlah. Mir—the very name suggests a variety of things. purity of diction; sublimity of thought, sweet melancholy, fitful gleams of sunshine, overcast by fast-sailing clouds; muffled sobs; suppressed sighs, the tearful eye of humanity. And while such is the soft sweet strain of Mir, Sauda ushers us into a wholly different plane of poetry. Ideas follow ideas in tumultuous riot, words pierce, strike, smite; will, force, energy rule and dominate; a deep swell breaks on and lashes the shore. One represents sweetness and light, the other strength and energy. Who can forget the glowing tribute of Ghalib:

عالم اپنا عقیدہ ہے بقول نامح
آپ بے بہرہ ہے چرمعتمد میر نہیں

—Or the well-weighed judgment of Syed Ahmad Khan: 'Mir's language is so pure, and the expressions which he employs so suitable and natural that to this day all are unanimous in his praise. Although the language of Sauda is also excellent, and he is superior to Mir in the point of his allusions, he is nevertheless inferior to him in style'.

But though the political storm sweeping over Delhi seriously impaired her lustre, her poetic flame was not wholly quenched. Several princes among the later Moghuls were poets of no mean talents. Writing under the pen-name of *Aftab*, Shah Alam II (1761-1806) composed a *Diwan* and a *Masnawi* entitled *Manzum-i-Aqdas*. His son Sulaiman Shah followed in his wake, leaving a *Diwan* behind. And last but not least, in Bahadur Shah, the last of the Moghul

¹ I have a beautiful MS. of his *Tazkirah* copied in his life-time.

emperors, the Muse found the fittest composer of Delhi's mournful epitaph and the saddest singer of the fickleness of fate and the vicissitudes of fortune. The name of Bahadur Shah is inseparably linked with Zawq, his master. As a writer of *Qasida* Zawq stands unrivalled. Rooted to Delhi, the land of his birth, nothing could lure him away from her. Amidst her sad memories and haunting charms he lived and sang songs of perfect beauty, veritable patient carvings in ivory. Besides Zawq, the declining days of Delhi are illumined by the meteoric splendour of Mushafi and the imperishable glory of Ghalib. Not, perhaps, Mir's equal in sheer beauty or perfection of style, or Sauda's in piercing satire, or Dard's in unruffled contemplativeness, or Momin's in delicate shades of thought or subtlety of humour—Ghalib, despite all this, is one of the highest peaks of Urdu poetry. He sums up the entire Muslim India of his age. It is in the combination of a variety of gifts that he excels and outshines. Like Abul Ala or Omar Khayyam he is a representative poet who visualizes in his poetry the spirit of his age. He pulsates with restlessness—he fulminates thunders against power—he scoffs at religion—he ridicules mock-piety—he mourns the frailty of love—he condemns inequality—he pleads for a wider charity—he forgets not the roses and the nightingales, the lover's anguish or love's ecstatic embrace. Here is life with all its many-sidedness and here is poetry, the interpreter of that life. Others sail with the clouds in heaven, or lose themselves in the vacant spaces around the sky, or flutter their wings in the void, or find solace in a world of their own imagining, but Ghalib is of the earth, earthly—a torch-bearer guiding the groping, faltering steps of man.

From Delhi the centre of gravity was transferred to Lucknow. There Urdu poetry put forth fresh blossom and bloom. The adopted home of Arzu, Sauda and Mir, it rose more and more into importance, rivalling the earlier glory of Delhi. This distinguished band of refugees was reinforced at Lucknow by Mir Hasan (d. 1786), Mir Soz (d. 1800) and Qalandar Bakhsh Jur'at (d. 1810). The School of Lucknow continued till the overthrow of its last King, Wajid Ali, in 1856. Among the later poets of this school Atish (d. 1847) and Nasikh (d. 1841) stand out pre-eminent.

With the fall of Lucknow, Rampur became a literary and poetical centre. The House of Rampur, liberal, nay lavish in its gifts, attracted to it men of talents now bereft of patrons and patronage.

Under the munificent Nawab Kalb Ali Khan there gathered a cluster of literary and poetic constellation of extraordinary brilliance. There the two schools, the school of Delhi and that of Lucknow, met to consider, to adjust, to revise their poetical standard. The artificiality and extravagance of Nasikh were ruled out ; the archaism and verbal inaccuracies, characteristic of the Delhi school, were done away with. Naturalness, simplicity, fidelity to life became its cardinal tenet, its guiding principle. Dagh stood out as the exponent of this new scheme of things, born of the fusion of the two earlier schools. And he received a wider and wider audience, a larger and larger vogue.

Hitherto we have occupied ourselves with the Deccan, Delhi, Lucknow, and Rampur. Let us now look nearer home. What is the contribution of this beloved city of ours—of Patna—to life and letters ? Few cities of the East can look back to the past with such pride as she can. Great under the Hindu and equally so under the Muslim rule, she, despite varying fortune, has always retained a hegemonic position, commanding challenging greatness. Time will more and more reveal her importance as the years roll by and excavations bring her buried glory and greatness to light and publicity. In the reign of Aurangzeb, Patna supplied a private tutor to the Delhi princes. And this was none other than Mirza Bedil, distinguished alike as poet and scholar. It *then* seemed as if Patna was shorn of her literary crown.

But soon a new star shone on her horizon. Mirza Muiz Khan, *Fitrat*, came and settled down in our town. While Bedil and Fitrat shed poetic lustre, the mosque of Saif Khan, by the silvery Ganges, diffused learning and nursed talents within her historic walls.² The city of Patna, thus favouring learning and fostering culture, became the adopted home of Delhi princes, poets, and savants. Among others she captured the heart of the prince Azimush-Shan who named this city after him as Azimabad. He was not the first, nor yet the last, of the Moghul princes who felt and yielded to the spell of this mighty city. Here was Farrukh Siyar crowned Emperor with the help of the then Subadar of Patna, Nawab Husain Ali Khan, a

² Rightly does Shad say :—

بیا مسجد سیف خان را نظر کن
مصفا تر از سینۂ پاکبازی

poet of merit and distinction. It is unnecessary to go further into the royal concerns here. Suffice it to say that it would be an error to suppose that the Muse only betook herself here on being ejected from Delhi or expelled from Lucknow. The towering figure of Gholam Ali Rasikh entirely confutes such a supposition, for did he not write contemporaneously with Mir and dispute with him the poetic crown? In Rasikh Urdu poetry attains a high level. Sad, stern, sufistic, supremely sublime, he takes us out of the narrow groove of things to things that never fade, never perish. His poetry is a gospel of humanity—humanity unsplit by the dividing wall of race or religion. It is that eternal, enduring poetry which defies the waves of time. Here are some couplets chosen at random.—

کدھر کعدہ کہاں کا عرش اعظم
دل بشکسنہ ہے کاشانہ تبرا

امبری کیسی کنا نہ مرتبہ شاہی وزبری کا
تو اے غافل شناساے مدارج ہو فقیری کا
غافل تو بھی نو رفتنی ہے
کب تک غم رفتگان کریگا

معصیٰ سوئپ داغ فراق وے ہوئے ہوں جدا کہ نہ بھرملے
مرے دل میں تا دم واپسین وہ امانت اُنکی دھری رہی
یہ رنج غریبی سبب خستہ تھی ہے
جون نشق قدم اپنا وطن بے وطنی ہے

نہیں ہوش والوں پہ کچھ حسد معصیٰ رشک ہے تو اونہوں پہ ہے
حنہیں تیرے جلوہ کے سامنے مری طرح بیخبری رہی
خدا جانے نہاں اس آشکارا میں ہے کیا کیا کچھ
خوشا وے اہل دل جن پر نہاں بھی آشکارا ہے

If royal favours shed gifts on Letters at Delhi, if Oudh basked in the sunshine of Shuja-ud-Dawlah and Asaf-ud-Dawlah's beneficence—Patna, too, gloried in the resplendent munificence of Rajah Ram Narain and Rajah Shitab Ray, Subadars of Bihar. Disciple of Shaikh Ali Hazin, Raja Ram Narain was a profound Persian scholar and a lover of Urdu. Under the pen-name of 'Mauzun' he wrote poems of rare grace and finish. Shitab Ray's devotion to letters was equally conspicuous. From Delhi and elsewhere poets and scholars

flocked to him. Among those that came, Nawab Ashraf Ali, *Fughan*, foster-brother of Ahmed Shah, heads the list. Bearer of a great literary tradition, master of a faultless style, he gave a new direction to Urdu at Patna. Under his influence it became purer, chaster, more effective and less cumbrous. Desna, near Bihar, owns a beautiful MS. of his *Diwan*. Rajah Shitab Ray's son, Rajah Bahadur, writing under the pen-name of 'Rajah', inherited at once his father's talents and generosity. Thus, indeed, Patna's literary fame spread far and wide, attracting to it men of the intellectual calibre of Mir Sher Ali Afsos and Mir Amman, founders of Urdu Prose. In recalling her literary past, we cannot, however brief we may be inclined to be, pass over in silence names that are our abiding possession. Who can for instance forget Asad Jung (his full name was Syed Hedayet Ali Khan), whose house at *Bari Hawali* at Hajiganj still bears witness to his taste and whispers faint echoes of vanished days? His *Dohas*, *Chait*, *Sawan*, and *Thumris*, flew from lip to lip and won the warm and discriminating applause of all. His *Ghazals* too acquired wide currency and his position as a master was unanimously accepted within and without Patna. Mir Hasan, in his *Tazkirah*, approvingly quotes the following couplet of his³ :—

ہرگز یہ مرے عشق کا سر فاش نہوا
کرتا نہ اگر آئے مرا پردہ دری رنگ

--Or his distinguished son, Nawab Gholam Husain Khan, author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhkhirin*, distinguished alike as poet, historian, man of letters; or again Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan, author of the well-known *Tazkirah*, *Gulzar-i-Ibrahim*, and of two others of solid learning and extensive research; or yet again Rajah Peari Lall, Ulfaty, poet and patron of letters. We can indefinitely add to this list, but before leaving this subject I shall refer to Shah Ulfat Husain, Faryad, and Shawq Nimwi. Faryad, like Shawq, was a notable poet of later days. His uncle was a disciple of Dard, and as such was steeped through and through in the mysticism of the school of that illustrious poet. Faryad came under the influence

³ A talented lady-friend of mine has drawn my attention to a couplet of a living Bihar poet, which far outshines, to my mind, even this little gem.

چہپا کے نالوں کو دل میں رکھا کہ لب تک آئیں نہ تنگ ہو کر
مگر نہ جانا کہ راز الفت کھلے گا چہرے کا رنگ ہو کر

of his uncle,—which means no more or less than the influence of Dard,—and this is strikingly apparent in his poetry, for he seeks poetical inspiration not from the garden, or the rose, or the nightingale, or the loved one's eye or her slim vanishing waist, but from the human heart, the heart that aspires and strives for things sacred and divine, permanent and enduring, sublime and uplifting. It is the poetry of a higher order, of a higher world. Like Dard he soars in the empyrean and thence brings to man the higher message of love and peace, faith and resignation. In Shawq a different note is struck. He excels in pathos and melancholy. He is faultless, peerless in diction. He shines in descriptive power, in similes and metaphors. He is essentially a poet of the people, for he touches the popular chord and strikes the popular imagination.

With Shad, whose death we had recently to mourn, the last link with the past was snapped. He was the last surviving land-mark of the older generation, alas, now no more! I remember seeing him first some forty years ago. He was then a poet slowly emerging into fame. He was one of the band that met at our place, which I may without vanity describe as the literary centre of those days.

At those distinguished gatherings poetry held a prominent place, and many a beautiful poem, heard then, still remains fresh and undimmed in my memory. The thought of Shad carries me back into those far-off days. I can well recall his little figure, his searching eyes, searching for approbation and applause, his gesticulation, his steady, unfaltering gait indicative of supreme confidence, the dexterity with which he met criticism and secured victory, his lighter vein of wit and humour which hit, and always hit hard. There, too, I saw the far-famed Abdul Hayy of Lucknow, and the staid Shibli, with his gaze intently fixed upon Minerva, the Goddess of his devotion. And many others of lesser note besides, for Patna then was not a centre of Politics but of Letters.

We have hitherto been talking of poetry; let us now for a moment briefly review the history of Urdu Prose. If poetry was nursed in the schools of Deccan, Delhi, Lucknow, Rampur, Patna, Urdu Prose was taken in hand and forged at the school of the Fort William College in Calcutta. There eminent scholars were summoned to prepare vernacular text-books for officials. Momentous was this step, for it not only developed the vernaculars, but, with the introduc-

tion of lithography about 1837, brought books within the reach of the reading public. But the light that illumined and brightened the British capital was the light that came from Delhi, the deserted abode of Moghul Imperialism.

Mir Amman, Afsos (d. 1809), Jawan, all natives of Delhi, blessed the cradle of our language, moulded its style, carved its destiny. They gave to it simplicity and suppleness : stripped it of its Persian plume, florid ornamentation ; made it clear, effective, crisp. And thus a literary style was evolved capable of the highest development. Up to the first half of the XIXth century this style retained its supremacy unbroken.

While Urdu prose was rapidly progressing under the fostering care of the school of Fort William, an event of great magnitude hastened its march. In Northern India the call for reform in Islam sounded by Syed Ahmad⁴ brought in fresh forces and opened up fresh channels of development. Two parties were instantly formed ; fierce controversies broke out ; a religious war was fanned into flame. The weapon used was the Urdu language, which in this prolonged warfare was polished and sharpened. Authors multiplied ; unsuspected depths and resources of the language were revealed ; a new spirit was infused. The Urdu language attained ease, terseness, spontaneity, and all those subtle indefinable charms which constitute the glory and the splendour of a language. The Wahabi movement, thus, vastly contributed towards the building-up of our language.

The translation of the Quran by Abdul Qadir was finished in 1803, and first published by Syed Abdullah, a fervent disciple of Syed Ahmed, at Hooghly in 1829. The *Tambihul-Ghafilin* or *Awakener of the Heedless*, a work in Persian by Syed Ahmed, was rendered into Urdu by Abdullah, and published at the same press in 1830. Haji Ismail was the author of a treatise in Urdu entitled *Taqwiyat-ul-Iman* (Confirmation of the Faith) which had great vogue among the following of the Syed. Other works by the disciples of the *Tariqah-i-Mohammadi* (as the new preaching was called) are the *Targhib-i-Jihad* (Incitation to Holy War), *Hidayat-ul-Muminin* (Guide of the Believers), *Muzih-ul-Kabair wa-l-Bidah* (Exposition

⁴ Not to be confused with Sir Syed Ahmad, the Founder of the College at Aligarh.

of Mortal Sins and Heresy), *Nasihāt-ul-Muslīmīn* (Admonition to Muslims), and *Mīāt Masāl* or Hundred Questions.’

But this movement was not the only incentive which urged the language on its progressive path ; there were other agencies at work as well. The substitution of Vernaculars for Persian as the official language of the Court in 1832 ; the introduction of Western learning and its increasing popularity , the establishment of a Vernacular newspaper press—all these too helped forward the cause of Urdu, enriching its vocabulary and widening its outlook on life and letters. One of the most obviously striking things in this Renaissance is the growing spirit of reform and patriotism, holding out a vision of a brighter, happier India, an India where strife will cease and politics will be a gospel of peace and good will, and where life and letters will fill and thrill us with the one true music of united purpose and concerted action. Says a Hindu poet :—

وہی اک ربسمان ہے جس کو ہم تم نار کہتے ہیں
کہیں تسبیح کا رشتہ کہیں زنار کہتے ہیں

And is not this the true Islamic spirit permeating, pervading our literature from the earliest to the latest times ? And this is not a muffled but a clear and distinct note ringing through the ages. In Mir Taqi, in Zawq, in Ghalib—not to speak of the earlier times—this very spirit reveals itself at every step, lifting the children of man to a nobler, higher sense of duty and fellowship

But while the poet warbled this note in silence and solitude, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817–1898) brought it to the market-place for the acceptance and acclamation of all. He strenuously fought for light and liberalism ; insisted, in no uncertain voice, on self-respect and self-reliance, and emphasised with prophetic vehemence that no people without them have a right to a place in the terrestrial scheme of things. Twofold is his achievement. He conferred distinction on Urdu Prose and revealed its infinite possibilities, and he sounded the clarion-trumpet of reform and liberalism. His teachings perhaps would not have reached or touched the heart of the people so deeply, so widely, had it not been for Altaf Husain Hali. A disciple of Ghalib, he came at the age of forty under the banner of Sir Syed and dedicated his great poetic gifts to the service of his illustrious countryman. His *Musaddas* is epoch-making. It fell like a spark, setting India ablaze. It stirred the languid pulses ; it aroused warmth

and passion ; it pleaded for effort and seriousness in life ; it recalled ideals wantonly, criminally forgotten ; it did more—it was the first frank and outspoken tribute to the dignity of man, so rarely remembered now in our country :—

اپنی خود کرتے تھے عزت گر نہ کرتا تھا کوئی
سر ہراک فرعون کے آگے نہ بہتاتے تھے ہم

His own ideal of poetry he has illustrated in his poems ; ‘simplicity, avoidance of exaggeration and unreality, direct and emotional appeal to the heart, and above all sincerity’. In speaking of the literature of patriotism we cannot lose sight of Nazir Ahmad of Delhi. A prose writer of rare excellence, he will float down to posterity not only as a brilliant *littérateur* but as a patriot with a burning love for his country. He keenly felt and frankly expressed the farce of things around him. In a strain of light humour sage counsels and wise admonitions are conveyed—would that his countrymen would take them and act upon them !

خدا شہاد ہے میرے دل میں گر کچھ بھی شرارت ہو
مگر دیکھا نہیں جاتا کہ اپنی قوم عارت ہو

Such is the beginning of one of his poems where, in a heap of wit, humour, and gentle irony, exhortation, criticism, guidance, all are happily, tactfully woven into a chaplet of abounding grace and beauty. Last but not least, here in this domain Iqbal to-day towers in splendid isolation. His poetry is the poetry of Patriotism. Everywhere flashes forth fiery, ardent, patriotic love. It sets us tingling ; it bids us say with Tennyson : ‘But something ere the end. Some work of noble note may yet be done.’ Listen :—

رلاتا ہے ترا نظارہ اے ہندوستان مجھکو
کہ عبرت خیز ہے تیرا فسانہ سب فسانوں میں
نشان برگ گل تک بھی نہ چھوڑ اس باغ میں گلچیں
تیری قسمت سے رزم آرائیاں ہیں باغبانوں میں
وطن کی فکر کر نادان مصیبت آنے والی ہے
تیری قربادیوں کے مشورے ہیں اسمانوں میں
ذرا دیکھ اس کو جو کچھ ہو رہا ہے ہونے والا ہے
دھرا کیا ہے بھلا عہد کہیں کی دامتائوں میں

یہ خاموشی کہاں تک لذت فریاد کر سدا
 رمیں برنو ہو اور تیری سدا ہو آسمانوں میں
 یہ سمجھو گئے تو صفت حاو گئے اے ہندوستان والو
 تمہاری داسنان تک بھی بھوگی داسنانوں میں

Within an incredibly short period, a century or so, we have traversed a long distance on the road to progress. Between the days of Wali and Iqbal India has changed beyond recognition. A world undreamed of by them and beyond the ken of the wisest of them has come into being. Resignation was the key-note of the older—the determination to live out our lives as we will is the key-note of the newer world of to-day. Khajjah Mir Dard's —

اتہام اختیاری نیز بر من کردہ اند
 در حقیقت درد گوی اختیاریم کردہ اند

is challenged by Iqbal.—

چین و عرب ہمارا ہندوستان ہمارا
 مسلم ہیں ہم وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا

And this spirit silently working its way rises to the surface in Hali, the first bard of Modern India, and reaches its supreme splendour in Iqbal. The poetry of the earlier period is poetry bounded by a personal horizon—that of the later is marked by a universal note where love of the country finds the foremost place. The personal note is lost in the universal—mystic tendencies in the stern realities of our stirring, competitive days. The poetry of to-day is the poetry of the period of storm and stress, and all that stands for. It no longer depicts the lover prostrate at the feet of the loved one, or sings of the nightingale uttering its sweetest, saddest notes amid blossoming lilies and bursting rose-petals, or of the lover's tedious, painful journeys through thorns and brambles to love's dim, distant abode, or sheds, with a lavish hand, fulsome flattery on some generous patron or some lover of learning. It is now of a wholly different cast. It is more stern, more robust, more redolent of freedom and self-respect than it has ever been. This new spirit unmistakably manifests itself in Hali, in Nazir Ahmad, and becomes more and more stridently vocal in Iqbal. May this spirit grow in strength and intensity as the years go by! And indeed,

this spirit foreshadows itself not merely in serious prose and poetry, but also in those of a lighter strain. Witness the Urdu poetry of the Great War-period. Then the enchained spirit is stripped of its fetters. It gives free expression to its innermost thoughts—thoughts which forty years ago would have been perilous to utter and more perilous still to circulate.

Urdu literature may be conveniently divided into two groups : original and translations. Under the first group fall poetry, prose, fiction, and drama ; and under the second, translations from other languages—Eastern and Western. Its poetry, like all poetry, covers an extensive field : heroic poetry, descriptive poetry, love poetry, devotional poetry, elegies, eulogies, satires. Its prose is equally rich and resourceful, and is marked by wealth of imagination and felicity of expression. It lifts the veil and reveals a true picture of things as they are. There a vivid, moving, thrilling panorama of social life and current interests unfolds itself before us. More trustworthy than inspired history, less guarded than official despatches, it records and registers the inner life and the half-uttered aspirations of India. To it, indeed, will the historian of the future direct his attention when in search of truth and reality. Who can read the writings of Syed Ahmed Khan, or of Hali, or of Nazir Ahmad, and of other contemporary exponents of Indian thought without noticing the divine purpose pursuing its divine end, or realizing that an indissoluble link binds the present with the past, or detecting the momentous issues of to-day in their embryo *then* ?

The germs of the present are there—only time has shaped and matured them.

A great inheritance is ours. We shall but indifferently discharge our trust if we do not hand this inheritance down richer than before. Maulana Sulaiman Nadwi has drawn up a heavy indictment against us, and to all appearance it is an unanswerable one. With the exception, says he, of the life and writings of Makhdum-ul-Mulk Bihari, we have suffered the rest to pass into neglect and oblivion. And in support of this indictment he argues that the life of Shaikh Barh, an eminent physician of Bihar, is disposed of in a few lines. A distinguished family of traditionists would have passed out of thought, out of mind, but for the merest accident that a document, bearing the signatures of some of its members, finds a place in the archives of Phulwari. Again, not the slightest information is

available as to who were the Bihari contributors to the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*. Nor is any light shed on the author of the *Sullam* and *Musallam*, Mulla Muhibullah Bihari, except a passing gleam in the *Subhat-ul-Marjan* of Azad Bilgrami. No happier either has been the lot of Ghulam Yahya Bihari, though his work on philosophy has instructed countless generations of students in Bihar. The only reference to him is in Azad's *Ab-i-Hayat*, and that too comes in incidentally in connection with an anecdote of Mazhar-i-Jan Janan. And if such has been the fate of the earlier generation, no better have the great pioneers of living memory fared.

This criticism, coming as it does from one of the most erudite of our men, calls for instant attention.

What then must we do if we are to justify ourselves before the world,—nay before the bar of our own conscience? True, such admirable institutions as the Translation Bureau of the Usmania University, the *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu*, with its headquarters at Aurangabad, and the *Dar-ul-Musannifin* at Azamgarh have done a great deal, but we need a greater and more extended activity yet for the cultivation and diffusion of our language and literature.

Can we think without shame that our classics should be inaccessible, or only accessible in editions unworthy of them? Who can think without a blush that our great men should pass away without a fitting memorial or even a commemorative biography?

No inspiration is more enduring, more arousing than the one that comes from the lives of our own men or through the channel of our own literature. It is that inspiration and that *alone* which will spur us on to deeds of equal, or perhaps of greater renown. It is that again which will urge us on to hold worthily the torch held by our forbears. Nothing else can or will. When I came here last September to address the Bihar students I was profoundly impressed by their warmth and zeal for their Motherland. This is a helpful, hopeful sign. They need direction. Feed them on your own literature; fill them with the inspiration that lies therein, teach them to love all that is their own; instil in them a sense of duty and responsibility; train them for the trusteeship which will be theirs in the days to come, and half the battle is done. Can anyone miss the tokens of patriotic devotion or the thunderous reverberations of patriotic love? Dedicate yourself then heart and soul to the rearing of a Temple of Learning, where your own language will be the

presiding Deity. Yes ! a Temple of Learning reared by the united hand of all ; for is not our literature the joint creation of us both Hindus and Muhammadans ? There will the powers of creation and assimilation, distinctive in our literature, receive ampler and ampler scope ; there will the common pursuit bring us closer and closer together ; there will the common language effect a truer and truer unity ; and from there, that Pantheon of Sweetness and Light, will a new gospel of humanity, transcending all barriers, unite us all in one fond embrace.

قدیم اردو افسانوں کا آغاز اور ارتقا اور جدید افسانوں پر اُنکا اثر

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF ROMANCE IN CLASSICAL
URDU LITERATURE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON
MODERN URDU FICTION

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اردو افسانوں کی پیدائش سے پہلے اردو مصنفین کے پاس دو ہی نمونے تھے سنسکرت زبان کے افسانے یعنی رامائین مہابھارت شکنتلا وغیرہ - اور فارسی کے رزمی اور برہمی افسانے - چونکہ اردو زبان نے زیادہ تر مسلمانوں کی گود میں پرورش پائی اور وہ سنسکرت سے نا آشنا تھے اس لئے اردو انسانہ نگاروں نے فارسی ہی کے باغ کی گلچینی کی *

فارسی میں جتنے افسانے لکھے گئے ان میں فردوسی کا شاہنامہ نظامی کا سکندر نامہ - نظامی اور خسرو کی شیریں و خسرو - بللی و معنوں - فیضی کی نل دمن اور داستان امیر حمزہ - جامی کی یوسف زلیخا نے عام مقبولیت حاصل کی اور یہی افسانے اردو افسانوں کے لئے رومر ہوئے *

رزمی افسانوں میں شاہنامہ اپنی ادبی خصوصیات اور اثر کے لحاظ سے سب سے زیادہ ممتاز ہے - اس کا اصلی کمال وصف نگاری مرقع نگاری اور واقعات کی تفصیل ہے شاہنامہ میں رستم کی معرکہ ارثیوں کے علاوہ دربار شاهی کا نقشہ - صف بندی - ادب شاهی کا بیان - انعام و اکرام کی تقسیم - درباری لباس - فرامین کے اجرا کا طریقہ - نامہ و پیام کا انداز - شادبوں کے مراسم - جہیز کی چیزوں - مہمانی اور عروسی کے ساز و سامان - کا بیان نہایت شرح و بسط کے ساتھ کیا گیا ہے - فردوسی نے میدان جنگ کا نقشہ نہایت تفصیل کے ساتھ کھینچا ہے اور جنگی باجوں - مثلاً کوس - طبل - نقارہ وغیرہ - اور آلات حرب مثلاً گرز - تیغ - سپر

وغیرہ کا ذکر بہت خوبی سے کیا ہے - فوج کی صف بندی اور جنگ کا طریقہ بھی واضح طور پر لکھا ہے مثلاً میمنہ - میسرہ - طلابہ - ندر اندازی - کشتی وغیرہ *

رم نگاری کبساتھ رزم نگاری کا بھی کمال دکھایا ہے اور حہان رزمی معرکہ ارانیان ہبن وہان عشق کی کار سازبان بھی دکھائی ہبن عاشق و معشوق کی ملاقات - دور شراب - معشوق کے حسن کی تعریف - باغ کا نقشہ - عاشق و معشوق کے جذبات کی مصوری عرض عشقیہ افسانوں کی خصوصیات کافی طور پر موجود ہبن (بہن و منبرہ - زال و روداہ کا عشق) *

بزمی افسانوں کی اصلی خصوصیت جذبات نگاری ہے - شہرین و خسرو - لیلی و مجنون اور دل دمن مبن عاشق و معشوق کی ملاقات - معشوق کے حسن کی تعریف - اور اعضا کی تشبیہیں - ادا و ناز - راز و نیاز - سوال و جواب - اصرار و انکار ہجر و فراق - عاشق کی بے صبری و بے قراری - حزن و ملال کا بیان پر زور طریقہ سے ہوا ہے - موقع نگاری کو ان میں بہت کم دخل ہے - مناظر قدرت کا بیان ہے تو محض مختصر ہے *

کم و بیش یہی خصوصیات اردو افسانوں میں بھی پائی جاتی ہیں ابک بچہ اپنے استاد کا سارا علم دفعہٴ حاصل نہیں کر سکتا اسی طرح اس نوخیز زبان میں بھی دفعہٴ ہر قسم کے افسانوں کا لکھا جانا ممکن نہ تھا اس لئے اردو افسانوں کی ترقی تدریجی طور پر ہوئی اور یہ خیال باطل ہو جاتا ہے کہ اردو افسانوں میں ارتقا کا سلسلہ منقطع ہے *

ہم اردو افسانوں کو انکی خصوصیات کے لحاظ سے مختلف دور ہر تقسیم کرتے ہیں پہلا دور سترہویں صدی عیسوی کے ربع اول کے اختتام سے اٹھارہویں صدی کے ربع اول کے اختتام تک *

یہ دور دکنی افسانوں کا دور ہے افسوس کہ دکنی ادب کا بہت کچھ سرمایہ زمانے نے فنا کر دیا اور محققانہ طور پر ان کے متعلق رائے زنی کرنی مشکل ہے اس دور میں جو افسانے لکھے گئے وہ مختصر عشقیہ افسانے تھے جو زیادہ تر اصل فارسی یا سنسکرت زبان سے بذریعہ فارسی ترجمہ کئے گئے تھے اسوقت تک فارسی کا اثر تو ضرور تھا مگر غلبہ نہ تھا یہاں تک کہ کتابوں کے نام بھی ہندی رکھے جاتے تھے اور بعض کے اشخاص قصہ بھی ہندو ہی تھے اگرچہ ان کے مصنف مسلمان تھے اس کا

اغلب سبب بھی تھا کہ قطب شاہی اور عادل شاہی خاندان کے بادشاہوں نے اردو ہی کو دفتری زبان بنایا تھا اور بھی سبب ہے کہ ابتدائی دور میں اردو کو دلی سے پہلے دکن میں فروغ ہوا *

دکنی زبان کا سب سے پہلا افسانہ جہاں تک تاریخی طور پر معلوم ہوتا ہے غوامی کا قصہ سیف الملوک شہزادہ مصر اور بدیع الجمال شہزادی چمن ہے اس کی تصنیف سنہ ۱۶۲۵ء میں ہوئی مگر اس کے نسخے گونا گونا گویا ہیں اسی سبب سے دنیائے افسانہ کے مولف نے طوطی نامے کو پہلا افسانہ مانا ہے۔ یہ فارسی کا ترجمہ ہے۔ اسی مصنف کا دوسرا قصہ طوطی نامہ سنہ ۱۶۳۹ء میں لکھا گیا۔ یہ ضیا بخشی کے طوطی نامے کا ترجمہ ہے جس کی اصل سنسکرت ہے اس میں چھوٹی چھوٹی کہانیاں ہیں جن کو ادبی افسانے کا پائہ حاصل نہیں ہے۔ مگر اس نے مقبولیت عام حاصل کی اور مختلف زبانوں میں اس کا ترجمہ کیا گیا۔ زبان نصف فارسی نصف ہندی ہے۔ یہ ترجمہ دو طرح کے تھے ایک وہ جن کے اشخاص قصہ ہندوستانی تھے اور قصوں کی جگہیں بھی ہندوستانی تھیں۔ دوسرے وہ جن کے ہیرو ایرانی تھے اور جگہیں بھی ایرانی تھیں۔ ترجموں میں ان نشاطی کی بھول بن — (سنہ ۱۶۶۶ء) نصرتی کی گاشن عشق (قصہ منوہر اور مددہ مالتی) اور عاجز کی لال و گوہر اور تصنیفوں میں کلم روپ کلا اول الذکر کی مثالیں ہیں جن میں بہاشا کا رنگ غالب ہے۔ یہول بن مین ایک خاص بات یہ ہے کہ انسان اپنے قالب سے جانوروں کے قالب میں آجاتے ہیں کلم روپ کلا کے بھی اشخاص قصہ سب ہندو ہیں اور جگہیں بنگال اور اودھ ہیں بہاشا کے طرز پر عورت عاشق ہوتی ہے۔ ان کے سوا سب ترجمے ایرانی مصنفوں کے ہیں اس لئے ان کے اشخاص قصہ زیادہ تر ایرانی ہیں ان افسانوں کی فہرست دہلی میں مقصود نہیں۔ مختصراً اتنا لکھ دیا جاتا ہے کہ اسی دور میں یوسف زلیخا ہفت بینکر اور بہرام گور و عبرہ کا ترجمہ ہوا۔ ان ترجموں نے آئندہ افسانہ نگاروں کے لئے ایرانی اور ملکی افسانوی ادب کا کافی سرمایہ فراہم کر دیا *

سنہ ۱۷۱۹ء کے بعد محمد شاہی دور میں دلی اردو کا مرکز ہوئی اس دور میں صرف ایک نظمیں افسانے کا پائہ چلتا ہے یعنی فضائل علی خان بے قید کا اپنا افسانہ عشق جس کا ذکر میر حسن نے اپنے تذکرہ میں کیا ہے *

شاہ عالم کے دور میں مہر تقی میر نے عشقیہ مثنویاں لکھیں - اسوقت فارسی ہاشا
یر غالب ہو چکی تھی اور ان مثنویوں کے طرز بیان میں فارسی اثر بہت غالب ہے -
عشق مرد کی جانب سے دکھانا ہے - محاکات سے کم کام لیا گیا ہے شادی کے جلوس
وغیرہ کا بیان گونا معدوم ہے قدرتی مناظر کا بیان بھی محض مختصر ہے - شعلہ عشق
میں مافوق الفطرت عنصر کا اضافہ بھی ہے - ماہی گہر اور اسکی عورت کی گفنگو سنکر
برسرام دریا کے کنارے آگ کے شعلے کو دیکھنے کے لئے گہا حو آسمان سے اتر کر
اس کو پکارا کرنا تھا :-

لب آب وہ شعلہ حایلذار نوب کر بہت با زبان دراز
پکارا کہاں ہے برسرام تو محبت کا تک دیکھہ انجام تو
کہ میں جملہ تن آتش نیز ہوں دل گرم سے شعلہ انگیز ہوں

ان کی اصلی خصوصیت جذبات کی مصوری ہے اور اس میں ان کو کمال حاصل
ہے - شعلہ عشق میں برسرام کی معشوقہ کے مرنے کے بعد اس کی بیٹائی کی سچی
تصریر کھینچی ہے :-

گئے ہوش و صبر اس کے یکبارگی طبیعت میں آئی آگ آوارگی
کبھی یاد کر اس کو نالان ہوا کبھی تک جو بھولے تو حیران ہوا
کبھی یان کبھی وان بحال خراب وہی بے قرار ہے وہی اضطراب
رہے گھر تو آشوب گہ وہ گلی چمن میں جو لے جائیں تو بیکلی

اسی طرح دریائے عشق میں عاشق کی بقراری دکھائی ہے - اسی دور میں راسخ
عظیم آبادی نے بھی ناز و نیاز اور دوسری عشقیہ مثنویاں لکھیں مگر جذبات نگاری
کے سوا کوئی امتیازی خصوصیت ان میں نہیں پائی جاتی *

سنہ ۱۸۸۴ء میں میر حسن نے مثنوی سحر البیان لکھ کر افسانوی ادب کا
سرمایہ بہت کچھ وسیع کر دیا - یہ مثنوی نظمیں افسانوں کا حد کمال ہے اور آئندہ
افسانہ نگاروں کے لئے ایک چراغ ہدایت - یہیں سے افسانوں کا ارتقاء شروع ہوتا ہے -
میر کے افسانے صرف جذبات نگاری - عاشق و معشوق کی ملاقات ہجر و فراق کے
مضامین تک محدود ہیں *

لیکن میر حسن کی مثنوی میں مضامین کی فراوانی ہے - اس کی اصلی خوبی
مرقع نگاری ہے - افسانہ نگار کے جو فرائض ہیں وہ پورے پورے ادا ہوتے ہیں - قصہ

کي بنا عشق پر ہے - مگر اس ميں سلطنت کي شان و شوکت - بايہ تخت کي رونق -
 اور چہل پہل - لا ولدي کي حالت ميں بادشاہ کي مابوسي اور دنبا سے بيزاري -
 جوتيشيون کي گفنگو - شاہزادے کي ولادت اور چہئي کي تقريب - دودھ برفائے کي
 رسم - محفل نشاط کے تہائے - گانے واليون کے لباس - آداب و لحاظ - راگنيون اور
 ہر قسم کے باجون کا نام - حمام ميں نہانے کي کيعيت - شاہانہ لباس اور جواہرات کا
 بيان - بيگمون کي بوشاک - زبورات - بناؤ سنگار - خواگاہ کا نقشہ - مکانون کي آرائش -
 باعون کا سمان - شادي کے مراسم کي پوري پوري مصوري کي ہے - ہر منظر کي مرقع
 کشي اس کي جرئيات کي پوري تفصيل کيساتھ اس پيرايہ ميں کي ہے کہ اس کا
 نقشہ آنکھوں کے سامنے کچھ جاتا ہے - اس مثنوي ميں جنگي معرکہ آرائيون کے سوا
 شاہنامہ کي قريب قريب کل خصوصيات موجود هيں - بعض شعر ميں شاہنامہ کا اثر
 صاف طور پر نمايان ہے -

* بيت *

کہا زبر سے ہم نے بہر شگون کہ دون دون خوشيکي خبر کيون ندون

انتخاب اشعار

بادشاہ کے باغ کا بيان جو شاہزادہ نے نظير کے لئے تيار کيا تھا:—

دیا شہ نے ترتیب اک خانہ باغ	ہوا رشک سے جس کے لالہ کو داغ
چھتین اور پردے بندھے زرنگار	درون پر کھڑی دست بستہ بہار
کوئی درر سے در پہ اٹکا ہوا	کوئی زہ پہ خوبي سے لگکا ہوا
سنہري مغرق چھتین ساريان	وہ ديوار اور در کی گلکاریان
وہ مخمل کا فرش اسکا ستھرا کہ بس	بڑھے جس کے آگے نہ پائے ہوس
چھپرکھٹ مرصع وہ دالان ميں	چمکتا دمکتا تھا ہر آن ميں
چميلي کہیں اور کہیں موتيا	کہیں رائے بیل اور کہیں موگرا
کہیں جعفري اور گيندا کہیں	سمان شب کو داؤدبون کا کہیں
کھترے سرو کي طرح چمپا کے جھاڑ	کہے تو کہ خوشبوئيوں کے پہاڑ
کھترے نہر پر قاز اور قورقے	لئے ساتھ مرغابيون کے پیرے
مدا قورقروں کي بطون کا وہ شور	درختون پر لگے منڈيرون پہ مور

شاہي دربار کے انعام و اکرام کي تقسيم:—

دئے شاہ نے شاہزادہ کو ناؤں مشائخ کو اور پیرزادوں کو گاؤں
 امیروں کو جاگیر لشکر کو زر وزیروں کو العاس و لعل و گہر
 خواصوں کو خوجوں کو جوڑے دئے بیادے جو تھے ان کو گھوڑے دئے
 شاہزادہ بنظیر کی سواری جانب باغ :-
 سنہری رو پہلی وہ عماران شب و روز کی سی طرح داربان
 چمکتے ہوئے بادلے کے نشان سواروں کے غٹ اور بالونکی شان
 ہزاروں ہی اطراف میں یالکی جھلانور کی جگمگی نالکی
 کھاروں کی زینت کی کرتبان اور اون کے دے پاؤں کی بھرتیاں
 وہ آہستہ گھوڑوں بہ نقارچی قدم با قدم با لباس زری
 غرض بیادے - چوبدار - نقارچی - نقیب - کونل کے گھوڑے انک ایک چہرے کا بورا یور
 نقشہ دکھایا ہے *

اس کے ساتھ ساتھ حذبات نگاری بھی بہایت فطری انداز میں کی ہے شاہزادہ
 بنظیر کے غائب ہو جانے پر محل والوں کی بیتابی یوں ظاہر کی ہے :-
 رہے حال یہ دیکھ حیران کار کہ یہ کیا ہوا ہائے پروردگار
 کوئی دیکھ یہ حال رونے لگی کوئی غم سے جی ایسا کھونے لگی
 کوئی بلبلائی سی پھرنے لگی کوئی ضعف کھا کھا کے گرنے لگی
 کوئی سر پر رکھ ہاتھ دلگیر ہو گئی بیٹھ ماتم کی تصویر ہو
 میر حسن کا ایک کمال مکالمہ نویسی بھی ہے - میر تقی کے قصوں میں بھی
 مکالمے ہیں مگر میر حسن کے مکالمے فطری اور مقتضائے حال کے مطابق ہیں
 مبالغہ پری کو جب دیو سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ بینظیر اپنے قول و قرار کے خلاف بدر منیر
 کے عشق میں مبتلا ہو گیا ہے تو غصہ میں آکر کہتی ہے :-

کہا دیکھنے باڑن اسکو ذری

تو کہا جاؤں کچا اسے موت ہو لگی ہے مری اب تو وہ سوت ہو
 وہ آئے تو آگے مرے نابکار گریمان کو اس کے کروں نار تار
 بھی قول و اقرار تھا میرے ساتھ بھلا اس کا دامن ہے اور میرا ہاتھ

اس اثناء میں جب بینظیر آجاتا ہے تو وہ کہتی ہے :-

کہا سن تو اے مولیٰ و مدعی

تجھ سبر کو مہن نے گھوڑا دبا کہ اس مالزادی کو جوڑا دیا
 الگ ہم سے ہون رہنا اور چھوٹنا یہ اوپر ہی اوپر مزے لوٹنا
 بدر منیر کی سہیلی نجم النساء وزیرزادی بنظر کی تلاش میں جوگن کے بھیس
 میں نکلتی ہے اور ابک مہدان میں بن بجانی ہے - شاہزادہ فرور بخت شاہ جن کا
 بیٹا اس سے ہون ہمکلام ہوتا ہے:—

یہ سمجھا بناوٹ کا کچھ بھیس ہے لگا کہنے جوگی حی آوس نے
 بیڑا تم یہ ابسا کہو کنا بچوگ لہا واسطے کس کے تم نے یہ جوگ
 کدھر سے تم آئے کدھر حاوگے دبا اپنی ہم پر بھی فرماوگے
 جوگن کا جواب:—

کہا ہنس کے جوگن نے ہر بول ہر جہان سے تو آبا چلا حا اُدھر
 طوالت کے اندیشے سے میں زیادہ اشعار کا نمونہ نہیں دکھاتا - مثنوی سحر الیاب
 ہندوستان کے مسلمان سلاطین کے آخری دور کے تمدن کا آئینہ ہے جس میں ہر
 واقع کا بورا بورا عکس پڑتا ہے - اگر اس داستان سے رومانی عنصر یعنی دیو پری اور
 جن کا بیان نکال دیا جائے تو یہ داستان ابک منظوم ناول ہو جائے - اس میں ناول اور
 ڈرامے کے عناصر کثرت سے موجود ہیں اس لحاظ سے یہ ناول اور ڈرامے کی پیش رو
 کہی جا سکتی ہے - مختصر یہ کہ میر حسن کی بدولت اردو افسانے نے ارتقاء کی کئی
 منزلیں طے کر لیں *

مثنوی سحر الیاب کا اثر دور ما بعد کے اکثر افسانوں پر پڑا اس داستان کا آغاز
 بادشاہ کی لا ولدی اور نجومیوں کی بشارت سے ہوتا ہے - حاتم طائی - باغ و بہار اور
 فسانہ عجائب کا آغاز بھی کسب قدر تغیر کیساتھ اسطرح ہوتا ہے - اندر سبھا میں
 گلفام جب کوئیں میں قید کر دیا جاتا ہے تو سبز پری جوگن کے بھیس میں اُدھر
 اُدھر کی خاک چھانتی ہوئی اندر کے دربار میں پہنچتی ہے اور گلفام کو قید سے رہا
 کراتی ہے (قرینہ اغلب ہے کہ یہ حصہ میر حسن کی اس داستان سے ماخوذ ہے
 جب بینظیر کو مامور پر کوئیں میں قید کر دیتی ہے اور نجم النساء اس کی
 تلاش میں جوگن نکر بین ہاتھ میں لیکر بیابان نور دی اختیار کرتی ہے) *

انیسویں صدی سے نثری افسانوں کا دور شروع ہوا - ان میں زیادہ تر افسانے وہ
 ہیں جو فورٹ ولیم کالج میں فارسی اور بہاشا سے ترجمہ کئے گئے ان افسانوں میں ارتقائی

کدیت کے لحاظ سے باغ و بہار مدد عشق - (گل بکولی) اور آرائش محفل خاص طور پر قابل ذکر ہیں - یہ قصے فارسی سے ترجمہ کئے گئے ہیں مگر ان میں مترجم نے اپنے تصرف سے بھی کام لیا ہے محض لفظی ترجمہ نہیں ہیں *

قل کے افسانوں میں قصہ در قصہ کی صورت بدلا نہیں ہوئی تھی اور مافوق الفطرت عنصر کی بے کڑی اہم حیثیت نہ تھی *

مگر اس دور اور اس کے بعد کے افسانوں کی من جملہ اور خصوصیات کے ایک نمانان خصوصیت قصہ در قصہ ہے - دوسری خصوصیت عجائبات اور طلسمات کا کثرت سے بیان اور تیسری خصوصیت انجان اور خطرناک جگہوں میں ہیرو کی کوچہ گردی اور صحرا نوردی اور مصیبتوں میں گرفتار ہو جانا ہے *

پہلی خصوصیت کا نمونہ باغ و بہار اور آرائش محفل ہے - باغ و بہار میں مرکزی قصہ بادشاہ آزاد بخت اور خواجہ سگ پرست کا ہے - اور ملکہ زہر باد ملکہ سراندسپ اور آذر نائی حان کے سوداگر کی حکایتیں قصہ در قصہ کے نمونے ہیں *

قل کے افسانوں میں عجائبات کا بیان مختصراً ہوتا تھا مگر ان تین افسانوں کا زیادہ تر حصہ عجائبات اور دور از قناس امور پر مشتمل ہے مثلاً چوہوں کے بادشاہ کا تاج المارک کو بکاولی کے باغ تک لہجانا یا حاتم کا ایک اژدھے کے بیت میں حاکم اچند روز کے بعد صبح و سالم نکل آنا *

ان عجائبات کا بیان لطف قصہ کو دہرایا کرنے کے علاوہ ہیرو کی شجاعت اور جفا کشی کے ظاہر کرنے کے لئے بھی کیا جاتا ہے - جو قدم افسانوں کا لازمی جزو ہے اور جسکے بغیر نہ ہیرو کی خوبیاں لوگوں کے دلوں میں جاگزیں ہو سکتی ہیں اور نہ اس سے ہمدردی پیدا ہو سکتی ہے *

اس دور کے افسانوں کی خصوصیات میں ایک نمانان خصوصیت اخلاقی تعلیم ہے - اسی بنا پر ان میں مختلف طبقے کے انسانوں کا تذکرہ کیا گیا ہے اور انسانی فطرت کے دونوں پہلو پر روشنی ڈالی گئی ہے (خواجہ سگ پرست اور اُسکے بہائونکا قصہ) *

باغ و بہار میں عوام کو تجارت - سفر اور بادشاہوں کو عدل و انصاف کی تعلیم دی گئی ہے - آرائش محفل میں ایثار اور خدمت خلق کی اور گل بکاولی میں خدمت والدین کی *

سنہ ۱۸۲۷ع میں فسانۂ عجائب لکھی گئی کتاب اسم نا مسمیٰ ہے - اسکی شہرت معنوی خصرمیات سے زیادہ مسجع عبارت کی وجہ سے ہے - اس میں قدرتی مناظر کا بیان اس درر کے اور افسانوں سے زیادہ ہے اور اشبا کی تفصیل بھی *

اس سلسلہ کی آخری کڑی داستان امیر حمزہ ہے جسکی تصنیف تقریباً سنہ ۱۸۵۷ع میں ہوئی اس سلسلۂ داستان کو افسانوں کا انتہائے کمال کہنا چاہئے اس میں طلسم ہوشربا سب سے بہتر ہے - جہاننگ تاربخی طور پر معلوم ہے اس ضخامت کا افسانہ دنیا کی کسی زبان میں لکھا نہیں گیا *

اس کے مصنف نے تخیل کی انتہائی بلند پروازی دکھائی ہے مصنف کا ایک نوا کمال تو یہی ہے کہ ضخامت کے باوجود قصہ کا ربط تمام قائم ہے کوئی قصہ ادھورا نہیں چھوڑا ہے ربط کے ساتھ اس کا تمام لحاظ رکھا ہے کہ کسی قصہ کسی طلسم بلکہ کسی نام کی بھی تکرار نہ ہو *

اس سے پہلے کے کل افسانے برہمی افسانے تھے مگر یہ رزم و بزم کا مجموعہ ہے - فارسی رزم کا اثر غالب ہے پہلوانوں کے نام زیادہ تر وہی ہیں جو شاہنامہ کے پہلوان ہیں مثلاً افراسیاب - گستہم وغیرہ اس سے پہلے کے افسانوں میں عیاروں کا ذکر نہیں ہے مگر اس میں عیاروں کی عیاری ایک قابل قدر اضافہ ہے اور نفسیات کا ایک بہترین مطالعہ *

مصنف کی قابلیت کا اعلیٰ ترین جوہر یہ ہے کہ بیشمار اشخاص قصہ کے باوجود ہر کی انفرادی خصوصیات کو قائم رکھا ہے - لاکھوں عیار ہیں مگر سب کے عیاری کے طریقے ایک دوسرے سے بالکل جداگانہ ہیں - لاکھوں ساحر ہیں مگر سب کی ساحری ایک دوسرے سے اس طرح علیحدہ ہے کہ پڑھنے والا بغیر نام جانے ہوئے صرف عیاری - ساحری اور سپاہیوں کے حملے کو پڑھ کر کہہ دے سکتا ہے کہ اس قصہ کا ہیرو کون ہے *

سیرت نگاری کا یہ عنصر اسی داستان کا اضافہ ہے - اس سے پہلے گویا معدوم تھا * مصنف نے اشخاص کے فرق مراتب کا بہت لحاظ رکھا ہے - جسکی ایک مثال یہ ہے کہ افراسیاب کبھی گرفتار نہیں ہوا - اور قتل بھی ہوا تو فوج کے معزز ترین سپہ سالار کے ہاتھ سے *

قدیم افسانوں کے مقامات گرچہ ہندوستان سے باہر خراسان - روم فسططیہ وغیرہ لکھے گئے ہیں مگر انکی اندرونی شہادتوں سے ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ فارسی قالب کے اندر جو روح ہے وہ ہندوستانی روح ہے کیونکہ جتنے مراسم یا مناظر کا ذکر کیا گیا ہے وہ مخصوص ہندوستانی ہیں -

(منبر شامی کی شادی - جامعہ کی شادی کا بیان)

مگر طلسم ہوشربا میں جہاں کا قصہ لکھا گیا وہاں کے مقامی رنگ کے فائدہ رکھنے کی زیادہ تر کوشش کی گئی ہے - اگرچہ اس کے خلاف کئی بھی مثالیں موجود ہیں *

فسانۂ عجائب - آرائش محفل وغیرہ کے مصنف نے خراسان اور حنن کی شادیوں میں ہندوستانی شادیوں کے لوازمات سہرا - منہدی وغیرہ کا بیان کیا ہے مگر طلسم ہوشربا کے مصنف نے صرف اسلامی اصول پر سیدھے سادے نکاح پر بس کی ہے *

جنگ کا جو نقشہ کھینچا ہے وہ وہی ہے جو قرون وسطیٰ میں (جس عہد کا قصہ لکھا گیا) جنگ کا طریقہ تھا میمنہ - میسرہ - طلاہ - کوس - طبل - کشتی - گرز وغیرہ - اغلب ہے کہ یہ شاہنامہ کا اثر ہو - اس مضمون میں گنجائش نہیں ہے کہ اس کی خصوصیات کے نمونے دکھائے جائیں *

سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء کے بعد ناولوں نے قدیم مافوق الفطرت افسانوں کی جگہ لے لی - انگریزی اثر نے ذوق بدل دیا اور فطرت نگاری کے ذوق نے خلاف قیاس باتوں سے نفرت پیدا کر دی مگر پھر بھی جدید ناولوں پر بھی قدیم افسانوں کا اثر ہمیشہ برتا رہا - اس کا بدن ثبوت یہ ہے کہ شرر کے تاریخی اور معاشرتی ناولوں میں عشق ایک لازمی عنصر ہے - خواہ وہ عشق تاریخی سے ثابت ہونا ہو یا نہ ہو *

فردوس بریں میں یہ رومانی عنصر بہت کافی طور پر نمایاں ہے اسی طرح منصور موہنا - مقدس نارین میں بھی - قیس و لبنیٰ میں صرف مافوق الفطرت واقعات کی کمی ہے ورنہ جو عشق قیس کو لبنیٰ سے ہے وہ فطری عشق نہیں بلکہ رومانی عشق ہے *

اب دوسرے باب میں بعد کے اثرات بیان کئے جائینگے ۔ مگر یہ مضمون خود ایک دلچسپ مضمون ہے اس لئے پندت رنن ناتھ ۔ سجاد حیدر ۔ نیار ۔ سریم چند ۔ سدرشن اور دوسرے افسانہ نگاروں کی رومانیت پر خاکسار اک مستقل مضمون انشاء اللہ تعالیٰ ناظرین کی خدمت میں پیش کریگا *

خاکسار

سید یوسف الدین احمد بلخی

ام ۔ اے ۔ ڈپ ۔ ای ڈی

انگلش نیچر مدرسه اسلامیہ شمس الہدیٰ

نانکی پور بٹنہ

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Arabic and Persian Section.

President :

MOULVI HIDAYAT HUSSAIN.

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ABU TAMMAM'S POETRY.

A. HAQ.

The poems of Abu Tammam, the leader of the great Abbasid trio,¹ were frequently studied and appreciated during the poet's life time. But, though they continued for a long time after his death to receive the admiration of literary men, the appearance of Mutanabbi² on the poetical horizon somewhat dimmed their fame. To-day, wherever Arabic literature is studied Mutanabbi is held in high esteem as the greatest poet that the Islamic age has produced. In earlier times, no doubt, the Diwans of all the three poets, were equally studied and it became a matter of controversy which of the three was the best. The author of *al-Mathal-al-Sair*, who lived in the later decades of the sixth century of the Hijra, recommends the study of these three Diwans to the exclusion of all others,³ and further relates that when he went to Damascus and to Egypt,⁴ he found that the literary men of those places did not study carefully the poems of Abu Tammam and Mutanabbi.⁵

As has been already stated, Mutanabbi is the most popular of modern Arabic poets in the East of to-day. Numerous editions of his Diwan have been and are still being published, while on the contrary, the poems of Abu Tammam are seldom read; so far, only four editions of the Diwan having been issued. No doubt his difficult style, his frequent employment of obscure words, and the complex nature of the poems have contributed much to their unpopularity. Below will be found a passage from Aghani which illustrates the views that were held when the author of that great work lived.⁶ Speaking of Abu Tammam, he says, 'He was a gifted poet of subtle intellect, fond of unusual and obscure ideas. He has a style of his own in *Mutabaqa* (Antithesis) which almost entitles him to be considered its originator. Although many of the poets who preceded

¹ i.e. Abu Tammam, Buhturi, and Mutanabbi.

² b. 303 A.H., d. 354 A.H.

³ *Al. Mathal-al. Sair* 470-472, pub. Cairo, cf. Nishwar of Tanukhi 177 (16-19).

⁴ 587 A.H. and 506 A.H. respectively.

⁵ See *ibid.*, 469-470.

⁶ He died in 356 A.H. *Yaqt's Irshad* vi, 5, 149-168.

him introduced that figure of rhetoric into their poems, yet he surpassed them all in the extent to which he has made use of it in all its forms. Some of his poems are perfect and peerless, but many of them are altogether commonplace while some are entirely worthless. At the present time there may be said to be two parties, one, of his zealous supporters, who go so far as to call him the greatest poet of ancient and modern times, the other, of those who in their brazen partisanship deliberately parade his worthless pieces, and conceal his good ones.¹ This quotation gives in brief form a correct estimate of the views held by the rival parties regarding the poetry of Abu Tammam. Buhturi (d. 284 A.H.), a contemporary poet, is related to have said that Abu Tammam's best poems are better than his own.² Again Mubarrad³ is said to have declared, when asked to compare Abu Tammam and Buhturi 'Abu Tammam digs out subtle and elegant ideas; his choicest poems are better than those of Buhturi or any other modern poet that preceded him, but the uniformity of Buhturi's diction is superior to that of Abu Tammam.'⁴ There are among critics those who treat his poetry unjustly. His vigorous style, clothed in various forms of rhetoric, his use of well-chosen words, his zeal in exploring new fields of ideas, the impressiveness of his diction—all these qualities that make him a great poet, are disregarded by those critics who have taken upon themselves the odious task of condemning his poetry in season and out of season. True, as has already been pointed out, sometimes his excessive use of the figures of rhetoric,⁵ of words⁶ obscure and ideas difficult of comprehension, mar his poetry, but on this account he cannot altogether be condemned. There is hardly any poet either of the pagan days or of the Islamic age who has not been attacked and even held in derision by critics.⁷ With regard to Abu Tammam's

¹ Aghani xv, 96.

² al-Muwazana, 5, cf. Aghani xviii, 168.

³ Died in 286 or 285 A.H. ⁴ Masudi vii, 154-156.

⁵ Cf. Amidi 114-121 al-Wasata by Jurjani 60 seqq.

⁶ The poet describing his poems says (Diwan 20, 11):

نكأنما هي في السماع جنادل و كأنها هي في القلوب كواكب

Ibn Rashi (umda 86) quotes the remark of Ibn-al-Rumi (d. in 283 or 284 A.H.) in which the latter says, 'If Abu Tammam could express his meanings by using Nabathoun words, he would not fail to employ them'.

⁷ Even the Muallaqa of Imru'ul-Qays is attacked vehemently by Abu Bakr Baqillam (d. 403 A.H.) in Ijaz-ul-Quran (75 seqq pub. Cairo, 1315 A.H.).

poetry, Al-Maarri (d. 449 A.H.) in his book *Dhikra*¹ Habib says, 'The understanding of Abu Tammam's poems was rendered more difficult by the "relators" who were not well versed in literature and the ignorant transcribers who misplaced vowels and even changed the letters' Like all great writers and poets Abu Tammam was the product of an intellectual ancestry. In his poems, as we shall see later, he mentions many poets of Jahiliyya and Islam. He acknowledges Kuthayyir as the master composer of the *nasib* (the erotic-prelude) He struck out a new path in the field of Arabic poetry which was followed by many eminent poets. In writing the history of Arabic poetry we shall have to call the period beginning with the Caliphate of Mutasim as the period of Abu Tammam

In comparing his poetry with that of Buhturi and Mutanabbi what strikes one most is that many ideas and expressions are common to all of them. Abu Tammam was well versed both in pre-Islamic and Islamic poetry,² as his famous anthology of *Hamasa* bears witness, and his acquaintance with these could not but have influenced his ideas and diction. Though the easy style of Buhturi and the fine texture of Mutanabbi's versification stand in vivid contrast to that of Abu Tammam, yet it is futile to deny the influence which the thought and expression of the latter have exercised over them. Indeed Buhturi³ has avowed the greatness of Abu Tammam; but Mutanabbi was too proud to give him an equally generous recognition. The following interesting dialogue took place between Muhammad b. Hasan-al-Hatimi (d. 388 A.H.) and Mutanabbi⁴ When

Cf. *al-Wasata* 11-12—*Amidi* 16, seqq. *Yatima* (i, 105-125) by Tha'alibi in which he has criticised Mutanabbi

¹ Hajji Khalifa (*Kashf-al-Zunun*) iii, 253. The book *Dhikra-Habib* in which al-Maarri has selected Abu Tammam's poems and explained them, is not so far discovered.

² *Amidi* 23. cf. Ibn Khallikan, i, 151.

³ Cf. *Aghani* xviii, 168, Buhturi revising the memory of Di'bil and Abu Tammam says (*Amidi*, 21):

فد زادنې حربي و او قد لوعتي مثنوي حبيب يوم مات و دعل
اهل المعاني المستعيلة ان هم طلبوا البراعة بالكلام المقفل

also incidentally he mentions the name of Abu Tammam in his *Diwan* (58, i, last line) pub. Cairo.

و تعجب من غير ما انا فيه نكذا كان مسلم و حبيب

⁴ *Yaqut's Irshad* vi, 6, 513-517. Cf. Ibn Khallikan i, 646-648.

Hatimi mentioned the name of Abu Tammam to Mutanabbi the latter exclaimed in surprise, 'Who is Abu Tammam?' To which Hatimi replied, 'The man on whose poems thou hast committed plagiarism'. Whereupon Mutanabbi declared, 'I swear I have not read a single one of his poems', and strangely enough began to recite some of Abu Tammam's verses and to pour ridicule on them, thereby showing clearly that he was acquainted with the poems of the latter. Probably the fear that he would be accused of plagiarism urged him to make the statement which was obviously false.¹

The golden age of the Abassid period in which scientific and literary activities flourished could not have failed to exercise a great influence on Abu Tammam. His poems show that he had no small acquaintance with the science and literature of the time.² He incidentally refers in his poems to matters relating to Isnad,³ Jurisprudence,⁴ Metre,⁵ Grammar,⁶ and Astronomy.⁷

Abu Tammam regarded the relationship of poets to one another as binding and sacred. In the valedictory⁸ poem addressed to his friend Ali b. Jahm he says, 'If we are not of the same parentage, yet there is the kinship of literature that binds us together'. His friendship with Hasan b. Wahb was in no small degree affected by this relationship in letters.⁹ He asks the favour of Abdul-Lah b. Tahir as of a person who has a fine judgment of poetry.¹⁰ Again in praising Muhammad b. Malik-al-Zayyat he lays stress on the obligation that letters impose upon him and requests him to help literature to thrive under his auspices.¹¹

¹ See al-Wasata (169 seqq) in which a description of Mutanabbi's plagiarism is given.

² Masudi (VII, 166) says 'Al-Suli (d. 335 A.H.) in his biography of Abu Tammam quotes the following line (Diwan 3) (12) in the praise of wine as an example of the poet's scholarship :

جَهْمِيَّةُ الْأَوْصَافِ إِلَّا أَنَّهُمْ قَدْ لَقَبُوهَا جَوْهَرُ الْأَشْيَاءِ

The wine that has the attributes given by Jahmites to God, save that they name her as the essence of things. Jahm b. Safwan, the leader of the Jahmites, asserts that the Divine attributes should be different from human attributes. Shahrastani i, 60.

³ Chain of authorities who relate the traditions, Diwan 76 (11).

⁴ Diwan 346 (9).

⁵ Diwan 81 (6).

⁶ Diwan 3 (10), 279 (15), 308 (13).

⁷ Diwan 7 (13).

⁸ Diwan 86.

⁹ Diwan 214 (13).

¹⁰ Diwan 316 (13).

¹¹ Diwan 50 (7-10).

Abu Tammam in his poems mentions many poets of pagan and Islamic days, and alludes to other men of letters and art. Among the poets referred to by him are Imru'ul-Qays,¹ Abid b. al-Abras,² Zuhayr,³ Labid,⁴ Ziyad⁵ (i.e. Nabigha of Dhubyān), the two Ashas⁶ (i.e. Maymun b. Qays Asha of Wali and Asha of Bahila, Jarwal⁷ (al-Hutayā), Farazdaq,⁸ Akhtal,⁹ Jarir,¹⁰ al-Baith,¹¹ Ghaylan¹² (Dhu-'l-Rumma) Masūd,¹³ the brother of Dhu-'l-Rumma. He also mentions the name of Kuthayyir in connection with his erotic preludes,¹⁴ of Layla-al-Akhyaliyya as a writer of elegies¹⁵. He refers to the Yatima of Ibn-al-Muqaffa' (d. circa 142 A.H.) as a masterpiece of eloquence.¹⁶ Ma'bad he calls him the greatest of singers.¹⁷ Praising the easy style of Zuhayr, he says, that his ideas were not in need of explanation by Hippocrates, the physician.¹⁸

Most of the names of women¹⁹ mentioned in the erotic preludes, in which he sings about their love as did the old Arabian bards, seem to be quite fictitious, since there is hardly anything in his poems suggesting that any one of them was a real person. Though in one of his elegies²⁰ he laments the death of a slave girl, he does not mention her name. Even many places mentioned in the erotic preludes are fictitious,²¹ his mention of such places being the result of his imitation of the earlier poets. There are, nevertheless, many places mentioned in his poems with which he was acquainted, such as Nisabūr, Raqqā,²² etc.

¹ Diwan 23 (last line), 87 (13) in this verse he calls him by the name of المذل (i.e. the vagrant prince), 322 (14)

² 84 (last line). ³ 489 (6). ⁴ 82 (9), 363 (1), 87 (13).

⁵ 80 (13). ⁶ 87 (13). ⁷ 65 (15).

⁸ 153 (last line), 238 (5), 396 (5). ⁹ 238 (5).

¹⁰ 67 (Penultimate line), 496 (5). ¹¹ 67 (Penultimate line).

¹² 9 (6), 496 (15). ¹³ 82 (8).

¹⁴ 26 (9); 40 (2); the poet calls him Kathir while his real name is Kuthayyir. Cf. Amidi, 5.

¹⁵ 40 (1).

¹⁶ 40 (2) two Yatimas one of which is al-Durrat-al-Yatima, together with other small treatises by Ibn-al-Muqaffa' were edited by Kurd Ali and published at Cairo, in 1331 A.H. But the authenticity of the Yatimas may be disputed.

¹⁷ 103 (7). ¹⁸ 489 (7).

¹⁹ e.g. Zaynah, Rabah, (18, penultimate line), etc. ²⁰ 388 (12).

²¹ e.g. Aqiq, Liwa, U'lyab, Diwan 12 (4, 9).

²² Cf. the 1st part of the chapter.

Among many interesting features of Abu Tammam's poems one that arrests attention is his frequent reference to the days of the week on which events took place. Monday, the day on which Abu Said achieved a great victory; ¹ Tuesday was the day on which U'mayr Ibn Walid ² died, and also a loathsome day being that on which he was separated from his ³ beloved; Thursday was the day when Badhdh, ⁴ the fortress of Babak, fell to the Caliph's arms, and also the day on which Mu'tasim ⁵ died and his son Wathiq acceded to the Caliphate, as well as the day of separation from his beloved; ⁶ Friday was the day ⁷ on which Abu Said routed Babak in Muqan, Saturday the day of his victory over the Romans, 'a victory which causes time to change frowns into smiles whenever it remembers that it has begotten such a Saturday'. ⁸ Apparently Sunday and Wednesday did not produce events which remained in the memory of the poet.

He was not only a poet but also a great anthologist. Indeed, Tibrizi (d. 502 A.H.) mentions the opinion held by many that Abu Tammam displayed his poetic power more conspicuously in the compilation of his anthology of *Hamasa* than in the poems he himself composed. ⁹

Six anthologies ¹⁰ were compiled by Abu Tammam but of these only one (viz. *Hamasa*) is extant. Their names are given below:—

- (1) *Ikhtiyar-al-Qabaili* the greater, containing select verses from tribal lays.
- (2) *Ikhtiyar-al-Qabaili*, selections from tribal lays by little known poets.
- (3) *Ikhtiyar Shu'ra-al-Fuhul*, ¹¹ selections of masterpieces by pagan and Islamic poets ending with Ibrahim b. Harma.
- (4) *al-Hamasa*.
- (5) *Ikhtiyar al-Muqattaa't* arranged in similar order as the last but beginning with love poems.
- (6) Selections from modern poets.

¹ 293 (11).

² 360 (13).

³ 64 (2).

⁴ 263 (6).

⁵ 276 (11).

⁶ 433 (2) : 445 (6).

⁷ 102 (4).

⁸ 297 (5-7).

⁹ Tibrizi's Commentary on *Hamsa* (ed. by Frelag) i, 2.

¹⁰ *Al-Mumazana*, 23, cf. Tibrizi's Commentary on *Hamsa* i, 2. pub. Leiden Ibn Khallikan i, 151.

¹¹ Amidi (23) says it was a well-known anthology.

All these anthologies were extant in the time of al-Amīdī¹ and a copy of the anthology first named was also in the possession of the author of *Khizanat-al-Adab*² *Hamasa*, his famous anthology, was composed by the poet when he was returning from a visit to Abdul-Lāh b. Tāhīr, the governor of Khurasan, and was detained by snow in Hamadhan where he resided with Abu'l-Wafa b. Salama who possessed a library in which were collections of poems composed by the bards of the desert and other authors. After a careful study of these collections he compiled many anthologies one of which is the *Hamasa*.³

His *Diwan* was arranged in alphabetical order by Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Yahya al-Sulī (d. 335 A.H.) and afterwards rearranged in order of subjects by Alī b. Hamza al-Isfahani⁴ Various commentaries of the *Diwan* were written, two of these, one compendious, the other exhaustive, being the work of Tibrizi.⁵ Of the first of these two manuscripts, two copies are extant, one at Leiden, the other in the India Office library. Other commentaries were written by Husayn b. Muhammad al-Rafī', known as al-Khalī', who lived about 380 A.H. by Abu'l-Rayhān-al-Khawarizmi, who died after 440 A.H. and by Abu Mansur Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Asha'ri who died in 370 A.H.,⁶ while Abul-Barakat-al-Irbali (d. 637) wrote an exhaustive commentary on the *Diwan* in ten volumes.⁷ As has already been pointed out al-Maarri compiled and commented on a selection of the poems of Abu Tammam in a work entitled *Dhikra Habib*.⁸

Many others have written works in which they have selected Abu Tammam's poems attacked or defended him or compared him with other poets. They are as follows:—

¹ Amīdī made a selection of poems from this anthology which was not so well known, *Muwazana* 23.

² Hasan b. Bishr-al-Midī died after 371 or 370 A.H. *Yaqut (Irshad)* vi, 3, p. 54.

³ i, 172, pub. Cairo. The author Abdul Qadir b. Umar-al-Baghdadi died in 1093. Brockelmann's *Gesch. der Arab. Litt.* ii, 286.

Tib. i, 2. Ibn Khallikan i, 151. cf. Masudi vii, 160.

⁴ Ibn Khallikan i, 152.

⁵ Hajji Khalifa iii, 254. One incomplete copy of Tibrizi's commentary exists in the Khedivial Library.

⁶ Hajji Khalifa iii, 254.

⁷ See *ibid.*, 255. All of these works appear to have been lost.

⁸ Ibn Khallikan i, 41. Hajji Khalifa iii, 253.

- (1) al-Muwazana¹ by al-Amidi, in which the author has made a comparison between Abu Tammam and al-Buhturi. He is also the author of a work in which the objections raised by Ahmad b Ubayd-al-Lah-al-Qutrabull² are answered
- (2) al-Qutrabull wrote a book pointing out the various defects in the poet's style
- (3) Duryaq-al-Fikr by Qudama b Jafar³ in which the poet is criticised
- (4) Ahmad b Abi Tahr Tayfur,⁴ has produced a work pointing out the plagiarism committed by Buhturi on Abu Tammam's poems
- (5) Abu-ul-Diya,⁵ Bishr b Yahya-al-Nasibi is the author of a work in which he points out the plagiarism committed by Buhturi on Abu Tammam's poems.
- (6) Ali b. Muhammad al-Sumaysati⁶ has written the poet's life and made selection of his poems.
- (7) Muhammad and Sai'd, the two sons of Hashim,⁷ together compiled a work which contains a biography of the poet as well as selections from his poems
- (8) Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Marzuqi has written a book in defence of the poet.⁸

To many of the objections raised by Amidi, Sharif-al-Murtada (d. 436 A.H.) has replied in his *Amali*⁹ and in the book of al-Shihab fi'l-Shayb-Wal-Shabab.¹⁰ Many of his verses have been explained

¹ Was first published in Constantinople in 1287 A.H. and again reprinted in Beyrout in 1332 A.H.

² Al Muwazana 56. Fihrist (ed by Flugel) 154.

³ Fihrist 130. He died after 320 A.H. Yaqut's *Irshad* vi, 6, p. 204.

⁴ Fihrist 146. He died in 280 A.H. Yaqut's *Irshad* vi, 1, 152-157.

⁵ Fihrist 149. *Irshad* vi, 2, p. 367.

⁶ Fihrist 154 In *Irshad* his name is given as Ali b. Muhammad al-Shimshati. He died after 377 A.H. *Irshad* vi, 5, p. 375. cf. *Majam* of Yaqut iii, 320

⁷ Fihrist 169

⁸ Called *الانتصار من ظلمة أبي تمام* Hajji Khalifa, iii, 254, Marzuqi died in 421 A.H. *Irshad* vi, 2, p. 103. None of these except al-Muwazana by Amidi are now known to exist.

⁹ Cairo.

¹⁰ Constantinople, published in 1302 A.H.

by the author of *Sharh-al-Madnún*¹ and al-Jurjani (d. 366 A.H.) in his book *al-Wasata*² has criticised his poems.

Biographies of the poet were written by Abu Bakr-al-Suli,³ and by Muhammad b. Imran-al-Marzubani.⁴

His poems have been divided into eight categories, viz.:—

1. The Panegyrics—*al-Madaih*.
2. The Elegies—*al-Marathi*.
3. Complaints and rebukes—*al-Mua'tabat*.
4. Love poems—*al-Ghazal*.
5. Descriptive poems—*al-Awsáf*.
6. Poems of boasting—*al-Fakhr*.
7. Lampoons and satires—*al-Hija*.
8. Poems on asceticism—*al-Zuhd*.

His *Diwan* is full of epigrams⁵; and several poems were written by him as poetical epistles to his friends.⁶

From a poem⁷ which he wrote in reply to a friend's letter, it is evident that the practice of pointing and vocalising letters was common in his time.

¹ شرح المصنوع به على غير اهله by Ubayd-al-Lah b. Abd-al-Kafi, pub. Cairo, 1331 A.H.

² Pub. Sayda in 1331 A.H.

³ Ibn. Khallikan i, 643.

⁴ *Fihrist* 132, died in 384. Ibn Khallikan i, 643.

⁵ 416, etc. Many of his verses are quoted in the *Kamil* of Mubbarrad to be cited as proverbs. See *Kamil* ed. by Wright. Chap. xxxii, 232, 238.

⁶ *Diwan* 241, 343-346, 405.

⁷ 418-419.

AN UNKNOWN ANCIENT ARABIC ODE.

DR. S. M. HUSSAIN, M.A., D.PHIL. (Oxon).

The author of this poem is an-Nazzâr b. Hâshim al-Asadî. Nothing is known of the poet; he has no article in the *Aghânî* or anywhere else. In the British Museum MS. of the *Kitâb al-Manzûm wa 'l-Manthûr*, however, our poem is found largely quoted and mentioned 'as a post-Islamic product'.¹ This gives an index to the poet's time. Besides, in the poem he has not only used 'ar-Rahmân,' a name of God in the Quran,² but he has also employed 'Rajaz Mashtûr'—an unusual metre for an early poet. We can, thus, only gather that an-Nazzâr b. Hâshim was an Islamic poet.

This long ode of an-Nazzâr has not been published anywhere. It is an extremely difficult poem; in several places it is hard to follow what the poet means. He uses very difficult, and, at times, unusual words to suit the rhyme, as it seems.

The poem is, however, highly interesting—particularly in its fine pictures of animal life. It is wholly descriptive, without any ulterior object such as is found in the classical odes, and describes successively several animals.

The poet begins sadly describing the ruined traces of his former association that dispersed on the outbreak of a great famine (vv. 1-5): he then recollects his early days when he rode forth on the 'bold demon of youth' (vv. 6-7) which he successively compares to an onager (vv. 8-11) escaping the hunter (vv. 12-26), to an ostrich hastening with its female towards their egg (vv. 27-40), to an antelope encountering the dogs of a huntsman (vv. 41-54), and to a falcon chasing a flight of sand-grouse (vv. 55-60), likened to a hunter, a plunderer by night and to a luckless gambler (vv. 61-64). The poet then ends by resuming the description of his mount—seemingly, a she-camel (vv. 65-66).

¹ Fol. 56b: من المولدات بعد الاسلام.

² 'Ar-Rahmân' is, however, found in the pre-Islamic inscriptions.

٤١ و قَالَ النَّظَارُ بْنُ هَاشِمٍ الْأَسَدِيُّ

[الرحز]

- (١) مَا هَاجَ شَوْقًا مُوَلَعًا بِالْأَحْرَانِ وَ دَمَعَ عَيْنٍ ذَاتِ عَرَبٍ تَهْتَانِ
(٢) إِلَّا بِقَايَا نَبْعٍ مِنْ دِمْنَةٍ وَ نَبْعٍ مِنْ طَلَلٍ وَ أَطْعَانِ
(٣) أَوْ كَالْمَدَارِيِّ وَ سَعِيَ دَهْمٍ وَ كُنْ أَدْمَا وَ دَوَادِي إِنْثَانِ
(٤) أَوْ كَالْعَنِيَّاتِ لَهَا نَصَائِبُ مُطْلِنَ حَرَسًا فِي قَدِيمِ الْأَزْمَانِ
(٥) صَاحَ بِهِمْ عَلَى اعْتِقَادِ زَمَنٍ مُعْتَقِدٍ قَطَاعٍ بَيْنَ الْأَقْرَانِ
(٦) وَ قَدْ أَرَانِي فِي مُلِمَاتِ الصَّبِيِّ أَيَّامَ أَطْعَانِي تَنَامِي الْأَطْعَانِ
(٧) أَيَّامَ أَرْكُوبِي عَفَارِيَتِ الصَّبِيِّ وَ إِذْ بَجِئَانِي أَنْصِي الْجَنَانِ
(٨) كَأَنِّي فَوْقَ أَقْبَ سَهْوٍ جَبَّ إِذَا عَشَرَ صَاتَ الْأَرْقَانِ
(٩) فِي دَحْصَاتٍ قَدْ تَأَنَّبَنَ بِهِ مِثْلَ الْمَرَايَا زَلَقَاتِ الْأَطْعَانِ

(١) يوجد من هذه القصيدة ذات الأهمية العظيمة ٣١ بيتاً مع ٦ أبيات جديدة في نسخة كتاب المنظوم و المثنو ص ٥٦ ظ ٥٧ المحفوظة بمكتبة المتحف البريطاني *

(٥) روى في اللسان ٢٨٧ (٤) و التاج ٤٢٦ (٢) هكذا *

صاح بهم على اعتقاد زمان (؟ أزمان) معتقد قطع بين الأقران
بالأموال «اعتقاد» و «معتقد» باللفظ لعله تصحيف *

(٨) روى في المخصص ٢٣٠ (٢) و ٢٤ (٨) و اللسان ٣٦١ (٢) و التاج ٥٦٣ (١)
و الصحاح ١٢١ (١) مع (صات) موضع «صات» *

في اللسان ٣١ (١٢) و التاج ٣٨٦ (٦) (ماتي) معروفاً الى المرار الأسدي *

(٩) في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (ناهرات) بدل «زلاقات» *

- (١٠) ظَلَّ بِقُفِّ فَرِقٍ أَخْلَافُهُ يُوْرِى الصَّوَى مِثْلَ السَّيْبِ الْعُرْنُ
- (١١) فَارَقَ الْفَا بَعْدَ إِلْفٍ وَاشْتَاى فِي قَرْحٍ مَصْنَعَاتِ الْأَسْنَانِ
- (١٢) مَطَرَدٍ فِي عَدْنَةٍ مَشِيدُهُ ذِي مَعَةِ أَنْسَاؤُهُ كَالْعَنْنَانِ
- (١٣) وَ مُقْفَلَاتٍ تَلْقَى الْأَرْضَ بِهَا مُسَلَّمَاتٍ مِنْ جِعَافِ الْكَذَّانِ
- (١٤) إِذَا التَّهَانُ فَكَّ عَنْ ضَمْعِي خَلَا لَحْيِيهِ لَمْ نَجْعِي عَلَيْهِ اللَّعْنَانِ
- (١٥) لَهُ شَطَا لَا عَيْبَ فِيهِ مِنْ شَطَا هَبِي لِلْجَرَى وَ مَنِّ رَنَانِ
- (١٦) إِلَى عُجَابَاتٍ لَهُ مَلَكُورَةٌ فِي دَخَسٍ دُرْمٍ الْكُؤُوبِ أَفْنَانِ
- (١٧) أَكْرَمَنْ تَحْتَ وَطْفٍ مَلْحُورَةٍ أَوْ مِنْ فِي الْجَرَى أَشَدَّ الْإِيمَانِ

(١٠) ورد في نسخة معاني الشعر ١٤٤ (١) مع (فَرَقًا أَجْلَادُهُ) *

و روى في نسخة المنظوم و المثنور (صغبا اقرباه) بدل " فَرِقٍ أَخْلَافُهُ " *

(١١) برسم الاصل و (اشنا) موضع " و اشتاى " كما ضبطنا *

و يروى في نسخة المنظوم و المثنور هكذا :

زابلين بعد إلف فاشتاى من قرح متسفات الاسنان

(١٢) بالاصل (الكدان) كذا بالدال المهملة موضع " الكذَّان " *

و في نسخة المنظوم و المثنور (مبطنات) بدل " مُقْفَلَاتٍ " و (الأكم) بدل

" الْأَرْضِ " و ايضا (مسلمات) بدل " مسلمات " *

(١٥) في نسخة المنظوم و المثنور (ركب) بدل " هَبِي " *

(١٦) بالاصل (عجابات) مصحفا عن " عجايات " *

جاء في اللسان ٣٧٣ (١٢) مع القافية (أفنان) و كذا ايضا موسوم بالاصول

لعله " أَفْنَانٌ " (معني متشعبات) كما ضبطنا *

و يروى في نسخة المنظوم و المثنور مختلطا بالبيت التالي هكذا :

الى عجايات له مليمومة اومن في الاسرى اشد الايمان

(١٧) في نسخة المنظوم و المثنور يروى العجز :

بدامس منه بين الغيطان *

(١٨) حَتَّى إِذَا اللَّيْلُ دَحَا قُرْبَ الصُّبَى مَشْنِدَهُ الْأَعْلَامِ بَيْنَ الْغَيْطَانِ

(١٩) يَذْكُرُ السَّحَابَ الَّذِي نَعْنَادُهُ وَ يَرِدُهُ يَشْفِي عِلْدَ الْعَبَّانِ

(٢٠) وَ دُونَهُ ذُو فَتْرَاتٍ دَارٍ مَعْدٍ سَهْمٍ فَانِضَ عَلَى نَانَ

(٢١) حَتَّى إِذَا أَمَكْنَ مِنْهُ دَفْعُهُ بَيْنَ الْبَعِيدِ وَ إِزَاءِ الْعُتَّانِ

(٢٢) رَكَبَ سَهْمًا قَدْ شَرَّ فَصْلُهُ وَ فِدَحُهُ إِلَّا فَلَسًا شَبْرَانِ

(٢٣) فَاسْلُوقَتْ بَيْنَ النَّذْنِ كَفَّةُ مَعْدَرَجَا خَلْفَ لَوَامٍ ظَهْرَانِ

(٢٤) فَصَرَفَ السَّهْمَ وَ قَدْ أَهْوَى لَهُ صَوَارِفَ الْحَنْفِ وَ فَعَلَ الرَّحْمَانِ

(١٩) في الأصل "السَّحَابَ" مصحفاً عن "السيح" *

و في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (العطشان) موضع "العَبَّانِ" *

(٢٠) كذا في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (نَانَ) و بالأصول (نان) لعله تصحيف

و في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (مِمَسَك) بدل "مُعِدُّ" *

(٢١) بالأصل "ماكن" كذا صحفاً عن "أَمَكْنَ" *

و يروى في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو هكذا :

حتى إذا أمكنه من حوزة دون العدد و وراء العشبان

و هذه الرواية أجود من النص *

(٢٢) في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (اعد) بدل "رَكَبَ" و (نصف)

بدل "قَدْ" *

(٢٣) يروى في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو :

ضم سهمًا كففة معدرجا خلف لوام و خلف ظهران

و زاد أبو الفضل بعد هذا بيتين و هما (في الذخيرة صحفان غاية التعريف)

و قالبا (قذف) المدي (قد) لتتقي (و) عودها من شويط او شريان *

اجمع بالكفبن نزعاً جاهداً للبعيد و هو قائد كما كان

(٢٤) في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو روى الصدرة: نصرف السهم الذي رمى به *

- (٢٥) وَ حَالٌ بَدْرُو لَبَسَ ذَرُو فَوْقَهُ مِنْ طَائِرٍ لَيْسَ لَهُ حَلَاخُ
 (٢٦) وَ أَعَجَلَ الثَّانِي أَنْ يَوْمِي بِهِ وَ قَلَّ مَا امْطَمَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّدَانُ
 (٢٧) أَذَاكَ أَمْ فَوْقَ هَيْلٍ سَابِغٍ أَفَرَعَ نَسَاعٍ لَشَرِي الْقَرِيَانُ
 (٢٨) أَبِي رَأَالٍ نَرِغٍ ظَنُّوهُ رَاعٍ الْفَوَادِ مُسْتَخِفِّ الشَّيْطَانُ
 (٢٩) كَانِمَا هُوَ حَبَشَى مَائِلٌ عَارٍ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ تِلَادٍ هَدَمَانُ
 (٣٠) أَبْيَضَ مَطْشُونَ بِهِ وَ ظَاهِرٌ جَوْنٌ وَ لَمْ يَشْبِعْ عَلَيْهِ الثَّرَانُ
 (٣١) مَدَمَلِكُ الرَّاسِ كَانَ حَطْمُهُ فِي الرَّاسِ صَدَاعًا سِدِّ مَشْطَانُ

- (٢٥) في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو بروى الصدر: قمر لا ذارى يذرى ذرمة *
 (٢٦) في الاصول «الضدان» بالضاد موضع «الصدان» *
 و في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (الف) بدل «اضطم» *
 (٢٧) بالاصل «لسرى» كذا نالسين موضع «لشري» *
 و في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (ظلم خاصب) بدل «هيل سابع» *
 (٢٨) في الاصل (راعى) و الصواب «راع» من الروع *
 و في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (قشر) بدل «فرغ» *
 (٢٩) بالامل «بلاد» مصحفا عن «تِلَادٍ» و يروى في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو:
 كانما هو حبشي راع عان عليه من بجاد هدمان
 (٣١) في الاصول «مشطان» كذا نالطاء معرنا عن «مَشْطَانُ» و «مدملك»
 مصحفا عن «مدملك» و روى في نسخة معاني الشعر ٣١٠ (١) و نسخة المنظوم و
 المثنو (معدوج العين) بدل «مدملك الرأس» *
 و في نسخة معاني الشعر ايضا (خفنان) بدل «مَشْطَانُ» *

- (٣٢) أَمَكُ صَعْلُ ذُو جِرَانٍ شَاخِصٍ وَ هَامَةُ فِيهِ كَحَرِّ الرُّمَانِ
 (٣٣) تَبْرَى لَهُ نِقْنَقَةُ صَعْبَرَةٍ سَنَرُخَانٍ وَ هُمَا مِاجَلَانِ
 (٣٤) كَانَهَا إِذْ نَقَضَتْ أَعْطَافَهَا مِنْ سَعْفِ النَّخْلِ عَلَيْهَا عِدْلَانِ
 (٣٥) ظَلَا يَرُودَانِ فَلَمَّا أَظْلَمَا وَ أَظْلَمَ الْبَيْضُ الَّذِي يُوْوَانِ
 (٣٦) نَذَرَا بَيْضَهُمَا وَ دُونَهُ مِنْ لَعَقِ السُّوَانِ حَرْنُ السُّوَانِ
 (٣٧) فَانْتَدَرَا أَشَدَّ وَ هُوَ ذُو مِيعَةٍ بَخْتَلَهَا لَا فَاتِرٌ وَ لَا وَانِ
 (٣٨) إِذَا رَجَتْ مِنْهُ أَنْفِلَاتَا زَادَهَا مِنْهُ أَفَانِبَنَ نَجَاءٍ فَبْنَانِ
 (٣٩) تَرْمِي بِكُلِّ بَلَدٍ مَا لَانَهُ نَقَعَا بِأَعْرَافٍ عَجَاجٍ قَسْطَلَانِ

- (٣٢) كذا جاء في نسخة معاني الشعر ٣١٣ (١) و بالاصل "و جران" موضع "ذو جران" و انشد في المخصص ١٢ (١٢) مع (فيها) موضع "فيه" *
- (٣٣) بالاصل "صغيرة"، و لعل الصواب "صَعْبَرَةٌ"، انظر اللسان في مادة (صعل) *
- (٣٤) في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (أعطافه) موضع "أَعْطَافَهَا" *
- (٣٥) في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (امسيا) بدل "أَظْلَمَا" و (يعردان) بدل "يُوْوَانِ" *
- (٣٦) بالاصل "لعف" مصحفاً عن "لَعَقِي" و ايضاً "خرن" مصحفاً عن "سُوَانِ" *
- و في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو العجز كذا: بطن العراق كلها و السودان و روى ابو الفضل بعد هذا دبتين و هما *
- و جملاً في سر امر كاتم عند الروح و هما ارخان
 ان انماها المقام الفه بنصف كلها ادحيان
- صدر البيت الثاني كذا معروف في النسخة غاية التعريف فتاملوه *
- (٣٨) بالاصل "زحت" مصحفاً عن "رجت" و هو تصعيف و ايضاً "افينان" موضع "فَبْنَانِ" كما يعينه الوزن *

- (٤٠) فَتَشَرَّأُ بِعُجْرَتِي يَضِهُمَا كَالْبَيْتِ لَمَّا خَانَهُ الدَّوَانُ
- (٤١) أَذَاكَ أَمْ فَوْقَ دَخِيسٍ سَارِحٍ فِي يَوْمٍ طَلَّ مِدْرِيَاهُ حَوَانُ
- (٤٢) كَأَنَّمَا هُوَ رَامِحٌ فِي بَمَلَقٍ رَفَّ لَهُ حَتَّى أَكْتَسَاهُ الْكَعْبَانُ
- (٤٣) أَفْرَعُهُ مِنْ حَقْفَةٍ لَمَّا غَدَا صَوْتُ قَبْصٍ وَ نَذْدَى مَعْتَانُ
- (٤٤) وَ كَانَ لَا بُصْبَحُ إِلَّا سَارِحًا مِنْ أَنَسِ الْأَرَطَى لِحُشِّ السَّعْدَانِ
- (٤٥) إِذَا الْإِصْرَاءُ مَشَقَّتْ أَعْطَافُهُ مَشَقَّ الْمُلَاحِينَ نِبَابَ الدِّهْقَانِ
- (٤٦) كَرَّ يَطْعُنُ مَصْرَدًا كَأَنَّهُ مُكَافِي يَوْمَ تَرَاىَ الْجَمْعَانِ
- (٤٧) كَانَ قَرْنَبِهِ عَلَى نَعْدِيدِهِ مَالَتَانِ وَ هُمَا هِلَالَانِ
- (٤٨) كَانَ فِيهِ كَلْبًا وَ قَدْ نَرَى مِنْهُ الْعَشَى وَ اخْتَلَّ مِنْهُ الْحِصْنَانِ
- (٤٩) كَأَنَّهُ لَمَّا طَوَاهَا بِالْعَلَا دَرَى نَجْمٍ شَلَّهَ دِرْيَانُ
- (٥٠) قَمَرٌ يَطْرِيهَا كَانَ جَرِيَةً مِمَّا يُوَالِي الشَّدْنِينَ الْمِيدَانُ

(٤٠) في الاصل "فبشر" معروفا عن "فتشرا" *

(٤١) في نسخة المنظوم والمنثور (صافى الاديم) بدل "في يومٍ طَلَّ" *

(٤٢) بالاصول "يلمق" مقلوبا من "يملق" *

(٤٣) في الاصول "افرعه" كذا بالراء مرفوع "افرعه" و "حقفه" كذا مصعفا

عن "حَقْفَةٍ" و ايضا "سَدْيٍ" معروفا عن "نَذْدَى" *

(٤٤) و يروى في نسخة المنظوم و المنثور هكذا :

و كَانَ لَا يَبْصَحُ إِلَّا قَافِلًا مِنْ أَجْلِ الْأَرَطَى لِقَلْعِ السَّعْدَانِ

(٤٥) ورد في نسخة معاني الشعرج ٢ ص ٧٧ ط مع (عرقونه) بدل "أعطافه" *

(٤٨) بالاصول "كان منه كلب" موضع "كَانَ فِيهِ كَلْبًا" كما ضبطنا *

و في الاصل ايضا "الحصنان" بالصاد معروفا عن "الحِصْنَانِ" *

(٥١) نَكْسُوا الْعَصَى تَامِرًا بِبَصِ الْعَصَى وَ تَرْتَمِي نِرَانَهُ بِاللَّسْرَانِ

(٥٢) مُؤَالِفًا كَالْبَرْجِ فِي تَرْمَائِهِ جَانًا وَ شَخْنًا فِي أَنْطَوَاءِ الْقِيَعَانِ

(٥٣) وَ رَجَعَتْ إِذْ رَجَعَتْ مَقْلُوبَةً دَانَ الضَّرَاءُ قَلْبَهَا بِأَدْبَانِ

(٥٤) وَ أَمَّ مِنْ حَرَمَلٍ خَبْنًا بَشْتَنِي بَارِحٍ لَمْ يَرْتَبِعَا الرِّعَانِ

(٥٥) أَوْ فَوْقَ بَازٍ لَتَقِ بَهْوِي بِهِ طَرِاقٌ جَوِيٍّ لَهُ مَكْفُوفَانِ

(٥٦) أَصْرَ سِرْبًا مِنْ قَطَا مُسْتَوْسِقًا قَوَارِيًا لِلْمَاءِ كَدَّرَ الْأَلْوَانِ

(٥٧) فَاتَّبَعَ السَّرْبَ لَهَا مَحَارِمًا مُتَصِلْنَا مِثْلَ مَدَقِ الصَّوَانِ

(٥٨) تَهْفُوبِهِ وَ تَارَةً يَهْفُورُ بِهَا ذَوَا طِرَافٍ رَكْضَةً مُجْدَانِ

(٥٩) فَانْحَطَّ وَ انْحَطَّتْ كَرَقٍ خَاطِفٍ بَخِصْفِهَا مِثْلَ إِشْقَى وَرْدَانِ

(٥٢) بالأصل "سخنا" مصحفاً عن "شخنا" *

(٥٣) في نسخة المنظوم و المثنور (جنبها فرجعت) موضع "وَ رَجَعَتْ إِذْ رَجَعَتْ" *

(٥٤) في الأصل "حنا" معروفاً عن "خبنا" و أيضاً "بسئى" معروفاً عن "بشتئى" *

و في نسخة المنظوم و المثنور روى العجوة هكذا :
و لم يتوسل له مليل الرعيان

(٥٥) و يروى في نسخة المنظوم و المثنور *

أو فوق باز لهق بهفوبه اطراق ركظين له مكفوفان
وجاء فيه بعد هذا بيت جديد :

إذا اسعاه ما برقص مجهد من فيض جد الذي يعسان

(٥٦) و روى صاحب كتاب المنظوم و المثنور بعد بيتا و هو *

كان قليلا ثم سطأ بينها بطفعة غالتة بعد اطمئنان

(٥٨) في الأصول "طراق" بالقاف موضع "طراف" و أيضاً "ركضا" موضع

"ركضة" كما يقضيها الوزن *

(٦٠) بَعْبَرَةٌ مِنْ دَحْوَةٍ فِي رَهْوَةٍ مُصْطَقَاتٍ كَامِطَاتٍ الْغُدْرَانُ

(٦١) كَانَهُ مُقْنِصٌ فِي كَفِّهِ خَمْسٌ وَقَدْ أَفْلَتَ مِنْهُ ثُلُثَانُ

(٦٢) أَوْ خَابِسٌ فِي لَلِّهِ يُدْبِرُهَا عَنْ مِثْلِ أَمْثَالِ الْكَلَى بِالْعُرَانِ

(٦٣) أَوْ بَسْرٌ شَاطَ عَلَى أَرْلَامِهِ وَقَدْ نَدَا نَعْنَانُهَا وَالتَّعْنَانُ

(٦٤) فِي مِيزَةٍ فِيهَا سِغَابٌ جُوعٌ كَانَهَا الْعِقْبَانُ بَيْنَ الْعِقْبَانِ

(٦٥) كَذَاكَ هَاتِيكَ إِذَا طَالَ السَّرَى وَعَلَقَتْ أَكْوَارُهَا بِالْكَيْرَانِ

(٦٦) فَأَعْجَلْتُ عَنْ مِثْلِ تِمِّ الرِّبْلَانِ جِيرَانَهَا مِنْ فُلٍّ نَمَّ الْجِيرَانِ

(1) Nothing did stir up a passion fondly associated with grief
And the tears of an eye shedding in profusion, continually
pouring—

(2) Except the remains of a familiar ash-heap,
And a familiar ruined dwelling and cattle-pens ;

(3) Or (pegs looking) like horns, and brownish, dark-coloured
(hearth-stones),

Which were formerly grey, and two see-saws ;

(4) Or (trenches) like bent bows, which have stones set up
Being left unoccupied for a long time in the past.

(5) Time of famine called them to a death from hunger,
Which forcibly causes separation among friends.

(6) And I see myself in the visitations of youthful folly,
In the days when my womenfolk travelling were cheering
other women travelling :

(7) The days of my journeying on the bold demon of youth,
When unto my 'jinn' I drew the 'jinns'.

(٦٢) فِي الْأَصُولِ "جَابَش" مُصْعَفًا عَنْ "خَابَش" *

(٦٣) بِالْأَصْلِ "شَعَاب" مَوْضِعٌ "سِغَابٌ" وَهُوَ تَصْعِيفٌ *

(٦٦) فِي الْأَصْلِ "تِم" مَوْضِعٌ "تِم" وَابْضًا "الْجِيرَان" مَوْضِعٌ "الْجِيرَانِ

بِالْحَاءِ كَمَا ضَبَطْنَا *

- (8) As though I (were) upon (a wild ass) slender in the loins, tall,
Sturdy, whose repeated braying sounded like the twanging
of a bow,—
- (9) Amidst barren (she-asses), who suffered through him
annoyance,
Like mirrors smooth between the hips.
- (10) He stood upon a hillock, rugged in barrenness,
Ascending the stone-heaps set up as land-marks, like a man
who is robbed off and is naked.
- (11) He forsook one companion after another and went ahead
Of full-grown (she-asses), whose teeth are in even rows.
- (12) A straight run is his walk in the fine sand,
Full of sprightliness, his tendon-sinews are like high roads ,
- (13) And (he has) hard hoofs with which he guards against
the ground,
Which are protected from the rubbing of the stony ground
- (14) If his braying opens his two jaws so that two bundles of
herb (fall) out,
The two jaws have not grasped upon it.
- (15) He has shin-bones which have no fault as to pains¹ in
them,
And which are made for running ; and a fleshy back—
- (16) Extending to firm-fleshed shank-muscles imbedded
In a pair, in firm flesh with smooth ankle-bones ;
- (17) Which are fastened under shank-bones, bare of flesh,
Which are made very secure against slipping while running.—
- (18) Until when the night spread over the heaps of stones,
Where the land-marks resemble one another in the midst
of depressed lands,
- (19) He remembers the flowing water which he is wonted (to
drink),
And the coolness of which quenches the thirst of the thirsty
(beast).
- (20) Between him and the water (lies in wait) a skulking hunter,
a skilful one,
Who is getting ready an arrow, grasping hold of a bow which
cleaves to its string.

¹ The second شَطَى is infinitive of شَطَى, to have pain in the shin-bone.

- (21) (Not) till when it became possible for him (to make) a charge (on the ass)—
Not far off and near the side of the herbs (of the hunter's lair)—
- (22) (That) he mounted (on the bow) an arrow whose head was about a span,
And whose shaft was but a little less than two spans.
- (23) Then his palm placed over the notch between two (ends of the arrow)
A well-twisted cord¹ behind the evenly cut narrow feather.
- (24) But the changing fates of death, and the action of the Merciful (God)
Turned the arrow aside when it flew towards him.
- (25) And it turned round deviating—no greater would be the deviation
Of a wingless bird.
- (26) And he hastened out the second (arrow) to shoot with,
But in a short time did the two sides of the valley enclose him.²
- (27) (Am I as though) on that ass or on an old male ostrich, swift-running,
Scald-headed, seeking eagerly the colocynth (plants by the side of) water-courses,
- (28) Father of young ostriches, with hollow shin-bones,
Of fearful mind, and 'light-witted'.
- (29) As though it were an Abyssinian who appears,
Yelling out, in two shabby garments which he has inherited
- (30) One—the inner—white, and the outer, black :
And the two garments do not do more than cover him.
- (31) Having a circular head, as if his beak
On his head were two clefts of the end pieces of a bow broken apart.
- (32) Knock-kneed, small-headed, and the front part of (his) neck sticking out,
And his skull looking like a small pomegranate.

¹ The commentary explains مَعْدَرَج as خَفِيف, light; but the word really means 'firmly twisted' like rope.

² That is, 'the wild ass escaped'.

- (33) Then competes with him a small-headed female,
 (And) they both race and both run.
- (34) When she shakes her shoulder, it seems as though
 There are, on her, two halves of a bough of the date-palm
- (35) They began to search for food ; then when darkness came
 over them
 And over the eggs to which they were repairing.
- (36) They remembered their egg in front of which (was)
 The rugged, hard ground of as-Sûbân after its alluvial soil ;
- (37) Then (the male ostrich) hastened his pace, being full of
 energy,
 Leading (his) mate along sandy ways, neither languid nor
 weak
- (38) When she hoped that she would escape from him, he
 increased for her
 His pace in various ways.
- (39) She cast up in every land
 Crest-like dust-clouds, which softened its surface.
- (40) They spread out over their eggs (wings)—
 Like a tent which had lost its two posts.
- (41) (Am I, as it were, upon) such (an ostrich) or upon a swift
 antelope, pasturing freely
 On a day of slight dew, whose two horns are black ;
- (42) That appears like a lancer in a furred coat of the Tartars,¹
 Which is wrapped round him so as to clothe his two ankles.
- (43) When he came early in the morning to a long and winding
 tract of sand,
 The voice of a hunter startled him and call of a spy.
- (44) He was not used to go forth in the morning except straying
 alone,
 Leaving the friendly ' Artâ ' tree to graze on the wild ' Sa'dân ' herbs.
- (45) When the hounds tore the sides of his body
 As the tailors² tear the cloths of a land-owner,

¹ يَلْمُق is arabicised from the Persian بَلْمَق.

² مَلَّاح usually means a 'sailor' or 'boat-man': Ibn Qutaibah explains it here as خياط or 'tailor'; but this is a mere guess of his, which is one of his weaknesses. The correct reading is, however, المَلَّاحِينَ, meaning 'the litigants'.

(46) He turned back (to make) an attack aiming rightly, as
though he was

A requeter on a day when two hostile troops come forth (to
fight)

(47) It seemed that his two horns, notwithstanding his sharp-
ening (them),

Were two broad-headed spears, while they were (in shape)
two new moons.

(48) As though he had hydrophobia, when he tore
His bowels and pierced his breast.

(49) When he had warded them off, he looked in the plain like
A shining meteor driven to flight by two shining meteors.

(50) Then he passes rolling up the distance (like cloth) and
his running appears to be

That of a race-course in the way he combines two kinds of
running.

(51) His blood covers pebbles—white pebbles,¹
And the fire thereof shoots up with fire.

(52) (A dust-cloud) which keeps close to him, resembling a
tower as he throws it up,

Thick and thin, in the bond of the plains

(53) And when they returned, they returned defeated;

Before them other hounds had been served in like fashion

(54) Then he made for the sandy ground of *Hāumal* walking
In spring-pastures which herdsmen have not used as pasture

(55) Or (wore I as though) upon a falcon, drenched, which flies
brought down

With two wings of thick-set feathers, one on each side.

(56) He espied a flock of sand-grouse

Of dusky colour, all in line, hastening to the water.

(57) Then he pursued the swarm eagerly,

Darting like a pestle of flint-stone.

(58) They fly above him, at times he flies above them,

Both making wonderful moves in striving.

(59) Then he darts downwards, as they come down, like a
flashing lightning,

Penetrating through them like the awl of *Wardān*.²

¹ We have here to imagine that in the struggle the antelope was hurt and was bleeding, perhaps, from the legs through the bites of the dogs.

² *Wardān* is here apparently the name of a well-known cobbler but is not mentioned in any of the usual books of reference.

- (60) On the sands of an elevated tract in a depressed ground,
While they were fluttering like the quivering motion of pools.
- (61) He was, as though, a hunter (who had) in his hands
Five (birds) after two had escaped from him ;
- (62) Or like a night-robber who breaks its darkness
Off some place like Amthâl al-Kulâ with his spears.¹
- (63) Or like a gambler who has made a fire (in expectation of
the Jinn) from his arrows
And already have appeared there smoking and smoking!
- (64) In an enclosure for cattle wherein (gathered) numerous
hungry people
Appearing as though they were eagles in the midst of eagles.
- (65) Thus is that (female camel) when the night-journeys last
long,
And pack-saddles are joined to pack-saddles.
- (66) And they give premature birth to (embryos) such as
resemble full-grown young ostriches ;
Their young ones at the time of birth were before fully
developed.²

¹ This verse is very obscure. Perhaps it can better be rendered :

' Or like one who goes prowling about at night (and)

At al-Murrân stirs up sandgrouse from young ones which resemble kidneys'; the naked young of the qatâ being likened to kidneys, because they have no feathers on them. Cf. the verse of ar-Râ'i cited by Ibn Qutaibah in the Ma'ânî sh-Shi'r (MS.), I, 281 :

صَيْفِيَّةٌ كَالْكَلْبِيِّ صُفْرًا حَوَاصِلَهَا مَا تَكَادُ إِلَى التَّغْرِيبِ تُرْنِفُ

² That is, not aborted. The poet uses حَبْرَانِ, the rare plural of حَوَارٍ meaning 'young camel at the time of birth'. See Lisân, V, 301, 15.

EARLY PERSIAN POETRY.

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Before discussing the subject, I must make an apology to the famous scholar A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian languages in the Columbia University, New York, for having borrowed the title of his exquisite book, '*Early Persian Poetry*' for an exposition of the subject on a thoroughly critical basis.

No doubt to many people, and even to some scholars, the condition under which the real growth and development of Persian poetry took place is not clearly known. In this article no claim to originality is laid by the writer of these lines; but on the ground that a complete investigation of this problem has not been attempted by one scholar as yet, this notice might be considered as a result of the investigation and researches carried on this subject during the last three decades.

One will admit that amongst the difficult problems that confront the student of Persian literature is the discovery of the first or the earliest or the oldest poet or piece of poetry. So far no satisfactory and conclusive evidence can be placed before us either by the older school of critics or by the modern workers in this field. There exists a vast amount of traditional literature about the beginnings of Persian poetry. From the *Chahār Maqálá*, *Lubábu'l-Albáb* of 'Awfí, *Tazkiratu'sh-Shu'ará* of Dawlatsháh, *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá* of Rizá Qulí down to Ethé and Paul Horn's articles in the '*Grundriss der iranischen philologie*', Browne's '*Literary History of Persia*', Biberstein Kazimirski's introduction to the *Diwán* of Minúchihri, Shiblí's *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam* and the most modern books on Persian literature, like Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson's '*Early Persian Poetry*' published in 1920, Mr. R. Levy's '*Persian Literature*' (1923), Prof. Hádí Ḥasan's '*Studies in Persian Literature*' (1924), and Prof. 'Abid Ḥasan Faridí's '*Outline History of Persian Literature*' (1928), all these works discuss the subject on the data handed down from one generation to another without making a rigid inquiry as to the authenticity of the earlier statements.

Pre-Islamic Persian poetry according to Prof. Jackson's view.

Of all the countries of the world, no land has produced as many poets as Persia. Although the beginnings of Persian poetry are lost in the mists of antiquity, yet we may assume that the earliest poetry was of two types—the ballad and the epic. Of the primitive ballad no traces remain in Persian literature, of the epic in a later form the ‘*Yádgár-i-Zarírán*’ is the best specimen. It is the Gáthás, the oldest part of the *Avesta*, which are ascribed to Zoroaster, the founder of the religion, that may rightly be called the earliest specimen of Persian verse composition—(like the Vedic strophes). These ancient chants or psalms in verse are ruins preserved from Zoroastrian reform. At times the soul of the reformer is truly reflected in them as we may infer from the appeal to Ahura Mazdah and the celestial hierarchy in rhythmic measures. Besides the Gáthás there are touches of poetry throughout the Avestan Yashts or ‘praises’ in metrical stanzas glorifying the various personifications of divine powers or the demi-gods and heroes of the faith. These compositions in verse, sometimes mingled with prose, are later than the Gáthás in language and in time of redaction, though metrically (and in certain religious aspects) older. The metrical stanzas of the Yashts, like numerous other parts of the *Avesta*, are composed in a somewhat free octosyllabic measure. Poetic strains may be caught here and there in other parts of the *Avesta*—sometimes embedded in the midst of prosaic passages—but they are not over-many in number. Sufficient, however, they are to show that the musical chord was struck nearly three thousand years ago in ancient Iran.

Arthur Christensens goes a step further and writes in the ‘*Káwáh*’, New Series, 1920, Nos. 4-5, p. 25:—

قدیم ترین عروض ایرانی که معلوم است در اوستا واقع است و این ابیات فقط در این خصوص با نثر تفاوت دارد که هر مصراع آن از یک عدد معین از هجاها (مقصود استاد از “هجا” مقطع است که نفرنگی سیلاب (syllabe) و باصطلاح عروضین وتد یا سبب یا فاصله نامند) عبارت است و عدد مصاریح که یک قطعه تشکیل میکند نیز معین است - قدیم ترین قسمت اوستا یعنی گاناهای زردشت از چنین ابیات عبارت است که پنج گونه است بحر “وُهوخشثرا” Vohukhschathra که سه مصراع دارد و هر مصراع از ۱۴ هجا (۷ و ۷) ترکیب است و بحر “سپنتماینبو” Spentamainyu که چهار مصراع دارد و هر مصراع از ۱۱ هجا (۷ و ۴) ترکیب یافته و بحر “اهونایتی”

Ahunavaiti که سه مصراع دارد و هر مصراع از ۱۶ هجا (۷ و ۹) ترکیب یافته و بحر "اوستوایتی" Ustavaiti که پنج مصراع دارد و هر مصراع از ۱۱ هجا (۴ و ۷) مرکب است و بحر "وَهشودوتی" Vahischtoiti که دو مصراع که هر یک از ۱۲ هجا (۷ و ۵) و دو مصراع که هر یک از ۱۹ هجا (۷ و ۱۲) ترکیب شده دارد *

اما اجزای منظوم اوستای جدید ساده تر و بی تکلف تر است زیرا که در اوستای حدوداً غالباً یک بحر موحود است و این بحر از هشت هجا مرکب است (بحر دوازده هجائی سببارکم بافت میشود) و تنها نسبت عدد مصارع اختلافی دارد چونکه یک قطعه گاه از سه و گاه از چهار و گاه از پنج بعیل آمده است - این بحر هشت هجائی اگرچه در قدیم ترین احراء اوستا دیده نمی شود ولی باوجود این خیلی قدیم باید باشد و بلا شک از آن ابام سابق که در آن ایرانیان و هندوان یک ملت بودند صادر شده زیرا که این بحر در ودای همد هم بافت میشود و بعدها در شعر هندی عمومی شده است همین طور که در شعر اوستای جدید *

Áqá Púr-i-Dáu'd who has edited and translated the Gáthás and the Yashts in his scholarly introduction to the Yashts writes in the following manner about the metre of the Yashts, which I here reproduce in the original Persian:—

صفحه ۲۲ — یشتها نیز مانند گانها منظوم است ولی اوزان آنها با همدیگر فرق دارد در پنج گانها اشعار ۱۱، ۱۲، ۱۴، ۱۶، ۱۹ آهنگی (Syllables) میباشد ولی وزن شعری در اغلب یشتها ۸ آهنگی است و در میان آنها شعرهای ۱۰ و ۱۲ آهنگی نیز دیده میشود و هر یک از این اوزان منقسم بچندین قسم است در شعرهای ۸ آهنگی گهی سکنه (درنگ) در واسطه واقع است (۴+۴) و گهی پس از آهنگ سوم یا پس از آهنگ پنجم ندرتاً هم یس از آهنگ دوم، در شعرهای ۱۰ آهنگی سکنه گهی در وسط واقع است (۵+۵) و گهی پس از آهنگ ششم، در شعرهای ۱۲ آهنگی دو سکنه موجود است جای سکنه اولی مثل شعر ۸ آهنگی است یعنی ۴+۴ یا ۳+۵ یا ۳+۵ و جای سکنه دومی یس از آهنگ هشتم است - اینست بطور عموم اوزان شعری یشتها

Absence of Records regarding Medic, Achæmenian and Parthian Literature.

On account of the absence of material we may pass over the Medic and the Achæmenian and the Parthian periods. The cuneiform inscriptions of the Achæmenides are too much occupied

with the outbursts of the conquerors that no space is found for any other art except sculpture. But surely the pillared halls of the great Achæmenian kings like Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, at Persepolis must have echoed at times to the ring of the poets' minstrelsy. Dark as the Parthian period may appear to us, yet there may have been some ray of literature to enliven their martial or militant spirit. It is really the Parthian rule that gave birth to the Pahlawi language which was to become a predominant factor in the Sasanian national monarchy.

The Scope and Nature of Sasanian Poetry.

When we enter upon the discussion of the Sasanian period we have comparatively more material than we had of the earlier periods. Though unfortunately that too is not enough for a brief survey of the literature of the period. Here again we have to depend upon the meagre details given by several historians for determining the scope and nature of Sasanian poetry.

We are indebted to Arthur Christenses and Andreas for a study of the earliest specimens of Pahlawi verse, and to Āqá S. Ḥasan Taqizáda, the present Persian Minister at the Court of St. James, London, and to Prof. Āqá Mirzá 'Abbás Iqbál Ashtiyání of Tehrán for investigating the nature of the Middle-Persian poetry. The present writer cannot do better than summarize the arguments of the above scholars to prove the existence of Pahlawi verse in Sasanian times.

The Iranians have unfortunately neglected entirely the non-religious part of their literature, hence the paucity of the secular books in Pahlawi, especially of poetry. But of music and musical notes, singers and minstrels we have ample second-hand information. In Sasanian times folk-lore, romance, legend and the tales of ancient heroes formed a mighty part of their literature. On festal occasions the halls of the Sasanian monarchs were filled with music. The minstrel's craft was much patronized by the Khusroes. A throng of musicians, singers, harpers always crowded the Court. Sarkas and Bárbad are two famous names of that period. The name of Khusraw Parviz as a patron of music is enough to prove the point.

The musical 'airs' or lays of Bárbad which are enumerated to be 360 were sung afresh every day of the year before the Sasanian monarchs. Likewise the 'Si-Lihñ' سی لحن thirty tones or notes

are said to have been invented by Bárbad in order to be sung anew every day of the month. Similarly the 'Turúqu'l-Mulúkiyya' طروق الملوكه which are counted as seven were meant to be chanted on each day of the week. In some of the older Arabic and Persian sources the airs of Bárbad or the Nawá-i-Khusrawání are mentioned as follows :—

۷	۶	۵	۴	۳	۲	۱
خسرو،	باغ شهریار،	باغ شیرین،	اورنگی،	شبدیر،	هفت گنج،	گنج ناد آورد،
۸	۹	۱۰	۱۱	۱۲	۱۳	
گنج گاو،	تخت اردشیر،	ابن حمشید،	کیس ابوج،	نورور کیقباد،	سیاوشان،	
۱۴	۱۵	۱۶	۱۷	۱۸	۱۹	۲۰
کبن سیاوش،	بنگر گرد،	نوبهاری،	نورور بزرگ،	ساز نورور،	سبز در سبز،	گل نوش،
۲۱	۲۲	۲۳	۲۴	۲۵	۲۶	
سرو صهی،	کبک درې،	یالیزبان،	آرابش خورشید،	ملا بر کوهان،	نوشین باده،	
۲۷	۲۸	۲۹	۳۰			
روشن چراغ،	نوش لینان،	رامش جان،	رامش جهان *			

Since nothing substantial has come down to us of the non-religious verse of the Sasanian times, we are unable to judge the metre and rhyme—if there was any—of these pieces or to estimate the nature of Pahlawi prosody. 'Awfí and Shams-i-Qays both agree that the Khusrawání airs sung by Bárbad were without metre and rhyme, and without any literary grace (!), although they were full of encomiums on his sovereign. As against this, is the view that the ancient Persians, like the Greeks, used no rhyme in their poetical compositions and that a certain writer named Ḥasúní or Ḥashúbí (?) had collected this kind of blank verse in a book which he called 'Yubah Namah', the Book of Desire. This brings us to the opinion of Dr. Paul Horn who suggests that although the ancient Persians did not use rhyme in their poetry, they must at least have had metre. The folk-songs, in which the rhythm depends upon the number of syllables used in each verse, afford abundant proof in support of this theory. It can be safely adduced that the ancient Persian ballads did contain a kind of metre and rhyme, and that they were in some degree like the Saj' (rhymed prose) of the pre-Islamic Arabs. From what follows we may infer that the native poetry of Persia in the Sasanian times, as well as in the first two centuries of the Hijrah, was of a simple type more or less similar to the Rajaz of the Jahiliyya period. Their metre was of syllabic type much

anterior to the prosody of the Arabs. Although the absence of actual long poetical texts is a great calamity, yet the existence of poetry in the Sasanian period cannot be denied for the following reasons.—

(1) The famous 'Abdu'llah ibnu'l-Muqaffa' in his introduction to the Arabic version of the *Kalila wa Dimna* explicitly says that the King Anushirwan the Just while commemorating the success of his favourite physician Barzuwaih in bringing the MS. of the *Kalila wa Dimna* from India ordered that a grand feast be held in which all the poets, orators of the country should celebrate the occasion according to their talents

(2) Although the Bahrám Gír tradition erroneously represents him as the first poet of Persia in Islamic Persian, yet it makes us think that poetry existed in his times, i.e., Pahlavi verse was extant in the 4th century A.D.

(3) Again the story of the couplet inscribed on the 'palace of Shírin' by Khusraw II (590-628 A.D.), can never be supported by facts, but it leads us to imagine that poetry

(۱) هژیرا گنهان انوشه نذی
(۲)
(۳) جهان را بدیدار ترشه نذی

did exist of a similar type in Sasanian Persia

(4) Early Arabian poets have more than often sung the charm of Persian music in their poems, and it is recorded that the early Persians have preserved their poetry in their archives, but unfortunately nothing of it has come down to us.

(5) Apart from this the names of the 'airs' and 'notes' which have been so faithfully preserved for us—like the *الحان* Khusrawani, Awráman, Laskoi, Pahlawi or Fahlawi—some of which gained currency in Islamic times, are a sufficient proof of the existence of music and side by side of poetry in Sasanian Persia. The very words of poetic technique

(۱) یسانود (۲) سروار (۳) چکامه (۴) چامه

are the relics of Pahlavi poetry.

(6) The song of the Zoroastrians of the Fire temple of Karkawayh, which has been faithfully reproduced for us by the author of the

(۳) نری

(۲) نری

(۱) هژیرا

¹ A poem not exceeding 17 couplets.

² Poem exceeding 18 couplets.

³ Poesy, ode, song.

⁴ Rhyme, metre, verse, etc.

Ta'rikh-i-Sistān, is a valuable specimen of (if not of pure), at least of corrupt, Sasanian poetry :

خندد گرشاقت هوش	فرخت بادا روش
نوش کن می نوش	همی برست از جوش
بآفرس نهاده گوش	دوست ندا گوش
دی گذشت و دوش	همیشه نبکی گوش
بآفرس شاعی	شاه خدا گانا

All these distiches are of seven syllables and give a clue to the Sasanian poetry. Either in the first century of Islam the Zoroastrians in imitation of their pre-Islamic poetry have framed these couplets or have made alterations in the old ones to suit the new requirements of the time

(7) The much debated Inscription of Shahpur I in Hájjiábád according to the late Prof. Andreas of Göttingen contains verses relating to the foundation of a building at the hands of the king and his throwing of the arrow towards it as a beneficial act. These, he asserts, are in octosyllabic metre, but Prof. Jackson still expresses his doubt about the poetical form of these lines :—

کی چیدانی الـنداری	چیدی کی دسئی نبوی
هان یادی پد این دَرکی	ایو نسا آذی و تیری
اوهان چیدانی ابواسئی	یس کی تیری اوهان چیدانغ
او گندی اونی دسئی نبو	

It means 'that the person who has laid the foundation of this edifice towards the west, and whose hand is good, has set his foot in this valley and thrown an arrow in the direction of this edifice, then the person, who has thrown an arrow towards this edifice, his hand is good'.

(8) Amongst the excavations in Turfán, in the Chinese Turkistán, Prof. Grünwedel has discovered Manichaen Papyri, some of which are written in North-Western Pahlawi while others in South-Western Pahlawi containing a few versified pieces in the octosyllabic metre. One of them runs as follows :—

ابـریر وانغ اشنوخرغ هیم چی آزابیل ز میغ و سَپر یخت هیم الخ

That is 'I am a person of *ابن رافع* (?) who is carrying out thy will, because I am from Babylon'.

Other metres are also noticeable amongst these documents, e.g., a piece containing 11 syllables of 4 accents is found

حَوْزُخُسَيْدٍ (وَشْنِ) أَوْ نُرْمَاةٍ نَرَاغِ النِّخ

That is 'the radiant sun and the full-moon shining'.

No doubt the secular poetry of the Sasanian period resembled very much these pieces in their metre and form, so much so that these metres were not distinguishable from the ordinary prose except through the fixed number of the syllables used in that piece. Hence the Muslim writers interpreted it as *Nathr-i-Musajja'* or rhymed prose.

Beginnings of Islamic Persian Poetry :—

My friend Dr. Dáúdputa has dealt with the influence of Arabic poetry on Persian poetry and *vice versa* in a masterly way in his dissertation. I need not repeat what will become the property of all scholars when his brilliant work will be published; but I should like to trace as briefly as possible the results of the contact of the Arabs and Persians on their literatures and especially on poetry, as it is directly connected with the subject in hand. It is really very difficult to point out how and when and why Pahlawi was replaced by Arabic and consequently by Persian in the early days of Islam. Vast study as that of Goldziher's will unfold the depths of the two civilizations which appear to have merged in one another so inextricably.

Linguist of intrinsic type will tell us in future years what impression the Arabic language created on the Persians. For the present, it is enough if we say that it took nearly two complete centuries for the Persians to recover their national genius, form a language, adopt a culture and spread it as their own. The Arab masters after all had to fall back on the vanquished artists of Persia—be they musicians, literati, scientist, physicians, lexicographers, historians, geographers, philosophers, astronomers, theologians and statesmen. The Golden Age of Islam was in a sense the renaissance of Persian art and civilization through the medium of Arabic under the patronage of the Abbasides. From the point of view of the literary history of Persia this was a transition period, in which the

Pahlawi and Arabic were struggling to give birth to a common medium of expression—the modern Persian

Traditional literature about the birth of Persian poetry :—

There have been several forefathers of Persian poetry, some under the garb of the first Persian poet, others as the earliest or the oldest poet of Persia. Legend has haunted Bahrám Gúr, ‘Abbás-i-Marwazí, Abú Ḥafs Ḥakim b. Aḥwas Sughdi-i-Samarqandí, and even the anonymous son of Ya‘qúb b. Layth Sa‘fá‘rī. Among the pioneers who have exploded these myths one after another are Āqá Mírzá ‘Abdu’l-‘Azím Khán of Gurgán, Āqá Mírzá Muḥammad Khán Qazwini now residing in Paris, Prof. Mírzá ‘Abbás Iqbál Ash‘tiyání and the present writer.

First Legend :—

Bahrám Gúr as the forefather of Persian poetry.

The most widely prevalent notion about the birth of Persian poetry is that Bahrám Gúr in one of his hunting raids in a jubilant mood had a poetical contest with his beloved Dil-árám. The result of which is the production of this famous but notoriously apocryphal couplet :

منم آن پیل دمان و منم آن شیر یله
(۱) نام من بهرام گور و کنیتم بوجبله

This verse is found in several Arabic and Persian older sources under different readings. Apart from these verbal variations, these lines can never be attributed to Bahrám Gúr who ruled between 420 and 438 A.D. A period in which Arabic poetry, if it did exist, was in its infancy, how this verse, based on the Arabic-Persian prosody, happened to be composed in that early period, when the Persian language of the modern type had no existence at all.

Second tradition : ‘Abbás-i-Marwazí’s ode on Ma‘mún on his entering in Marw in 193 A.H.

The story has received such a wide acceptance that every anthologist of Persia quotes it with great ceremony. Even modern critics have never expressed any doubt about it. The ode, according to ‘Awfī who first introduced it to the Persian language, begins :

ای رسانیده دولت فرق خود تا فرقدین
گُسترانیده بحدود و فضل در عالم یدین
(۱) نام بهرام ترا و پدرت بوجبله

مر خلافت را بر شاسنه چو مردم دبدۀ را
دین بردان را نو ناسنه چورخ را هر دو عَسَّ

In the course of this long ode of which not more than 4 lines have come down to us the poet says :

کس برین منوال بشش از من چنین شعری نگفت
موربان بازسی را هست نا این نوع بُن
لبک ر آن گفتم من این مدحت ترا نا این لعت
گرد از حد و بُنای حضرت نو رب و زن

History tells us definitely that Ma'mún came to Marw in the Jumadal-Ú'la of 193 A.H. and stayed there till 198 A.H., till Tahir-i-Dhú'l Yamínayn killed his brother Amín and people took the oath of fealty to Ma'mún as Caliph and the commander of the faithful. In the days of the mighty Hárun'ur-Rashid, Amín and Ma'mún were called as prince or heir-apparent and Imám and were never styled as Caliph. The dates in which the ode is supposed to have been written are given differently 173 A.H., 175 A.H. and 193 A.H. is the latest. The patron Ma'mún is styled as the Caliph whereas in that year Harún had just died and Amín had assumed the reins of the Caliphate. Ma'mún's Caliphate begins from the year 198 A.H. So then this verse from the point of view of composition should fall between 198 A.H. and 202 A.H.—the period of the Caliphate of Ma'mún.

Secondly, if we consider these verses from the point of view of their structure, form, metre, prosody and compare it with the verse of the 2nd century, they have nothing in common. It is a finished product of an age in which a poet like Kháqání had impressed his grandiloquence and bombast on the literary product of the day—i.e., either of the 5th or 6th century A.H. when the Persian had lost its primary simplicity and Archaic features, absorbed Arabic and Turkish idiom, adopted rhetorical devices and conceits of intricate type, and had polished the verse (Diction) form by the use of finished words; and when the poets had found the composition of an ode a lucrative profession.

These lines do not resemble at all the verse of either Hanzala of Badghis or Abu'l-Muayyad of Balk or Fírúz-i-Mashriqí or even of Rúdakí—all poets of the first period. These lines are undoubtedly

a forgery. In the midst of the ode the poet says that as yet nobody had used the Persian language as the medium of poetic expression, despite the poet is intentionally doing it to honour the language by praising a patron of Ma'mún's type. Did Ma'mún know enough Persian to judge the merit of these lines? Or, are these lines the true specimen of the period?

Another thing that strikes a reader about these lines, is the signal omission of such an important ode in the earlier Arabic or Persian records of the 2nd, 3rd or 4th or 5th century. Neither the anthologist nor prosodist nor lexicographers make any mention of these important verses. It is 'Awfí in the 7th century who is first announcing the dawn of Persian poetry in the person of 'Abbás Marwazí.

The last argument about this doomed 'First poet of Persia,' is that these lines are written in the Ramal-i-Muthamman-i-Maqsur (Mahdhúf)—a form peculiar to *Persian prosody*. The originator of the Arabic prosody Khalíl b. Aḥmad died in 175' A.H. Did the Persians within 18 years, i.e., in 193 A.H., change the Arabic prosody and adopt metres according to their taste in such a short period, and a poet like 'Abbás-i-Marwazí began writing such wonderful verse based on Arabico-Persian prosody within two decades of Khalíl's death?

Third Tradition :—

Abu Ḥafṣ Ḥakím b. Aḥwaṣ as the oldest poet of Persia.

The line is too famous to be quoted.

آهوی کوهی در دشت چگونہ دودا
یار ندارد بی یار چگونہ رودا

Shams-i-Qays in his important treatise on Prosody Mu'jam fi Ma'áir-i-Ashá'r-il-'Ajam quoting Farábi (died in 339 A.H.) says that Abu Ḥafṣ was a perfect musician and that the instrument Sháhrúd was his invention and he died in 300 A.H. In this case the language of the piece is in conformity with the period mentioned, but there flourished poets earlier than Abú Ḥafṣ in the 3rd century of Hijra like Ḥazala of Badghis (flourished about 236 A.H.=850 A.D.), Fírúz-i-Mashriqi (277=890), Abú Salik Gurgání (288=900). Even Rúdakí's fame had been established, as he died in (330=941 A.D.). How then Abú Ḥafṣ can be called the earliest poet of Persia?

Fourth Tradition :—

Ya'qúb b. Layṭh's son as the originator of Persian poetry.

Dawlatsháh and other biographers of Persian poets have time after time repeated the story of Ya'qúb b. Layth's son who in ecstasy gave birth to this oft-quoted hemistich: *عَلَّانُ غُلَّانِ هَمِي رُود نَا لَب كَر*. I need not repeat the story here, but would like to dismiss this legend with a few remarks.

The very wording of Dawlatsháh is uncertain. He first says that the Amír Ya'qúb b. Layth found the expression or composition very pleasing and said

”كه ابن شعر خوب
و این از جنس شعر است“

As yet only one hemistich has come down to us and Ya'qúb called it first a “شعر” and then endorsed it by saying that it falls within the category of verse.

All of a sudden Abú Dulaf 'Ijlí and Ibnu'l-Ka'b are brought on the scene in order to scan and find the metre of it. Then they found this hemistich and not the distich (as previously said) forming one of the kinds of Hazaj, and added another hemistich to complete the distich and added another couplet, which was eventually called Du Baití, later changed into Ruba'í or a quatrain.

Whosoever may have invented this fiction, it is obvious that with such a poor plot he is sure to be dubbed as a poet-monger, and a hypocrite.

As is well known to History that Ya'qúb b. Layth after capturing Sáliḥ b. Nadhr, defeating Rutbíl, the Hindú Sháh of Kábul, and killing 'Ammár the Kharijite in the year 253 A.H.=867 A.D. advanced towards Herát, received the submission of the last Tahirid ruler of Khurásán and declared his independence in that year.

Amír Abú Dulaf-i-'Ijlí died in 225 A.H.=839 A.D. At that time nobody knew Ya'qúb b. Layth. Tahir b. 'Abdullah b. Tahir, the Ambidexter, was the ruler of Khurasán. Ya'qúb at that time may have been a member of a murderous gang or at the most may have joined the forces of Dirham b. Naṣr b. Salih. He was never an Amir then to have a Court and boon-companions and to order the Tahirid general and man of letters like Abú Dulaf to scan a hemistich for him in collaboration with the poet Ibnu'l-Ka'b. Thus the origin of the Ruba'í is hopelessly fallen in the whirlpool of anachronism, which has gained so much credence amongst the literati of Persia.

Real beginnings of Persian poetry in the Islamic period.

The old Persian Tazkirahs have failed to prove the existence of the first or the earliest or the oldest poet. It is Arabic history that has come to our aid to reveal facts. We now, through the labours of two great Persian scholars, stand on a firm ground, and are able to produce the earliest or the oldest extant specimens of Persian poetry.

(1) The Satirical utterances of the poet Yazíd b. Mufarragh and the arch reference to Sumayyah the mother of Ziyád b. Abih falls in the Caliphate of Yazid b. Mu'áwiya 60-64 A.H.=679-683 A.D.

آهست نپید است عسارات زبب است سمنه رو سپید است
(تصنیف)

(2) The ballad of the children of Khurásán in derision of Asad b. 'Abdullah al-Qusarí al-Khuttalaní after his ignominious defeat at the hands of the Kháqan in the year 108 A.H.=726 A.D

از ختلان آمدیه ، برو تلاء آمدیه
آبار ناز آمدیه خشک نزار آمدیه

(3) Abu'l-Yanbaghí al-'Abbás b. Ṭar Khán's lines on the city of Samargand.

سمرقند کند مند ، برینت کی افگند
از شاش نه بهی همی شه نه جهی

From the *Kitabúl Wuzara* of al-Jahshiyarí we come to know a few facts about this strange poet. He happened to be one of the courtiers of the Bermecides Ja'far and Fazl, whose disgrace is a notorious event of the year 187 A.H.=802 A.D. At any rate this specimen like the previous ones is anterior to Arabian prosody and represents the earliest phases of the transition of which we have spoken a little before.

(4) The real poet of the Saffarí period Muḥammad b. Wasíf and his verses on Ya'qúb as yet were so little known, that the beginnings of Persian poetry were shrouded in mystery. He is, according to the *Tárikh-i-Sístan*, the first Persian poet who successfully wrote verses.

Vedic Section.

President :

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VEDIC INTERPRETATION AND TRADITION.

VIDYUŚEKHARA ŚĀSTRĪ,
Viśva-Bhāratī, Santiniketan, Bengal.

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ नमो वेदविदे च वेदान्तकृते च ॥

॥ नमः परमर्षिभ्यो वेदविद्याप्रवर्तकेभ्यः ॥

॥ नमः त्रोटजनेभ्यश्च सुहृज्जनेभ्यश्च ॥

DEAR FRIENDS,

I am really thankful to you for the great honour you have done me by kindly asking me to preside over the present session of this section of our Oriental Conference. But let all honour be His who is the Knower of the Veda (*Vedavid*) and the Author of the Conclusion of the Veda (*Vedāntakṛt*). I stand before you certainly not as a teacher, but rather as a pupil and as a fellow-student ; for I do not pretend to guide you, but rather I wish to be guided by you. Nor have I come here with the intention of solving some difficult problems, or removing some of the doubts which you may have, or of putting before you any great thoughts or results of new researches that might have been made by me ; but I stand before you in all humility to place for your consideration some of what appear to me to be the fundamental problems in the interpretation of the Veda. I approach these problems with special reference to those who hold the Veda as an inspired and a sacred heritage, and find it a great source of peace and happiness in their lives.

Let me begin with a short apologue which has been handed down by the Rishis :

विद्यां च वै ब्राह्मणसाजगाम ।

गोपाय मा येवभिक्षेज्जसत्रि ॥

—*Saṁhitopaniṣad-Brahmaṇa* 3.

‘Verily Vidyā (the Vedic Lore) approached the Brahman thus :
“Protect me, I am your treasure”.’

The Brahman realized it, and undertook to protect her. He was also duty-bound to do so, for he knew the old injunction :
‘When a man is born, he is born with a debt (to pay)—a debt to the Gods, a debt to the Rishis, and to the Fathers, and to Mankind.’

(ŚB., 1. 7. 2 1; See TB., VI. 3 10. 5). He must free himself of his debt to the Gods, the Rishis as well as to the rest. So far as his other debts are concerned, the scriptures teach him how to repay them. His debt to the Rishis can only be repaid, as they declare, by becoming their 'Treasure-warden' (*nidhi-gopa*), by protecting the treasure; in plain words, by continuing the study of the Veda.

Whatever might be our attitude towards life and culture, it has got to be admitted that the Veda is really a treasure, a treasure not only for the Brahman, but also for the humanity at large, a most precious inheritance of the past. And it is specially so for us Indians, as it is the ultimate source, directly or indirectly, of whatever we have thought about and striven for the peace and happiness of man and the universe during the whole course of our existence as a people.

Let me, however, strike a note of warning, and I think that the ancient teachers will lend me their support when I do so. The treasure must not be confounded with its receptacle: we should know that the *ādihāra* is generally of a different material and character from the *ādheya*. The gems of truth are ensconced in the entire mass of the Veda. The Greek proverb says that the part is greater than the whole. Yet the *whole* has its value and its justification—as a fact of history and as an influence on life when it is an influence. Human society is a chequered pattern, and we have wise men and foolish men, we have saints as well as sinners. What we may be tempted to regard as useless may have its use with others. And we must take note of it.

Be that as it may, I was telling you the story of Vidyā. Let me continue it. The Brahman undertook to protect her. But has he done so? If so, how far has he succeeded? Did the Vedic tradition remain unbroken? If it did not, how long then did it continue? I want to tell you another story. Fifty years ago it was first told by Max Müller in one of his Hibbert Lectures,¹ and I think it is worth repeating, even though it may be a little long.

"These men," continues the great savant referring to the Brahmins of his time, "and I know it as a fact, know the whole of Rig-Veda by heart, just as their ancestors did, three or four

¹ *Collected Works of Max Müller*, Lectures on the Origin of Religion, Longmans, Green & Co., 1898, pp. 132 ff.

thousand years ago, and though they have MSS., and though they now have a printed text, they do not learn their sacred lore from them. They learn it, as their ancestors learnt it, thousands of years ago, from the mouth of a teacher, so that the Vedic succession should never be broken. The oral teaching and learning became in the eyes of the Brahmans one of the 'Great Sacrifices'.....I have had visits from natives who knew large portions of the Veda by heart; I have been in correspondence with others who, when they were twelve or fifteen years old, could repeat the whole of it¹ They learn a few lines every day, repeat them for hours, so that the whole house resounds with the noise and they thus strengthen their memory to that degree, that when their apprenticeship is finished, you can open them like a book; and find any passage you like, any word, any accent. One native scholar, Shankar Pandurang, is at the present moment collecting various readings for my edition of the Rig-Veda, not from MSS., but from the oral tradition of the Vedic Śrotriya. He writes on the 2nd March, 1877. 'I am collecting a few of our walking Rig-Veda MSS, taking your text as the basis. I find a good many differences which I shall soon be able to examine more closely, when I may be able to say whether they are various readings or not. As I write a Vedic scholar is going over your Rig-Veda text. He has his own MS. on one side, but does not open it, except occasionally. He knows the whole Samhitā and Pada text by heart. I wish I could send you his photograph, how he is squatting in my tent with his Upavita (the Sacred Cord) round his shoulder, and only a Dhoti round his middle, not a bad specimen of our old Rishis.'

"And though it may have sounded to some of you like a fairy-tale, believe me, it is truer in all its details than many a chapter of contemporary history."

This story depicts the condition of the Vedic studies by the Brahman fifty years back; and I can tell you that even at the present time you will find, mostly in the South, such half-naked Brahmans (their race—a race of giants—is, alas, declining every day), repeating the sacred hymns handed down to them from generation to generation and saying those prayers which were first uttered

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1878, p. 40: 'There are thousands of Brahmans', the editor remarks, 'who know the whole of the Rig-Veda by heart and can repeat it'.

thousands of years ago on the banks of the Sarasvatī or some other sacred river by Rishis like Vasiṣṭha or Viśvāmitra—the Rishis who stand at the head of Indian Culture, but who in the hands of unsympathetic though ‘ingenius and judicious’ experts on Indian culture received, together with their gods, the sobriquet of ‘barbarians’

You are now to draw your own conclusion as to whether the Vedic succession or tradition was completely broken at the time of Yāska, or of Sāyana, or whether it continued unimpaired down to a generation back,—since when, owing to altering conditions and ideas of life, it has suffered a check, and it was lucky that we could save some of it through the printing press

Here naturally arises a question. The request of Vidyā to the Brahman was for her protection. This certainly did not mean protection of only the text in which she was enshrined, but also of the interpretation in which dwells her soul. For the Brahman was enjoined not only to read, but also to understand the Veda (*adhyeyo jñeyas ca*), without looking forward to any earthly reward for it (*niṣkāraṇa*).

Now, so far as the text is concerned, it has been universally accepted as having been preserved intact. The Brahman here has performed his task to perfection. But what about the interpretation?

In order to understand the situation in the matter of the correct interpretation of the Veda-vidyā—the interpretation which was intended by the Rishi to whom the mantra was revealed—let us take note of the difficulties from the case of a living poet and his composition. We have here a living poet of world-wide fame, Rabindranath Tagore. Let us take one of his best known mystic poems, approach some of our best scholars and cultured men who have the requisite training in and feel for literature and are teachers of the subject, and ask them individually to interpret that particular poem. And what shall we see? We shall see that *nāsaṃ munir yaśya matam na bhinnam*; there may be partial agreement here and there, there will never be entire agreement; in fact, there will sure to be some disagreement. And yet it may be that none of the interpretations proposed by these eminent scholars is the right interpretation, that is, the interpretation which the poet himself had in his mind when he composed it. Supposing that these scholars and experts in literature went on in their own way, and each taught his own particular interpretation to his group of pupils, and these latter in their

turn also taught their own pupils the interpretation received from their masters, we would have a series of traditional interpretations, each equally old. How can a man of a future generation judge these various traditions, or one tradition, as correct? How can it be maintained that the interpretation first offered by those prominent teachers was the right interpretation, simply because these teachers were eminent men, or because they were contemporaneous with the poet himself, or were associated with him?

A poet does not necessarily interpret his own poem, for he is not bound to do so, nor is it his business. He composes a poem and there ends his work. But he may give his interpretation if he pleases. Now, let us again think over another aspect of the question. Supposing that the poet explains at a time one of his poems to a particular individual. The latter perhaps does not fully comprehend, or comprehends the explanation fully, but does not remember the whole of it, and without any consideration of the fact of his forgetfulness he starts to explain the poem to the group around him, and from the group begins a school of tradition. Here we may ask a question: Will it be right to think that one who has received this tradition is justified in claiming that *his* is the right interpretation, because the line of succession he belongs to is directly connected with the composer of the poem? Will it be reasonable to hold that the direct connection with the author of the poem is itself a sufficient ground for the genuineness of the interpretation given to it?

There can be another situation to make the whole question further complicated. It may be that the poet himself explains one of his difficult poems to a person of superior culture, intelligence, and memory. This person retains the explanation perfectly well and hands it over to a second man, and the second man to a third man, and in this way another line of tradition grows up. But facts relating to the origin of this tradition, that it goes back to the poet himself and has been transmitted unimpaired, remain unknown. This interpretation, the only *right* one, is not noted down in any book for some generations, though passed traditionally, and then a late writer offers it, without mentioning its credentials. How are we to discriminate the genuineness of the tradition in a case like this?

Situations like the above are possible with a living poet; in fact, some of these cases have actually happened with the works of Rabindranath himself. It is quite conceivable that in the case of a

Vedic poet, to whom a particular *mantra* was revealed or by whom it was 'visioned' (*dr̥ṣṭa*) thousands of years back, similar things have happened.

The difficulty of discrimination in this matter seems to have been noticed or anticipated even by a poet in the Rig-Veda itself (X. 71. 4), when he says -

उत तः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाच-

सुत तः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।

'Even while seeing, one does not see Speech ; even while hearing, one does not hear it.'

And it is also quite clear from Yāska's observation (I 20) to the effect that there were Rishis who had intuitive insight into *dharma* (*sāksātkrta-dharman*), but the teachers of a subsequent age lost that intuition. And these later teachers who, according to a commentator, may be described as *Śrutarṣis*, i.e. sages who derived their wisdom not directly as the earlier sages did, but from others, declined in the power of communicating instruction. This is quite natural on account of impermanence of human knowledge (*puruṣavidyānityatvāt*), as Yāska would express it.

This lowering of the high intellectual position, as time went on, brought in new view-points and new interpretations. And I may refer you, for instance, to the mystic hymn called *Aśvavāmīya* in the Rig-Veda (I. 164). It is found there, as you all know, how some of its stanzas have been interpreted in different ways in the commentary of Sāyana. It is well known that Sāyana is not the author of *all* these interpretations, as it can very clearly be shown that in a number of cases his variant interpretations were current in the country hundreds of years before him. Let us take, as an example, the following stanza (32) of the same hymn :

य ईं चकार न सो अस्म्य वेद

य ईं ददर्श चिरगिन्नु तस्मात् ।

स मातुर्योनां परिवीतो अन्न-

वैजप्रजा निर्धत्तिमा विवेश ॥

'He who made him knows not of him, (he is) verily out of sight now of him who saw him ; he, enveloped within his mother's womb with numerous progeny, entered into *nirrti*.'¹

¹ Whitney, AV., Tr., IX. 10. 10, slightly modified.

It is to be noted that the word *nṛrti* in the fourth line of the stanza has two meanings, 'calamity' and 'earth'. Now, what does the *mantra* mean? The opinion is divided. Some say, it implies that one having a number of children falls into calamity; while others are of opinion that it refers to the phenomenon of rain (*varṣakarman*). The former are the Parivrājakas or wandering religious mendicants, while the latter are the Nairuktas or Schohasts. And both the views are mentioned by Yāska in his *Nirukta*, II. 8.

Here is another mystic *mantra* from the Rig-Veda, IV. 58. 3 :

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो वक्ष्य पादा

द्वे शीर्षे सप्त वक्त्रासो वक्ष्य ।

त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो ररवीति

महा देवो मर्त्यो ऽथा विवेश ॥

'Four are his horns, three are his feet; his heads are two, and his hands are seven. Bound with a triple bond, the strong one (or the showerer of bounties) roars loudly, the great god enters into mortals.'¹

Who is that great god? Some say, according to the *Nirukta-pariśiṣṭa*, XIII. 7, he is *yajña*. The four horns are with reference to it four Vedas; the three feet are the three *savanas* or pressing out of *soma*-juice at the three periods of the day; the two heads are the two libations, introductory and concluding; the seven hands are the seven metres; 'bound with a triple bond' refers to three-fold scripture, *Mantra*, *Brāhmaṇa*, and *Kalpa*.

Others say, the great god is the sun: the four horns are the four directions or cardinal points (*diś*); three feet are the three Vedas (as, according to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 12. 9. 1, the movement of the sun is connected with the three Vedas: *Vedair aśūnyas tribhīr eti sūryaḥ*); the two heads are the day and night; the seven hands are the seven rays of the sun; 'bound with a triple bond' refers either to the three regions (terrestrial, atmospheric, and celestial), or to the three seasons (hot, rainy, and winter).

I want to refer you to one more explanation of the above passage which the great Patañjali, the commentator of Pāṇini (1, i. i) gives. He explains it with reference to speech (*śabda*) from the point of view of the grammarians. He says that the great god is

¹ Griffith (modified).

speech, the four horns are the four kinds of the words, viz. noun (*nāman*), verb (*ākhyāta*), preposition (*upasarga*), and particle (*niṣpāta*); the three feet are the three times, present, past, and future, the two heads are the two forms of speech, eternal and artificial, the seven hands are seven case-ending (*vibhaktis*). the triple bond signifies the connection of a word when it is uttered with the three parts of the body, the chest, the throat, and the head.

And if you want to know the observation of Sāyaṇācārya, he would tell you that other explanations are also possible here.

I should like to quote here one more *mantra* from the same *Aśyavāmīya Sūkta* (RV., I. 164. 45) :

चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि
नानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेह्यनि
तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

‘Speech hath been measured out in four divisions · the Brahmans who have understanding know them. Three kept in close concealment, they do not move. Of speech men speak only the fourth division.’¹

Now, what are these four divisions of speech? Look into the *Supplement to the Nirukta* (XIII. 9), and into Sāyana, and you will find not less than seven interpretations, according to different schools, to one of which belongs the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali, explaining the stanza himself (I. 1 1).

Apart from the explanation of different Vedic passages great divergency is found also with regard to particular points; for instance, the identity of the *Aśvins*—a question which is still being discussed. Yāska himself raises it and gives his answer (XII 1): ‘But who are the *Aśvins*? Some say “heaven and earth”, “day and night” say others; while others say, they are the sun and the moon. But according to the *Aitihāsikas*, they are virtuous kings.’

Not less than eight or nine schools of older expounders of the *Veda*, such as the *Yājñikas*, the *Vaiyākaraṇas*, the *Naidānas*, the *Parivrājakas*, the *Nairuktas*, and so on, are mentioned by Yāska, besides more than one and half a dozen of teachers holding different views with regard to particular points in the Vedic texts.

¹ Griffith (modified).

There is no reason to think that the interpretations offered by them are always without authority. For instance, the identity of the *Aśvins* with heaven and earth referred to above is actually found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV 1. 5. 16; and it may be noted that the derivation of the word *Aśvin* as given by Yāska is also fully supported by the same passage of that work.

Many interpretations, whether right or wrong, reasonable or fanciful, which are found in the *Nirukta*, are based on some passage or passages in a *Brāhmaṇa*. For instance, one may be referred to the derivation of the word *Vṛtra* (*Nirukta*, II 17). It is also to be noted that in *Brāhmaṇas*, too, the same diverse explanations also occur.

All the above explanations, in their bewildering diversity, are traditional ones. But here arises a question: Are all of them without exception true explanations, simply because they are traditional? The true explanation that is intended by the author or the Rishi himself can only be one. The doctrine of Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahmasūtras* can only be one, and this may be either *dvaita*, or *advaita*, or *viśiṣṭādvaita*, or *dvaitādvaita*, or something else, but in no case it can be equally all of them. One may, however, try to find out a conclusion that may somehow or other reconcile all the different views. But can one say that this reconciliation, or *samanvaya*, was intended by Bādarāyaṇa himself? It may or may not be so, but there is no way to find it out. All that can be said with certainty in this connection is that this attempt or reconciling the conflicting schools is the aim more of the scholars who are for this reconciliation than of Bādarāyaṇa himself. But we are not concerned with it, we want to know what the original author himself actually intended to say. But is it possible to do so under the circumstances described above? It is exceedingly unlikely that that can be done; but nevertheless, we should try to get as near to the truth as possible.

Here the *Nairuktas* offer us something to go by. Having explained one of the stanzas of that mystic hymn, the *Asyavāmīya Sūkta*, already referred to (RV., I. 164-39), in three different ways, viz. with reference to *devatā*, to *yajña*, and to *ātman*, the author of the *Supplement to Nirukta* (XIII. 11) observes:

अथ मन्त्रार्थाभ्युद्बोधोऽपि श्रुतितोऽपि तर्कतः ।

'This deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of oral tradition as well as reasoning.'

न तु श्रुतौ न मन्त्रा निर्वक्तव्याः । प्रकरणं एव निर्वक्तव्याः ।

‘The hymns are not to be interpreted as isolated texts, but according to their context.’

न ह्येषु प्रत्यक्षमस्यदृष्टेरपतसो वा ।

‘For, a person, who is not a Rishi, or who is without severe meditation, has no intuitive insight into them (*mantras*).’

पारोवर्यवित् तु खलु वेदिदृष्टु भूयोविद्यः प्रशस्यो भवतीत्युक्तं पुरस्तात् ।

‘It has already been said (*Nirukta*, I. 16) that among those who are versed in tradition, he who is most learned deserves special commendation.’¹

The author then proceeds to show the importance of reasoning in the following passage quoted from a Brāhmaṇa :

मनुष्या वा ऋषिपूत्राणामसु देवानब्रुवन् को न ऋषिर्भविष्यतीति । तेभ्य एत तर्कदृष्टिं प्रायच्छन् मन्त्रार्थचिन्ताभ्यूहमभ्यूह्यत् । तस्माद् यदेव किञ्चानूचानोऽभ्यूह्यार्थं तद् भवति ।

‘Verily when the Rishis were passing away, men inquired of the gods, “Who shall be our Rishi?” They gave them this science of reasoning as Rishi (*tarkam ṛṣim*)² for consideration of the sense of the hymns. Therefore whatever is decided by a man well-versed in the Veda becomes *ārṣa* or derived from a Rishi.’

It is then clear from the above that in order to understand the significance of the Veda our traditional method regard these three things as essential: (1) *śruti*, oral tradition from the mouth of a competent *Ācārya*, or from repositories of traditions, such as the *Brāhmaṇas*; (2) *tarka* or reasoning; and (3) *tapas*; which I think ought to be translated in such cases, as Roth and Muir have already done, as ‘intense abstraction’ or ‘severe meditation’.³ Of course, it is understood that the essential preparatory knowledge of the six *Vedāṅgas* or supplementary Veda sciences (viz. phonetics, grammar,

¹ Translations mostly by Muir.

² This reminds one of the following words of the Buddha in the *Mahā-parinibbānasutta* (VI. 1): ‘Now the Exalted one addressed the venerable Ānanda and said: It may be Ānanda that in some of you the thought may arise “The word of the Master is ended, we have no Teacher more!..... The Truths and the Rules of the Order, which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher of you”.’ We may also recall the story of the last Sikh *Guru* Govind Singh declaring that after his demise the Sikhs will have to obey the Granth Sāhib as their *Guru*.

³ In support of it the following may be quoted from the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (I. 1. 9): *Yasya jñānamayaṁ tapaḥ*. Cf. the sense of *aikṣata* in the *Chāndogya Up.*, VI. 2. 3.

science of language, metrics, astronomy, and ritual), have been already acquired.

The above method will meet with the fullest approval of the modern 'scientific' investigator, who has practically nothing more to add, excepting a study of the culture of the age from a historical and comparative standpoint. This includes the findings of Comparative Philology, Anthropology, Archæology, Sociology and other human sciences.

The study and research proposed by the six *Vedāṅgas*, for instance, have been worked out in greater detail and with the help of modern appliances by Western scholars, and for this we ought to show our cordial appreciation as fellow-workers in a common field.

We have seen how great was the divergency among the teachers with regard to the Vedic interpretations. But this is a fact not exclusively peculiar to the Veda. The case is the same in all times and in all lands, in all the various branches of science. This diversity of explanations makes the original meaning extremely obscure no doubt, but does it not also imply the growth and development of the science through the centuries? Growth and Development are a sign of Life, and the ever-growing variety of expositions proposed by the different scholars and traditions indicates that the mind of the Brahman who took upon himself to protect the Vidyā has remained alert and active,—although it may be argued that the Vidyā has not been preserved in her original form everywhere, and that her proper form has been overlaid by later additions and possibly decorations. This sort of change is unavoidable, for Change is the law of Life. But although the outward body changes, the inner being remains the same; only we shall have to strive to find it out in its proper form. Moreover, we must remember that great or noteworthy discrepancies occur with regard to a comparatively small number of hymns, while it can safely be asserted that there is complete agreement in most of the other cases. However, the net fact remains that there has been an unbroken series of commentators and exegesists from Yāska downwards. I may quote here the conclusion which Dr. Lakshman Sarup has arrived at (*Indices and Appendices to Nirukta*, Intro., pp. 75-76): 'It will also show that there have been numerous Pre-Sāyaṇa commentators of the Rig and other Vedas and an unbroken, uniform and continuous tradition of Vedic interpretation has been a common inheritance of the

orthodox scholars. The current belief that Sāyana is the only or the most important commentator after Yāska or that the tradition of Vedic interpretation was lost before the former's time is erroneous. Other scholars like Professor Bhagavad Datta have come to the same conclusion from a study of both available commentaries and incomplete fragments.

With regard to the tradition I should like to put before you the following fact also. According to the Vedantists there are three courses (*prasthāna-traya*) for ascertaining the meaning of Vedānta, viz. the *śruti-prasthāna* or the Course of the Vedic texts, the *smṛti-prasthāna* or the Course of Tradition, and the *sūtra-prasthāna* or the Course of the Aphorisms (of Bādarāyana). It follows from it that sometimes when the true meaning of a certain Vedantic text cannot be ascertained with the help of either *śruti* or *sūtra* it can be done with the help of the *smṛti*. And as such the *smṛti* cannot be neglected. And, I may suggest, this *smṛti-prasthāna* may be applied in the case of some of the Vedic texts, too, with conspicuous results. For instance, we read in the *Vājasaneyīsamhitā*, IX. 2 (*Īśopaniṣad* 2).

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः ।

एवं त्वयि नाभ्ययेतोऽस्मि न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥

'It is only performing karmas that one should desire to live here a hundred years. Thus it is in thee, and not otherwise than this. Karma does not affect (*lipyate*, root *lip*) a man.'

Where is the explanation of this verse? Does it not remind one of the following couplet of the *smṛti*, the *Bhagavad-gītā* (IV. 14) together with the whole philosophy of karma expounded there?

न सां कर्माणि लिम्पन्ति न मे कर्मफले स्पृहा ।

इति सां योऽभिजानाति कर्मभिर्न स बध्यते ॥

'Karmas do not affect (*limpanti*, root *lip*) me, nor have I any desire for the consequence of a karma. He who thus knoweth me is not bound by karmas.'

Let me take another example. The following stanza occurs in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV. 4. 7, as well as in the *Kaṭha Up.*, VI. 14 :

यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येस्य हृदि स्थिताः ।

अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते ॥

'When all the desires cease which were cherished in his heart, then the mortal becomes immortal, then here he attains to Brahman.'

Where do we get the fullest interpretation of it ? Is it not the same *smṛti*, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, which having thoroughly discussed the topic repeats the same truth only in different words (II. 71) ?

विद्वाद्य कामान् यः सर्वान् पुमांश्चरति निःस्पृहः ।

निर्ममो निरद्वन्द्वारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ॥

‘Whoso forsakes all desires and moves about free from yearnings and from the notion of “I am” and “It is mine,” he attains to peace.’

Or let us consider again. Is it not that the same truth ‘there is only one without the second’ which has found expression in Vedic texts,¹ has again appeared through the Upaniṣad in a much later work, the *Durgā-saptasatī* (included in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*) in the following couplet ?

एकैवाह जगत्पञ्च द्वितीया का समापरा ।

पश्येता द्रष्टु मय्येव विशन्ति सद्भिभूतयः ॥

‘I am only one in the universe. Who is other than me that can be regarded as second ? See, O villain, my manifestations are entering into me.’

Here in the *smṛti* we have either a later development or expansion of an idea already expressed in the Veda ; or it may be that the *smṛti* passages only enshrine a traditional interpretation of the Vedic passages.

This traditional relation between the Vedic and post-Vedic literatures is only too apparent to require any further discussion. The point is that the Purāṇas, Dharmasāstras, and other *smṛtis* frequently help us in elucidating the Veda, and as such they are always deserving of respectful attention as repository of tradition, —they should much less be ignored, as is unfortunately the case in certain quarters among Vedic scholars both in India and in Europe. This is just like the later Classical Sanskrit itself, with all its non-Vedic and so-called artificial character (which has earned for it the contumely of Veda-enthusiasts in Europe), helping a great deal in understanding at least to some extent the general sense of a Vedic text. Just as we acknowledge the common basis of both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, we should be equally alive to the common background of both the Veda and the later literature.

¹ For example, ‘There is only one Rudra and no second’—TS., I. 8. 6. 1 ; ‘The wise say one in various ways.’—RV., I. 164, 46.

We may illustrate the point by a few instances. Even such popular works like the *Amarakoṣa* which are read in our Sanskrit Pāthasālās by tender boys in their first year of Sanskrit give the meanings of a great number of Vedic words, though, at times the original senses of some of them are found to have been modified. A young Sanskrit scholar of even seven or eight (wherever the traditional method is followed), if asked, will at once reply that the Vedic words *Marutvat* 'accompanied by Maruts', *Śakra* 'mighty', *Śacīpati* 'lord of might', *Śatakratu* 'having a hundred powers', *Vṛtrahan* 'Vṛtra-slayer', *Purandara* for the actual word *Pūrbhid* 'fort-shatterer', and *Vajrabhṛt* 'bearing the bolt', mean Indra. He will at once tell you that *Vaiśvānara*, *Jātavedas*, *Tanūnapāt*, and *Āśusūksaṇ*, all used in the Rīg-Veda, are nothing but Agni 'fire', and *Mātariśvan* is Vāyu. Multiplication of instances is not needed. Here we have but a partial preservation of the Vedic tradition through school lexicons.

En passant I may mention here the views of the Mimāṃsakas who may be included among the Yājñīkas already referred to in connection with Vedic interpretation. I shall quote here only two passages from the *Taittirīya-Samhitā* illustrating the methods of the Mimāṃsakas in interpreting the Veda. They certainly represent an old tradition and as such are entitled to the respect which Śāyanācārya and others are given. The first of them runs (TS., II. 1. 1. 4.):

प्रजापतिर्वा इदमेक आसीत् । सोऽकामयत् प्रजाः पशून् हजेयेति । स आत्मनो वपासुदक्षिदत् । तामग्रीं प्रागृह्णात् । ततोऽजसूपरः समभवत् । तं स्वायै देवताया आहूयत । ततो वै सः प्रजाः पशून् हजत् ॥

'Verily here was Prajāpati alone. He desired : " May I create offspring and cattle." He took out (from his body) his omentum (*vapā*), and placed it in the fire. From that the hornless goat came into being. He offered it to its own deity. Then did he create offspring and cattle.'

This is explained as myth (possibly in his anxiety to establish an eternal connection between a word and its meaning) by Śābarasvāmin in his commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā-darśana*, I. 1. 10. He says that Prajāpati may refer here to an eternal object : (i) air, (ii) the sky, or (iii) the sun ; the omentum may mean (i) rain, (ii) wind, or (iii) the rays of the sun ; the fire implies (i) the fire of lightning (*vaidyuta*), or (ii) of the rays (*ārciṣa*), or (iii) of the

terrestrial fire (*pārthiva*) ; and the word *aja* taken to mean ' a goat ' signifies here (i) food (*anna*), or seed (*bīja*), or plant (*virudh*).

And here is the second passage (TS., VII. 1. 10. 2-3) :

बबरः प्रावाहणिरकामयत वाचः प्रवदिता स्यामिति ।

The plain meaning is that Babara, a descendant of Pravāhaṇa, desired that he might be a speaker of speech. But Śabarasvāmin (I. 1. 31) would explain it saying that there is no man known as Pravāhaṇa. Therefore there cannot be his descendant Prāvāhaṇi. The word is derived from *pra* + $\sqrt{vāh}$ + *i*, the suffix *i* is used to mean both a descendant as well as an agent ; thus any eternal object that makes one carry on a work is *Prāvāhaṇi*. And *Babara* is an onomatopoetic word.

I am speaking of the interpretations, and in this connection it seems to me that if we follow some of the remarks of Yāska, many an unexplained myth or allusion, and many a mystic or obscure, or doubtful passage will become perfectly clear. The following occurs in the Rig-Veda (X. 51. 9) :

तव प्रयाजा अनुयाजाश्च केवल
जर्जस्तनो हविषः सन्तु भागाः ।
तवाग्ने यज्ञोऽयमस्तु सर्व-
स्तुभ्यं नमन्तां प्रदिशस्वतवः ॥

'The introductory and the concluding oblations are entirely thine ; let the juicy portions of the offerings be thine. Let this whole sacrifice be thine, O Agni, and let the four quarters bow before thee.'

Here it is quite clear that the introductory and concluding oblations belong to the deity, Agni. There can in no way be any doubt of it. Yet, there are not less than six passages in different Brāhmaṇas referring to the above verse, of which only one says that the deity here is Agni, while according to the rest the deity concerned is *Chandas* (metre) or *ṛtu* (season) or *paśu* (cattle) or *prāṇa* (breath) or *ātman* (soul). But why is here such wide difference ? Is it due to the ignorance of the authors of the Brāhmaṇas ? Yāska finds here a solution. And this solution proposed by him involves a fundamental principle in approaching Vedic passages of a similar character. He is quite right when he observes (VII. 24) :

वज्रभक्तिवादीनि प्राञ्चयानि भवन्ति ।

It means that the Brāhmanas have a great deal of *bhakti-vāda*. But what is *bhakti-vāda*? Here *bhakti* is *bhāga* 'part' or 'portion' (cf. *bhakti* in *svara-bhakti*), and *vāda* 'statement'; thus *bhakti-vāda* literally means 'a statement of a part', i.e. 'a statement only of a part of a thing and not of the whole of it'. For instance, if it is said *simho mānavakaḥ* 'the lad is a lion', it is to be understood that the lad is, so to say, *partly* a lion; in other words, the lad has a *bhakti* or *bhāga*, i.e. 'part' of a lion, e.g. the bravery of a lion. The later word for *bhakti-vāda* is *guṇa-vāda* 'statement of quality', generally translated by 'statement meant figuratively'. In the same example, 'the lad is a lion', the speaker wants to express that the lad has the quality (*guṇa*), i.e. bravery, of a lion. Here both the lad and the lion having the common quality, bravery, are identified. In explaining *bhakti-vāda*, Durgācārya observes:

भक्तिर्नाम गुणकल्पना । येन केनचिद् गुणेन ब्राह्मणं सर्वं सर्वथा वर्णयति । तत्र तत्त्वमन्वेष्टम् ।

'*Bhakti* means imagination (or consideration) of quality by which a Brāhmaṇa describes all things in all kinds of ways. But the truth must be investigated there.'

Yāska gives here an example from a Brāhmaṇa: 'The earth is Vaiśvānara, the year is Vaiśvānara, the Brahman is Vaiśvānara.' Here the author must have found some common quality (*sāmanya guṇa*) of the earth, etc. and Vaiśvānara,—owing to which there is this identification. But what is that *guṇa*, or common *guṇa*? It is for the reader to find it out, if he can.

Now, with regard to those introductory and concluding oblations, Yāska remarks that it is fixed decision (*sthiti*) that they belong to Agni. But what about the different statements of the Brāhmaṇas? It is mere *bhakti*, i.e. with reference to some common quality participated in both by Agni on the one hand and by *chandās*, or *ṛtu*, or *paśu*, or *prāṇa*, or *ātman* on the other.

In this way such identification as that of sacrifice (*yajña*) with Viṣṇu, or with Prajāpati; or that of the year with Prajāpati, or Agni; or that of Agni with Prajāpati, and so on, becomes intelligible through *bhakti*. And this common quality may be more inherent or imaginary than apparent or real.

The following stanza of the previously discussed *Aśyavāmīya sūkta* of the Rig-Veda (I. 164. 46) is well known to you all:

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहु-
 रथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
 एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्-
 त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥

‘They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni ; and he is divine Garutmat with beautiful wings. The sages speak of that which is one in various ways : they call it Agni, Yama, and Mātariśvan.’

And similar statements in the same Veda are not wanting. For instance, we read (X. 114. 5) :

सुपर्णे विप्राः कवथो वचोभि-
 रेकं सन्तं बहुधा कल्पयन्ति ।

‘The wise poets describe by their words in various ways the bird (Suparṇa) who is one.’

Yāska taking his stand on such ideas of the Rishis observes (VII. 4) ‘on account of the supereminence of the deity (*māhābhāgyād devatāyāḥ*) a single soul (*eka ātmā*) is praised in various ways (*bahudhā stūyate*)’.

This view has been given expression in the Upaniṣads and other religious literature of the country. Thus there is no inconsistency with the Brāhmaṇa saying to the effect that Agni is all the deities (KB., XXV. I. 9 ; AB., V. 16), although, in fact, there is a great number of deities mentioned in the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas.

Passages like the above are clear indications of the fundamentally monistic character of the Vedic religion. Whenever we have the temptation of laying too much stress on the ‘polytheism’ of the Veda, we ought to think of the above and similar passages in the Brāhmaṇas and in Yāska and other old commentators.

I want to refer you to one more remark of Yāska. In the Rig-Veda (I. 89. 10) we have the following verse :—

अदितिर्द्यौरदितिरन्नरिक्त-
 मदितिर्माता स पिता स पुत्रः ।
 विश्वे देवा अदितिः पञ्च जना
 अदितिर्जानमदितिर्जनित्वम् ॥

‘Aditi is heaven, Aditi is atmosphere, Aditi is the mother, she is the father, and she is the son. Aditi is all deities, Aditi five-classed men, Aditi all that hath been born, and Aditi all that shall be born.’

How is it that one is the heaven as well as the atmosphere ? How is it that the same person is the father, the mother, and also the son ? It would look very inconsistent. But let us hear what Yāska has to say in this connection. He says (I. 16) that such a statement is found also in ordinary speech (*laukikeṣy apy etat*). For example, one having drunk water says 'I have got all kinds of flavour (*sarvarasā anuprāptāḥ pānīyam*). And he finally concludes (IV 23), saying that the *vibhūti* (multifarious manifestation) of Aditi is mentioned here. Yāska has rightly caught the spirit of the verse quoted above which is to extol the greatness of the deity, Aditi.

If one takes such passages as the following (*Atharva-Veda*, X. 10. 26. 34) which extol the cow (*vaśā*), in that line, there will remain nothing to complain of :

वशमेवास्तमाऽवशां स्तुमुपासवे ।
 वयेदं सर्वमभवद् देवा मनुष्या अमृतुराः पितर ऋषयः ॥
 वशां देवा उपजीवन्ति वशां मनुष्या उत ।
 वयेदं सर्वमभवद् यावत् सूर्यो विपश्यति ॥

AV., X. 10. 26. 34.

'It is cow alone that they call immortality ; they worship cow as death ; the cow becomes this all—Gods, Men, Asuras, Fathers, and Seers.'

'On the cow the gods subsist ; on the cow men also ; the cow becomes this all ; so far as the sun looks around.'¹

Such is, then, the rôle which *bhakti-vāda* plays, not only in the Brāhmaṇas, but also in the Mantras.

In interpreting the Veda, the findings of Indo-European Linguistics should in no way be neglected or under-estimated. But sometimes the philologist's zeal carries him away a little too far, and leads him into a morass of a series of possibilities which one should always guard against. I think Comparative Philology and Tradition should be taken as mutual correctives. Unfortunately, however, the tradition, though supported by strong reason, is sacrificed at the altar of an insecure linguistic speculation. Let me give an example, and in so doing I should like to raise before you an old question which has already been discussed by eminent scholars. I mean the question of phallus worship in the Vedas. The only

¹ Whitney.

argument advanced in support of it lies in the word *śiśna-deva* used twice in the Rig-Veda (VII. 21. 5; X. 10. 99). The traditional meaning of it is 'lustful', both Yāska and Sāyana explaining it by *abrahmacarya*. There is no ground whatsoever to reject it. The word *deva* is used here in the figurative sense, it signifying 'like a deva'. And it is supported by a number of words compounded with *deva* as the last member. The following four words are well-known. *mātṛ-deva*, *pitṛ-deva*, *ācārya-deva*, and *atithi-deva*. Will it be reasonable to hold that a father-worshipper, and a mother-worshipper, a teacher-worshipper, and a guest-worshipper are meant here respectively? The word *pitṛ-deva* simply means 'a person to whom the father is just like a deva'. Accordingly, the sentence in the *Taittirīya Up.*, I. II., *pitṛ-devo bhava* implies that the father is to be revered just like a god. The remaining words, too, are to be explained in the same way. And this view is taken by the great Śaṅkarācārya saying with regard to them: *devatāvad upāsya etā ity arthaḥ*: 'the meaning is, that they should be revered as gods'. Let us take another word of the same class, *śraddhā-deva* found in the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* and in different Brāhmaṇas. What does it mean? The authors of the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* tell us, *Gott-vertrauend* 'trusting in god'. It can hardly be accepted, for the compound cannot be made after the manner of *bharad-vāja*, as in such cases the first member is a present participle. Nor can I understand how Eggeling takes it (ŚB., I. 1. 4. 5) to mean 'god-fearing'. The commentators generally explain it by *śraddhāvat* 'believing' or *śraddhālu* 'disposed to believe'. The actual meaning is, however, shown by Sāyana in his commentary on the TS., 7. 1. 8. 2, when he says: *śraddhā devo yasyāsau śraddhādevaḥ*: 'one whose *deva* (god) is *śraddhā* (trustfulness) is *śraddhā-deva*.' And then he adds: *yathā devatāyām ādaras tathā śraddhāyām ity arthaḥ*: 'as towards god, so is the respect towards trustfulness'.

This interpretation then decides the case of *śiśna-deva* implying a person who reveres his *śiśna* just like a god, or a man of 'lustful character, *abrahmacarya*, as Yāska would explain it.

The word in this sense may sound strange to a non-Indian reader, but Indians themselves are quite familiar with such expressions from the later Sanskrit literature. For instance, *śiśnodara-parāyana*, which is the same as *śiśnodara-trp*, or *śiśnodarambhara*, all meaning nothing but 'one addicted to lust and gluttony'. Mark

here the use of *parāyana*, literally meaning 'last resort or refuge', as the second member of the first word. And compare its use in such words as *Nārāyana-parāyana* 'devoted to Nārāyaṇa', and *kāmakrodha-parāyana* 'given over to lust and anger'.

It seems to me that sometimes too much importance is attached to modern philological interpretation utterly ignoring the traditional one. For instance, I may refer you to the well-known hymn to the so-called 'Unknown God', RV., X. 121, with the refrain '*kasmai devāya haṁṣā vidhema*'. It has been discussed from different points of view by a number of scholars. Some of them want to take here *kasmai* in the sense of 'to whom', as a form of the interrogative pronoun *ka* (or *kim*). I do not say that it can in no way be maintained. But I want to ask: What is the ground for rejecting the traditional meaning of the word here, which is Prajāpati? Why, as Sāyaṇa has done, *kasmai* is not to be construed supplying *tasmai*, as is often the case in the Rig-Veda¹ itself, when the relative pronoun *ya* (or *yad*) is used in the subordinate clause? That *ka* is identified with Prajāpati is found in different Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. The main ground for this identification is, according to the Rishis of the Brāhmaṇas, that both the interrogative pronoun *ka* (or *kim*) and Prajāpati are *anirukta* 'not explained'; that is, as the interrogative pronoun means a thing or a person not known definitely, as 'this' and 'this-like' (*idam*, *īdṛk*), so is Prajāpati,—he cannot be described definitely, for such is his greatness. Considering the manner in which they express certain thoughts, as we have already seen in connection with the *bhakti-vāda*, this identification of *ka* with Prajāpati who is expressly mentioned in the last verse of the hymn seems quite natural and appropriate.

Too much reliance or emphasis on the derivative sense is a pitfall, especially when in a great many derivations we are still in a speculative stage. Let me give one or two examples. The following line occurs in the *Chāndogya Up.*, 4. 17. 10:

ब्रह्मैवैक ऋत्विक् कुरुनखाभिरक्षति ।

Here the foremost scholars of the school of the philological interpretation, Böhtlingk and Roth, would not hesitate to explain *aśvā* saying *na-śvā*, *na* (or *a*) being taken in the sense of *sādrśya*

¹ I. 85. 1, 4; VII. 36. 4, 6, 7; 39. 5; 88. 7; 91. 6; 104. 8.

'likeness', and thus the word means 'as a dog' ('wie ein Hund') ! I suggest that *āsvā* here is only the instrumental singular of *āśva*.

Following the obviously literal sense, ignoring tradition which indicates the special meaning a word or expression comes to have, is equally dangerous. For instance, Rahder, who knows not only Sanskrit, but also Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian, would translate (in the Introduction to his edition of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, in the *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. IV, p. 218) the well-known Buddhist word *brahma-vihāra* (which means the 'sublime state of mind' arising from meditation on *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, and *upekṣā*), as the *Brahmā-hall* (!), taking the expression literally.

But we must not be blind to the purely philological method, for the real meaning of an expression, it is quite possible, is lost and another one takes its place. Without accepting as final, I may in this connection refer to the very plausible explanation by Dr. L. D. Barnett in his translation of the *Bhagavad-gītā* of the two well-known words *hr̥ṣīkeśa* and *guḍākeśa* as respectively 'having upstanding hair', and 'having knotted hair'. The word *hr̥ṣīka* in the sense of *indriya* occurs in Sanskrit, but it is a rare word, and I have not found *guḍākā* to mean *nidrā* anywhere excepting in lexicons. Dr. Barnett's suggestions are deserving of full consideration.

The conventional or accepted sense is more important than what the original root or composition would imply, when the word has been long in use (*rūḍhir yogād balīyasī*). While derivation gives us the original idea behind a word, the conventional sense is the one which has grown up, and is the sense in which it is employed. The word *nadī* or *dhunī* (from *dhvani*), when first applied to a river, indicated the idea of its being 'noisy' (*nadī nadanāt*). But it does not follow from this that while we employ the above words we must be necessarily thinking of the root-sense, 'the noisy one'. To insist upon the root-sense when the word has been accepted in a general way would be improper. Whether originally it was *agra+nī* or *agri*, or *aj* (*ag*)+*nī*, or whether it has any connection with Latin *ignis*, Lithuanian *ugnis*, Slav. *ognj*, it does not matter; for we all know that the word *agni* in Sanskrit means 'fire'. More than ninety per cent. of the students in our Colleges and Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās, if asked, would answer that *paśyati* is from the root *dr̥ś*, though this derivation is not the fact (philologically, the form *paś* is only an abridged form of *spāś*). Yet they perfectly know what the word

really means. In every language and literature writers employ a large number of words in their current senses, without any reference to the original ideas behind their roots. Under these circumstances, is it not that the interpreter should proceed with much caution in every step he takes with regard to the derivative meaning of a word he discusses or interprets?

The present condition of Vedic studies in our country is a most regrettable one, specially when it is compared with that in Europe. Vedic Sanskrit is taught to some extent in our Universities, but real interest in it among the students is rare, just as in Prakrit. It appears to me that in most cases it is due to the fact that the teachers themselves are not serious, or have no love for the subject. As such they can hardly rouse any enthusiasm or create any interest in the minds of their pupils. In regard to the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās, the condition is not better, most of the students taking no care for Vedic studies. And the result is that even a really profound Pandit is often unable to construe or understand a passage in Vedic Sanskrit. Nor does he possess the least information about Vedic literature. Though in some of the Pāṭhaśālās there are arrangements for the study of the Veda, they are mainly for chanting purposes, the interpretation being not properly made. This of course has its value, for it is helping to preserve the tradition with respect to *svādhyāya*; but the students who chant without understanding stultify themselves. We should remember what Yāska quotes (I. 18) in this connection from the *Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, 3 :

आचरन् भारदारः क्लृप्ताभू-
दधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।

But even this situation is altering owing to our changing social ideals. Simple *svādhyāyins* also are getting rarer and rarer, as the bestowing of *dakṣiṇās* to maintain them is getting rarer and rarer. I do not impute any mercenary motives to our *Śrotriya*s, who are still great in the midst of their poverty : but what I suggest is that our Society at large is becoming distracted by other things, and is forgetting its duty to maintain the *Śrotriya*s as necessary to Hindu Society. Vedic studies in the traditional way must languish under such circumstances.

We should nevertheless try to keep up the Vidyā and pay our debt to our Rishis. A reorganization of Vedic studies should come

in. It may be suggested that every student of our Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās should read Vedic Sanskrit to a certain standard—and this must be a high one—as a compulsory subject for his passing a Title Examination. The course should comprise in addition to the texts a good account of Vedic literature, the Nirukta, a grammar written scientifically, and a book on Sanskrit philology. Besides, some acquaintance with the sister literature of the Avesta may be introduced.

Avesta is not a difficult language to one who knows Sanskrit, specially Vedic Sanskrit. The agreement between Sanskrit and Avesta may be compared with that between Sanskrit and Prakrit. As regards meanings, they help each other. In this connection with your permission I may mention an experience of mine. I was thinking that the names for year are the names for the seasons. For instance, *abda* literally 'one that gives water', i.e. 'rainy season'; *varṣa* (which is the same as *varṣā*) = 'rain', 'rainy season'; *śarad* = 'autumn' (*saradaḥ śatam*); *hima* 'winter season' (*śatam himāḥ*); —all these are the names for the year. But what is the word that originally meant 'hot or summer season', and was employed to denote a year? There must be such a word, for the summer season is very acutely felt in this country. I was then turning over a page of an Avestic work, and came across a word *hama* which means 'summer'. Now *hama* of Avesta, according to phonology, is nothing but *sama* (feminine *samā*) in Sanskrit. And it at once struck me reminding that the word I was seeking after is *samā* (*jīviṣec chataṁ samāḥ*). It is from the root *sam*. Cf. English *Summer*, German *Sommer*, etc.

I am, however, glad to tell you that our scholars are not remaining idle. Since last we met at Lahore, three important Vedic publications have come out. It was in the first session of our Oriental Conference held in Poona that as many as three MSS. of unpublished commentaries on the Rīg-Veda, lent by the Government MSS. Library, Madras, were exhibited, one of them being that of Skanda-svāmin, and another of Venkaṭa Mādhava. It is now gratifying to see that the first part of these two as edited by Pandit Sāmbaśiva Śāstri has been placed in our hands by the authorities of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*. The second work has been given to us by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma Vidya-bhushana. It is an important commentary on the *Taittirīya*

Prātiśākhya. It forms the first volume of the recently started *Madras University Sanskrit Series*. The last work comes from the North, the Panjab, the old home of Vedic culture, the people of which have once more become alive to our great ancestral heritage, specially through the inspiration of the Ārya-samāja. We all know the Word-Indices of all the four Samhitās of the Veda prepared by the late Svāmī Viśveśvarānanda and Svāmī Nityānanda, both of the Ārya-samāja. Then Pandit Hansraj of the D. A. -V. College has given us his *Vaidika-Koṣa* which helps one much in Vedic studies with special reference to Brāhmanas. And now Principal Visva-bandhu Śāstri of the Dayānanda Brahma Mahāvidyālaya, Lahore, working in the same line, has been engaged in bringing out a complete Etymological Dictionary of the Vedic Language in Sanskrit, Hindi, and English, of which the first (specimen) fasciculus has already reached our hands. It prompts one to say that there is not the least doubt that this work, when completed, will take a unique place in the field of Vedic studies, and as such it is bound to be appreciated by all Vedic scholars. Here I should like to mention one more work which reached my hands here day before yesterday. It comes from Bengal. It is *Chāṇḍogya-mantra-bhāṣya*—a *bhāṣya* on what is generally known as *Mantrabrāhmaṇa*. This *bhāṣya* is by Guṇaviṣṇu who is believed to have flourished before Sāyaṇa and is widely read in Bengal and Mithilā. The present edition is a critical one under the able editorship of Prof. Durga Mohan Bhattacharyya, and issued from the Sanskrit Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta. In this Conference we express our sincere thanks to all these workers.

Now, Friends, I must close. I thank you very much for your kindness in patiently hearing my discourse. Let me conclude by reciting the following hymn aiming at the Universal Peace (AV. XIX. 9. 14).

इयिवी शान्तिरन्तरिक्षं शान्तिर्द्यूः शान्तिरापः शान्तिरोषधयः शान्तिर्वनस्पतयः
शान्तिर्विश्वे मे देवाः शान्तिः सर्वे मे देवाः शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिभिः । तभिः
शान्तिभिः सर्वशान्तिभिः शमयामोहं यदिह घोरं यदिह क्रूरं यदिह पापं तच्छान्तं तच्छिवं
सर्वमेव शमस्तु नः ॥

CONTRIBUTION OF BIHAR TO VEDIC CULTURE.

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It is ordinarily held by Indologists that Vedic culture in its entirety had its origin in Western India, extending from the Punjab to the Vedic Midland about the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab, and that the country farther east had no, or very little, hand in it. But a close examination of ancient literature amply demonstrates that Eastern India, especially Bihar, both north and south, Aṅga, Magadha, Mithilā, made considerable, and very important contributions to the evolution of Vedic culture in India, even in its earliest phases. In fact, it appears on an analysis of the elements contributed by the eastern and western districts of India respectively to Vedic culture, that theology and ritual, the technique of Vedic worship, were elaborated in the west, while the essential truths of religion, its central philosophy, found its expression in the east, and especially in what we now call Bihar. The special lines of evolution in the two parts of India led ultimately to different results. In the west, specially in what is known as the Madhya-deśa, the Vedic Midland, was springing up in the later Vedic Age when the Kalpa-Sūtras were composed, a narrow sacerdotalism, a meticulous bigotry, which in its over-scrupulous zeal in minute details, of technique, of purity of conduct (ācāra), tried to shut out the rest of the world, including the eastern and western frontier provinces of India itself, from participation in Vedic religion and worship; while in the east grew up a partiality for enquiry into what I have called the essentials of religion, the ultimate truths of life, apart from the chaff of ritual, which made the people of Vāṅga and Magadha, to secede, in the language of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, from the path chalked out in the Vedic Midland, and by and by, to the growth and development of new forms of faith, defiantly challenging the narrow ritualistic creed of the Midland as a means of gaining salvation, and opening their gates wide open to all castes and nations of the earth. Yet, as we shall see, the Vedas were studied in eastern India none the less closely and thoroughly.

Now let us proceed to our particular matter of investigation of the elements contributed by Bihar to Vedic culture.

The Atharva ¹ and Yajus ² Samhitās divide India into four quarters, North, South, East and West, and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ³ one of the oldest of the Brāhmaṇas, avers that the rulers in the East were designated 'Samrāt', 'suzerain lord', holding sway over 'sāmrājyas', or empires, evidently more powerful and more extensive than the simple *rājyas* of the Midland. That this was historically true is proved by the fact that in the Brāhmaṇa age we find Janaka of Mithilā in northern Bihar addressed as 'Samrāt' ⁴ by the great sages assembled at his court, and later, the Mahābhārata, the great storehouse of Indo-Aryan traditions, tells us of a great monarch in South Bihar, Jarāsandha of Rājagṛha, exercising sovereign sway over a great part of northern India, 'the great sovereign and master', as the Great Epic says, 'in whose single hands was the whole of the earth, and who had imprisoned in his cells among the hills of Rājagṛha, a large number of the rulers' ⁵ of the various countries of northern India. What we know of the administrative system of the Mauryas under Chandragupta and his grandson, Aśoka, tells us plainly that it was imperialistic that provinces after conquest were incorporated in the empire, and governed by Viceroyes sent from the imperial capital, and not by the scions of those killed in war or removed from the throne. Imperialism was thus the gift of Bihar to Indo-Aryan culture in the Vedic Age, as early as the epoch of the Brāhmaṇas. It is possible that 'Emperorship' (*sāmrājya*) had been in India even earlier, in the R̥gvedic Age itself: because the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa speaks of empires in the east in amplification and explanation of a R̥gvedic passage (I. 25, 10) which reads 'Niṣasāda dhṛitavrato Varuṇaḥ pastyāśvā | Sāmrājyāya sukratuḥ||' and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (viii, 13) amplifies it thus—'Niṣasāda dhṛitavrato Varuṇaḥ pastyāśvā sāmrājyāya, bhaujyāya, svārājyāya, vairājyāya, pārameṣṭhyāya, rājyāya, mähārājyādhipatyāya, svāvaśyāyātiṣṭhāya sukraturiti.' Here we observe that in place of the single 'sāmrājya' of the R̥gveda the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa introduces the names of all the forms of government that were in existence in the various parts of India, and it adds in explanation that the 'sāmrājya' form of government was a characteristic

¹ Av. iii. 27, xii. 3, etc. lv. 40.

² T.S., iv. 4, 12. 2 and 5 v. 5, 10, 1. Ks., xxii. 14. MS., iii. 16, 4. Vāj. S., xv. 10-14. Ks., xvii. 8.

³ Ait. Br., viii. 14.

⁴ Br. Up., iv. 1 *et seq.*

⁵ Mbt., III. 14, 9-10.

institution of eastern India. May not the two passages, Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, read together, suggest an east Indian origin for the hymn containing this verse, especially as another passage three verses earlier in this very hymn speaks of ocean-going vessels, 'nāvaḥ samudryaḥ',¹ the ships that perhaps piled on the Eastern Sea, the 'Pūrva Samudra' which the yellow-robed Muni-missionaries of the Rgvedic age knew so well? This wandering Muni, says the Rgveda, clad in yellow robes, 'is the beloved friend of the gods, one and all, for devoted service to every one of them, and 'being urged on by the gods, travels to both the oceans, the Eastern as well as the Western'.² The Atharva Veda (xi. 5, 6) also speaks of the Brahmācārin, long-bearded, clad in black-antelope skin, wandering to the Eastern Ocean. It is absurd to say that 'samudra' in the Rgveda is the sky and not the great expanse of the ocean; this can be supported neither by the context in all the cases, nor by common sense.

The Mahābhārata tells us of two very important things contributed by Bihar to Vedic culture, viz. the revelation, in southern Bihar, of the Gāyatrī, the very backbone of Vedic worship as it has come down to our times from the hoary past, and the compilation of the Śukla or purified Yajurveda in the northern half of the province, by Yājñavalkya of Mithilā. The Udyoga-parva (Chapter 108) records that Suparṇa was narrating to the sage Gālava the special merits of each of the four quarters of India, divided as in the Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, taking his stand, it seems, about Prayāga which was on the partition line Śrāvastī-Ayodhyā-Prayāga between western and eastern India. Among many of the special contributions of eastern India to Vedic culture, Suparṇa asserts that in the east 'was recited to the chanters of the Vedas the Sāvitṛi by Savitā, the Sun-god, and here also were given the Yajus by the Sun'. The authorship of Yājñavalkya to the Śukla-Yajurveda is too well-known to require much demonstration; it is asserted by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa itself: 'These Śukla (pure) Yajus verses coming from Āditya have been proclaimed by Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya.'³ That Yājñavalkya belonged to Mithilā appears from other parts of the same Brāhmaṇa. Here we may note that the Śatapatha is the only Brāhmaṇa work mentioned by name in the Mahābhārata which

¹ RV., i. 25, 7.² RV., x. 136.³ Br. Up., 6. 4, 23.

also quotes it (xii. 342, 13-14), and the story of the compilation of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa by Yājñavalkya is narrated in the Śāntiparva in detail (Chh. 318-19).

With regard to the revelation of Gāyatrī, the Vanaparva (Ch. 84) speaks of the Udyanta-Parvata in the neighbourhood of Gayā as the Sāvitrī-Sthāna, 'the place of revelation of the Sāvitrī, and it is further added that if a Brāhmaṇa recites here but once the Sandhyā-prayer of which the recitation of the Gāyatrī forms the most essential element, then by that action he wins for himself the benefit of reciting the same prayers for 12 whole years (Mbt. iii. 84, 93-94). The same chapter of the Vanaparva points out a pool (*hrada*) where Viśvāmitra, the ṛishi-author of the Ṛgvedic hymn of which the Gāyatrī forms a verse, obtained the fulfilment of his highest desire, and where, on account of the special sanctity attached to the place, the pilgrim is required to stay a month (Mbt., in. 84, 142-3). Viśvāmitra was a prince of Kānyakubja, but his intimate association with Bihar is established by the Rāmāyaṇa and the accounts given elsewhere of his austerities. From the Rāmāyaṇa (R. i. 21-34) we observe that travelling a good distance to the east after leaving Ayodhyā with the two Ikshvāku princes, Viśvāmitra reached his own hermitage, called the Siddhāśrama from where a few hours' journey to the north brought them to the Śoṇa, so that it was apparently situated in Bihar, and it is still assigned by Indian tradition to a spot near Buxar in that province. In the account of his penances also the Rāmāyaṇa tells us that by virtue of his austerities performed at a spot on the upper course of the river Kauśikī, the modern Kosi, flowing through the districts of Purneah and Bhagalpur, Viśvāmitra acquired the designation of *Maharṣi*, but it was further east that he, by the severest penances, at last reached the final goal of his desire of being recognised as a *Brahmarṣi* (R. i, 65); we have seen that the Vanaparva also places it about a pool, somewhere in Bihar.

That Viśvāmitra, the author of the Gāyatrī, was well acquainted with Bihar, appears from the jealousy which he gives expression to in a verse of the Ṛgveda itself where he exhorts Indra to transfer his favours from the Kikatas to himself and his family. About the authorship of Viśvāmitra of this hymn there is no room for doubt, as in the two verses that immediately precede the one we have quoted above, Viśvāmitra is expressly mentioned as having addressed his

prayer to Indra. He says in this verse, 'What do the cows for thee, amongst the Kīkatas, (O Indra)? They yield no milk for mixing with Soma, they make no Gharma-drink hot. Do bring us the property of Pramaganda, subject to us Naicāsākha, O thou rich in gifts.'¹ Sāyana, in his *Upodghāta*, i.e. the general introduction to his commentary, affirms that Kīkata is the name of a country, Pramaganda is the name of the king and Naicāsākha, the name of a city. Kīkata is certainly Bihar with which Indian tradition persistently identifies it. The *Vāyu*² and *Garuda-Purāṇas*³ place the sacred city of Gaya in the Kīkatas (Kīkaṭeshu Gayā punyā), and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Ch. III) says that the Buddha would be born in the Kīkaṭas, so that the Kīkatas appear to include the whole of the country from south Bihar to the Śākya kingdom up in the Himalayas. The later lexicographers like Hemachandra (iv. 26), and the author of the *Trikāṇḍśeṣa* (II. 11) identify Kīkata with Magadha. The names of their king and capital city tend to show that the Kīkaṭas were an Aryan people, but from what Viśvāmitra says of them it appears that they did not perform their worship or religious observances quite in accordance with the prescriptions of the school to which Viśvāmitra belonged; we know from the *R̥gveda* itself that many of the Aryan tribes did not offer sacrifices: the ten kings of the Druhyus, Anus, Śivas, Viśāṇins and others who fought against Sudās at the great war of the ten kings related in the *R̥gveda*, are said to have been non-sacrificing, *ayajyavaḥ*.⁴ The Kīkaṭas also seem to have been non-sacrificing like those kings, and we have every reason to think with Weber,⁵ that the Kīkaṭas were an Aryan people living in Magadha, speaking an Aryan language and belonging to an Aryan stock, but performing their religious observances with rites differing from those of the orthodox schools. There is no reason to think that they were non-Aryans, as Yāska would appear to suggest.

Indian tradition as recorded in Śaunaka's *Bṛihaddevatā*⁶ and Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī*,⁷ establishes a connection of this hymn with the great rival of Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha and also his family against whom it forms the most severe imprecation, so that no

¹ *R̥v.*, iii. 53. 14.

² *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, 105. 23.

³ *Garuda-Purāṇa*, Ch. 83.

⁴ *R̥v.*, vii. 83. 7. *R̥v.*, vii. 18. 7-14.

⁵ *Indische Studien*, I. p. 186.

⁶ *Br.*, iv. 115-120.

⁷ *Ed. Macdonell*, p. 16.

Vasistha would ever listen to it. This would suggest that the Kikaṭas belonged to the rival school of the Vasisthas, and the predominance of the Vasisthas in Bihar is amply demonstrated by Buddhist literature. The Mallas of Kusinara are spoken of as Vāsetṭhas in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta,¹ and the Malla clan of Pāvā are addressed as Vāsetṭhas in the Sangīti-Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya.² The great Lichchhavis of Vaisālī are addressed as Vasitṭhas in the Mahāvastu Avadāna,³ and Kshatriyānī Trisālā, the mother of Mahāvīra, belonged, the Jaina Sūtras tell us, to the Vasistha gotra.⁴ Moreover, the Vanaparva places the hermitage of Vasistha at the confluence of the Kosi and the Nirvirā, evidently in Bihar.⁵

Here also the Udyoga-parva (108, 13) comes to our help, telling us positively that the Ṛṣi Vasistha was born, won his renown, and met with his death, all in Eastern India.

The prevalence of a non-orthodox cult, but none the less respected by the Vedic seers, in Eastern India, and specially connected with Magadha, is proved by the mysterious Vrātya-hymn of the Atharva-veda. Weber and many other Indologists see in them an Aryan people, not following exactly the Brahmanical cult, yet marked by high spiritual eminence that extracted the admiration of the orthodox seers, so much so as to identify the Vrātya with the Brahman. Charpentier sees in them the worshippers of Rudra-Śiva, while Hauer considers them to be the fore-runners of the wandering Yogins. The Atharvan hymn read together with the description of the Vrātya-stoma, the purifying sacrifice that gave to the Vrātya a status as a member of orthodox Vedic society, as described in the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa, the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa and the Kalpa-sūtras, tend to show that the Vrātya was a respected personage, withal differing from the followers of the orthodox Vedic church in his creed and worship.

One other important group of Ṛgvedic seers, intimately connected with Bihar—with Aṅga and Magadha—consists of the ancient Ṛṣi Dīrghatamas, his son Kaksīvān, and the latter's daughter, Ghosā; these three together contributed a fairly large number

¹ *Buddhist Suttas*, SBE., xi. 121-2.

² *Dialogues of the Buddha*, iii. 162.

⁴ SBE., xxii, pp. xii and 193.

³ Ed. Sénart, Vol. i, p. 233.

⁵ Mbt., iii. 84.

of hymns to the R̥gveda. With reference to an obscure hymn contributed by Dīrghatamas to the R̥gveda (I. 158), Śaunaka in his Brihaddevatā (iv. 21-24) shows how the hymn refers to events in the seer's own life, and without a knowledge of these facts the hymn would be unintelligible. Kātyāyana in his Sarvānukramanī¹ refers to it in his own cryptic way. Dīrghatamas, in the story told by Śaunaka and amplified by Sadguruśiṣya in his Vedārthadīpikā,² was rescued from a watery grave in the waters of the Ganges by the king of Aṅga who honoured him and gave him a habitation and a home. The R̥si took to wife a Śūdra woman, Uśij by name, and on her he begot Kaksivān Auśija, a seer well-known in the R̥gveda³ as the author of a number of hymns. The Vanaparva (Ch. 21 and 84) of the Mahābhārata places the residence of this great seer at Rājagṛha, the Magadha capital, where he had evidently settled. Ghoshā, the daughter of Kaksivān, appears from her own statements made in hymns contributed by herself to the R̥gveda (X. 39-40), to have remained unmarried to a pretty advanced age owing to some physical defect, and then by the favour of the gods found, rather late in life, a husband and a home.

Other sons are said to have been begotten by Dīrghatamas according to the Mahābhārata (I. 104) and the Purāṇas, for the childless king of Aṅga, and these partitioned their father's extensive empire among themselves, giving their names to the provinces they ruled—Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, and Suhma (Mbt., I, 104). Evidently in this legend is preserved a tradition of historical value, showing that in Vedic times the Aṅga empire included Bengal and Orissa in its domain, and such 'sāmrajyas' were common in Eastern India, we are told by the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

If we take the story narrated by Śaunaka and the Mahābhārata as correct, then the number of hymns of the R̥gveda composed in the province of Bihar becomes considerable, and there is no reason why we should not believe the tradition recorded by them. Aṅga and Magadha were certainly very well-known to the Atharva-veda, a hymn (V. 22, 14) in which sends *Takman* or fever to these countries, apparently referring to the malarial swamps of the lower Ganges. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 9) also speaks of the peoples of Aṅga and Magadha (*Aṅga-Magadhāh*).

¹ *Anec. Oxoniensia*, I, Ch. iv. p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³ RV., I. 18. 1.

Then again, Magadha appears to have been inhabited in the Brāhmana period by great teachers of the Vedic cult, from a passage in the Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka (VII. 13) where Madhyama, the son of Prātibodhi, is given the epithet of Magadhavāsin, and the same seer is also referred to in the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka with only a slight difference in the name of his father (*Madhyamaḥ Prātiyodhi-putraḥ Magadhavāsi*).¹ The fact that his views are quoted with respect and discussed in these works, as well as in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka (III. 1, 5), shows that he held an important position among the Vedic teachers.

This, together with the fact that according to Śaunaka's Ṛg-veda Prātiśākhya (II. 44) there was a school of Prāchya or Eastern school of the Padapāṭha of the Ṛgveda side by side with the rival school of Pañchāla, and besides, with the fact noted in the Vāyupurāṇa (Ch. 99), while dealing with the history of the propagation of the Vedas that the Sāmaveda had an East Indian school, that of the Prācya-Sāmagas with 500 variations, distinguished from the Udīcya or northern Sāmagas,² go to show that the Vedas were very closely studied in Eastern India.

Now it remains for me only to refer to the story of king Videgha Māthava and his Purohita, Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, carrying Agni Vaiśvānara to Videha, which is narrated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 4. 1, 10-20 *et seq.*) and has been taken by scholars to tell the story of the propagation of Vedic culture to Eastern India from the west. But it does nothing of the kind, telling only of the introduction of a particular sacrificial rite, and as I have said at the beginning, it was ritual that prospered most in the Vedic Midland. But even in ritual, Māthava Videgha's purohita, Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, is credited, in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI. 4. 3, 20), with the discovery of the Mitravindā sacrifice, which is further said to have been revived by Emperor Janaka, through Yājñavalkya. Besides, earlier still, Nami Sāpya, King of Videha (*Vaideho Rājā*), is held up, in the *Tāndya Mahābrāhmaṇa* (XXV. 10, 7), as a memorable example of a monarch who successfully performed elaborate sacrifices and thereby reached heaven. As this king appears in several passages in the Ṛgveda (VI. 20, 6; X. 48, 9; I. 53, 7) he belongs to a very early period in

¹ See Keith, *Att. Ar.* pp. 244 and 310.

² *Mat. P.*, Ch. 49. *Bhāg. P.*, ix. 21.

the development of Vedic culture in India; the last passage referred to here (RV., I. 53, 7) says that Namî was the friend and associate of Indra in quelling the Asura Namuci and the first (RV., VI. 20, 6) says that in the fight with Namuci Indra protected Namî

All that we have said above will be sufficient, I hope, to show that Bihar, including in its area the three ancient countries of Āṅga, Magadha, and Videha, had made no mean contribution to the growth and development of Vedic culture in India; at least, I trust, my remarks will suggest a fruitful line of investigation for unravelling the history of the origin and development of Indian culture, by a study of the Vedas in the light thrown upon many an obscure passage by the Epics and the Purāṇas. In this way only can the Vedas be properly studied, as the ancient sage Vasiṣṭha insists in his Dharmasūtra (XXVIII. 6) that the Veda is to be fully amplified with the help of Itihāsa and Purāṇa, for, says the same Vedic law-giver, when a man of little learning takes up the Veda for study, the Veda fears that he will mutilate it.

Itihāsa-purāṇābhyam Vedam samupabṛṁhayet |
Bibhetyalpaśrutād-vedo māmayaṁ praharṣyati ||

STUDIES IN THE ACCENTUATION OF THE SĀMA VEDA.

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The text of the Sāma Veda has a peculiar system of accentuation. This system is so complicated and offers so much food for reflection that it requires a close investigation.

I. The three accents and their symbols.

The three accents are thus marked in the Sāma and the R̥gvedas respectively :—

Accent	Sāma Veda	R̥gveda
Udātta	१	unmarked
Anudātta	२	—(below the syllable)
Svarita	३	(over the syllable).

The following verse, which occurs both in the Sāma and the R̥gvedas, will illustrate the above symbols :—

(1) Sāma Veda (Benfey's Edition).

(I. 1. 1. 2. 1) :—

१ २ ३ १ २ ३ १ २ ३ १ २
नमस्ते अग्न्य ओजसे गृणन्ति देव हृष्टयः ।

१ २ ३ १ २
अग्नेरभि च मर्दय ॥

(2) R̥gveda. The same verse is thus accentuated in the R̥gveda (VIII. 75. 25) :—

नमस्ते अग्न्य ओजसे गृणन्ति देव हृष्टयः ।

अग्नेरभि च मर्दय ॥

The Psychology of this symbology is obscure. Why was the lowest number '१' assigned to the highest tone ?

We may, however, hypothetically assume that the number '१' represented the 'first-grade' (i.e. the highest) tone and thus roughly corresponded to its R̥gvedic parallel, which was not marked at all.

II. Extension of the Svarita symbol in the Sāma Veda.

Now a striking peculiarity of the accentuation of the Sāma Veda is the wide extension of the Svarita symbol '३' even in those

syllables which in the Ṛgveda have the Udātta accent. Thus the Udātta accent in the Sāma Veda is marked with the Svarita symbol '२' under the following conditions : —

1. When the Udātta syllable is a final syllable, i.e. at the end of a sentence.
2. When the Udātta syllable is followed by the *Sannatara* accent (Pānini, I, 2, 40), i.e. when it is followed by an Anudātta preceding an Udātta or a Svarita. We shall consider each of these cases separately :—
 - (a) The Svarita symbol '२' marking every Udātta at the end of a sentence.

It is worthy of note that in the Sāma Veda every Udātta at the end of a sentence is marked with the Svarita symbol '२'. For instance, the final syllable 'य' of the word वयम् is, throughout the Ṛgveda, the same unmarked, Udātta य. In the Sāma Veda text:

however, the word is written वयम्^२ at the end of a sentence, but वयम्^२ in the beginning of a sentence (except when a *Sannatara* follows, see page 7), in the former case the य being marked with the Svarita symbol '२', in the latter with the Udātta symbol '१'. The following examples will illustrate this fact :—

(a) वयम् at the end of a sentence :—

Sāma Veda.

Ṛgveda.

१ २ २ २ २ २
दीषावस्तुर्धिया वयम् (I. 1. 1. 2. 4). दीषावस्तुर्धिया वयम् (I. 1. 7).

But cf. what happens to वयम् in the beginning of a sentence :—

Sāma Veda.

Ṛgveda.

२ १ २
वयमिन्द्र (I. 2. 1. 4. 8). वयमिन्द्र (VII. 31. 4).

(b) अयम् at the end of a sentence :—

Sāma Veda.

Ṛgveda.

२ १ २ २ २ २ २ २
ककुत्पतिः इधिया अयम् (I. 1. 1. 3. 7). ककुत्पतिः इधिया अयम् (VIII. 44. 16).

But cf. what happens to अयम् in the beginning of a sentence :—

Sāma Veda.

Ṛgveda.

२ १ २ २ २ २ २
अयं यथा न आभुवत् (II. 31. 20. 2). अयं यथा न आभुवत् (VIII. 102. 8).

The Sāma Veda, then, maintains the Udātta accent in वयम् and अयम् when they are in the beginning of a sentence, but substitutes the Svarita for the Udātta accent when these words are before a *virāma*.

(c) Another striking feature which will be immediately noticed

from the above examples in the Sāma Veda (viz. वयम्^{३९} and अयम्^{३९} before a *virāma*) is the appearance of the Svarita symbol after the Anudātta—a fact which is not to be observed in the R̥gveda, and which runs counter to the observation of Pāṇini (VIII. 4. 66) that Svarita occurs when an Anudātta immediately follows an Udātta. But here in the Sāma Veda examples we have the Anudātta and not the Udātta preceding the Svarita. Hundreds of similar examples from the Sāma Veda could be quoted; the following may suffice for our purpose:—

It is a well-known fact that the Vedic past passive participle is accented at the final syllable, and so we have in the R̥gveda participles like सुतम्, दितः accented at the final syllable. But in the Sāma Veda this participle is marked with the Svarita accent before

a *virāma*, the above words being there written सुतम्, दितः^{३९ ३९} respectively, as the following examples will show:—

Sāma Veda.

R̥gveda.

१९ ३९ १९ ३९

उप नो हरिभिः सुतम् (I. 2. 2. 1. 6). उप नो हरिभिः सुतम् (VIII. 93. 31).

१९ ३९

विश्वेषां दितः (I. 1. 1. 1. 2). विश्वेषां दितः (VI. 16. 1).

We see, then, that in the above examples the Svarita accent follows even the Anudātta accent in the Sāma Veda.

(d) In the Sāma Veda the Svarita symbol occurs, not only after an Anudātta marked in the same word, but also after an Anudātta occurring in a different word. Thus the monosyllabic words क्षुप्, विट्, and नत् are accented in the R̥gveda, and so they are unmarked, but in the Sāma Veda when these words occur at the

end of a sentence, they are written क्षुप्^९, विट्^९, and नत्^९ respectively, even after an Anudātta syllable at the end of the preceding word. This seems to indicate that in the Sāma Veda syntactical accentuation so much dominated the accent-system that even an independent Udātta occurring in a monosyllabic word was reduced to a Svarita

at the end of a sentence. The following examples will indicate this fact :—

Sāma Veda.	Rgveda.
१ २ ३ २ ३ १ २ ३ २ सोमो विराजमनुराजति वृष् (II. 5. 1. 1. 2).	सोमो विराजमनुराजति वृष् (IX. 96. 18).
(१) २ ३ २ ३ २ अनभिज्ञस्ता दिव्या यथा विट् (II. 6. 3. 13. 3).	अनभिज्ञस्ता दिव्या यथा विट् (IX. 88. 7).
२ ३ १ २ त्वा युजा वनेन तत् (I 2. 1. 4. 4).	त्वा युजा वनेन तत् (VIII. 92. 31).

A large number of examples illustrating this phenomenon is offered by the accented monosyllabic particle आ which is written

आ before a *virāma* in the Sāma Veda. Some of these examples may be quoted :—

Sāma Veda.	Rgveda.
१ २ ३ २ ३ ३ २ सौद शेनो न योनिमा (II. 2. 1. 15. 3).	सौद शेनो न योनिमा (IX. 61. 21).
१ २ ३ २ ३ २ यस्त इदो मदेष्वा (I. 6. 1. 1. 9).	यस्त इदो मदेष्वा (IX. 61. 1).
(३) ३ १ २ ३ २ ३ २ रघुयामा पवित्र आ (II. 3. 1. 4. 3).	रघुयामा पवित्र आ (IX. 39. 4). (⁻)

(e) The treatment of this originally Udātta syllable occurring before a *virāma* and after a *Svarita* in the Sāma Veda is similar to that which the Anudāttas undergo after a *Svarita* in the Rgveda. Thus all syllables including the Udātta in question become *ekasruti* (cf. Pāṇ., I, 2. 39), i.e. are unmarked after a *Svarita* in the Sāma Veda, cf. the following examples :—

Sāma Veda.	Rgveda.
(३) ३ २ ३ २ इथिवीमुन द्याम् (II. 2. 1. 11. 1).	इथिवीमुन द्याम् (IX. 97. 13).
३ २ महा ए हि षः (II. 1. 2. 12. 1).	महाहि षः (VIII. 13. 1).
(३) ३ २ वृणते नान्यं तत् (II. 3. 2. 7. 3).	(1) वृणते नान्यं तत् (X. 91. 8).

In the first of the above examples from the Sāma Veda, the word द्याम्, with an originally Udātta accent, is unmarked after the Svarita in the syllable न. As this final Udātta becomes Svarita

by the rule noted above, it is not marked. The next two examples are even more striking, for in both of them the finals of दि वः and अन्यं वत् , although having Udātta finals, are not marked with the Sāmavedic Udātta symbol '॑', but remain quite unmarked, being treated as Svaritas after the Svarita, possibly parallel to the *ekasruti* pointed out above. Here are, then, two examples of two successive Udāttas being unmarked after a Svarita in the Sāma Veda.

(f) Now, is there any explanation of this treatment, in the Sāma Veda, of the final Udātta before *virāma*? We have here a case of the reduction of pitch at the end of a sentence. That a normally high pitch (Udātta) should be comparatively lowered to a mid-pitch (Svarita) at the end of a sentence is a phenomenon of not unfrequent occurrence in many languages. That the final Udātta should have been noticed as being lowered to the Svarita is therefore phonetically possible. But the fact that the final Udātta of every sentence should have been reduced to the Svarita seems to be as artificial and arbitrary as the ancient Indian theory that every finite verb after a nominal expression was unaccented. How far this view of the final Udātta in the Sāma Veda actually corresponded to facts is a subject for further investigation.

2. The next case of the extension of the Svarita in the Sāma Veda, as noted above consists in the reduction of that Udātta to Svarita which is followed by a Sannatara Anudātta (Pāṇ., I, 2. 40), i.e. an Anudātta which is followed by an Udātta or a Svarita. The very first syllable of the Sāma Veda is a striking example of this phenomenon. For cf. the following :—

Sāma Veda.

Ṛgveda.

१ २ १ २ २ १ २
अग्ने आयाहि वीतवे (I. 1. 1. 1). अग्ने आयाहि वीतवे (VI. 16. 10).

Here the first syllable of अग्ने in the Sāma Veda has the Svarita accent. How is it? This first syllable is followed by a Sannatara Anudātta ग्ने , for the Anudātta syllable ग्ने is further followed by an Udātta syllable आ , which thus makes the Anudātta ग्ने a Sannatara. Where, however, the second syllable of अग्ने has not the Sannatara Anudātta, there the first Udātta syllable is not changed to Svarita, cf. the following :—

Sāma Veda.

R̥gveda.

१ २ ३ १

अग्ने यु॒क्त्वा हि वे (I. 1. 1. 3. 5).

अग्ने॑ यु॒क्त्वा हि वे (VI. 16. 43)

२ ३ १ २

A comparison with अ॒ग्न आ॒याहि will show the difference.

१ २

१ २ ३ १

२ ३

२ ३ १ २

The अ of अग्ने in अग्ने यु॒क्त्वा is Udātta, but the अ of अग्ने in अ॒ग्न आ॒याहि is Svarita. Where lies the difference ?

It consists in the fact that the syllable अग्ने in the former is not a Sannatara Anudātta, followed as it is by another Anudātta 'यु'.

In the latter, however, अग्ने is a Sannatara Anudātta, followed as it is by the Udātta आ. Another example will further clear the point :—

Sāma Veda.

R̥gveda.

३ २ ३ १

अग्निं दू॒तम् (I. 1. 1. 1. 3).

अग्निं दू॒तम् (I. 12. 1).

३ १ २ २

but अग्निं हो॒तारम् (II. 9. 1. 18. 1).

अग्निं हो॒तारम् (III. 19. 1).

While in the R̥gveda the syllable ग्निम् is Udātta in both the examples, in the Sāma Veda this syllable is Svarita in the first example, but Udātta in the second. In the first example the syllable

ग्निम् is followed by a Sannatara Anudātta, and so it is Svarita by the above-mentioned rule, but in the second example the syllable

ग्निम् is followed by the Udātta syllable हो, and so the Udātta is not changed to Svarita. But a very striking example is offered by a single verse which illustrates both the phenomena :—

Sāma Veda.

३ १ २ ३ १ २ ३ २ २ ३ १ २

पा॒णि नो अ॒ग्न य॒क्या पा॒क्ष्म॒न् द्विती॒यया ।

३ २ ३ २ ३ १ २ ३ १ २ ३ १ २

पा॒णि गो॒भिर्नि॒क्षि॒द्धभि॒र्जो॒पते पा॒णि च॒त॒स्र॒भिर्व॒सो (I. 1. 1. 4. 2).

R̥gveda.

पा॒णि नो॑ अ॒ग्न य॒क्या पा॒क्ष्म॒न् द्विती॒यया ।

पा॒णि गो॒भिर्नि॒क्षि॒द्धभि॒र्जो॒पते पा॒णि च॒त॒स्र॒भिर्व॒सो (VIII. 60. 9).

In the three examples of पा॒णि in this verse the syllable णि is Udātta throughout in the R̥gvedic Mantra, but in the Sāma Veda it is Udātta in two cases, and Svarita in one case, viz. :—

Sāma Veda.	Rgveda.
३ १ १ ३ पाङि नो अग्ने	पाङि नो ^१ अग्ने
३ १ २ ३ १ २ पाङि चतुर्दभिः	पाङि चतुर्दभिः
३ २ ३ २ but पाङि गौर्भिः	पाङि गौर्भिः

In the first two examples, the Udātta syllable ङि of पाङि remains unchanged, as it is not followed by a Sannatara Anudātta, the succeeding accent being a pure Anudātta which has become Svarita.

In the third example, however, the ङि of पाङि is followed by a Sannatara Anudātta (as it is followed by an original Udātta which in the Sāma Veda text has become a Svarita), and thus the originally Udātta syllable ङि has become ङि.

And now this phenomenon offers us food for reflection. Was it a mere mode of writing or does it take us any further in our knowledge of Vedic accent? The above facts lead us to make the following hypothetical assumptions:—

(a) In the Rgveda the Sannatara Anudātta when occurring after an Udātta could not be raised to a Svarita. Why not? The accentuation of the Sāma Veda seems to offer the explanation. The Udātta occurring before the Sannatara Anudātta was, perhaps by a progressive reduction in pitch, lowered to a Svarita, and so in its turn was not strong enough to raise the pitch of the succeeding (Sannatara) Anudātta.

(b) The accentuation of the Sāma Veda was thus a further development, giving us, in further details, the conditions under which the Vedic Udātta failed to raise the pitch of the succeeding syllable.

(c) The Svarita accent was not a mere convention, but a real phenomenon in the language, for even the Udātta was noticed to have been reduced to the Svarita under two main conditions, viz. before a *virāma*, and before a Sannatara Anudātta.

3. If two or more Udāttas precede a Sannatara Anudātta, the first of these Udāttas is marked with the symbol '१३', the symbol '१' presumably denoting the Svarita accent, and '३' implying that the original accent was Udātta.

(a) Two Udāttas preceding a Sannatara —

Sāma Veda.

Rgveda.

२२७ २१२ २२

परो यदिध्यते दिवि (I. 1. 1. 2. 10). परो यदिध्यते दिवा (VIII. 6. 30).

२७ २१२

अ योरभिखवन्तु नः (I. 1. 1. 3. 13). अ योरभिखवन्तु नः (X. 9. 4).

In the first of these examples the syllables रो and य are originally Udātta, preceding the Sannatara अ, and so both become Svarita, the first being marked with the symbol '२७'. In the second example the syllables अम् and योः are both originally Udātta, preceding the Sannatara अ, and so both become Svarita, the first being marked with the symbol '२७'.

(b) Three Udāttas preceding a Sannatara :—

Sāma Veda.

Rgveda.

१२ २२७ २१

कायमानो वना त्वं यन्मातुः (I. 1. 1. 5. 9). कायमानो वना त्वं यन्मातुः (III. 9. 2).

२२७ २१२

चित्र इच्छिभोः तरणस्य (I. 1. 2. 2. 2). चित्र इच्छिभोः तरणस्य (X. 115. 1).

In the first of these examples the syllables ना, त्वम्, and यत् are originally Udātta, preceding the Sannatara मा, and so the first syllable ना is marked with the symbol '२७'. In the second example the syllables चः, इत्, and शि are originally Udātta and are followed by the Sannatara शि. Thus the first syllable चः is marked with the symbol '२७'.

The grounds for this symbology are obscure, but it seems to indicate that both the Sannatara and the Svarita were a living fact in the language, the Sannatara affecting the pitch of the preceding Udāttas and reducing them to Svarita. The marking of only the first Svarita was presumably actuated by the need for economy, but it is possible that a phenomenon roughly corresponding to ekaśruti or monotone also occurred.

II. Accentuation of the Svarita after two or more Udāttas.

It has been pointed out above that the usual symbol for the Svarita in the Sāma Veda is the number '२'. If, however, this Svarita, i.e. the original Anudātta, is preceded by two or more Udāttas, the symbol used for the Svarita is '२२', while the preceding Udāttas are left unmarked except the first Udātta which is indicated by the usual symbol '१'. It is easy to see the economy of symbolizing only one Udātta, when more than one such Udātta

successively occur, but it is difficult to conjecture the significance of '२२'. May it be supposed that the pitch of the Svarita occurring after two or more Udāttas was raised, and so a symbol, indicating more than an ordinary Svarita, had to be used?

The following examples illustrate this phenomenon :—

(a) Svarita preceded by two Udāttas and arising from an Anudāṭṭa which is followed by three Anudāṭṭas.

Sāma Veda.

R̥gveda.

१ २२ ३ १ २
नि होता सत्वि बर्हिषि (I. 1. 1. 1. 1). नि होता सत्वि बर्हिषि (VI. 16. 10).

Here the Svarita ता occurs after two Udāttas नि and हो and is marked with the symbol '२२', while only the first of the Udāttas is marked. The ता is originally Anudāṭṭa, followed by three Anudāṭṭas.

(b) Svarita preceded by three Udāttas and arising from an Anudāṭṭa followed by a Sannatara.

Sāma Veda.

R̥gveda.

१ २२२ १ २
निर्गा अन्नदोजसा (I. 6. 2. 4. 8). निर्गा अन्नदोजसा (IX. 108. 6).

Here the Svarita अन्न occurs after three Udāttas निर्, गा, and अ, and is marked with the symbol '२२', while only the first of the Udāttas is marked.

The Anudāṭṭa syllable अन्न is here followed by the Sannatara न.

This case should be clearly distinguished from the one mentioned under I (3).

In the case before us the Udāttas precede a *non-Sannatara* Anudāṭṭa, and the first of the Udāttas is marked with the usual symbol '१', while the Anudāṭṭa in question becomes a Svarita with a peculiar symbol '२२'. But in I (3) the Udāttas precede a Sannatara Anudāṭṭa and are themselves reduced to Svaritas.

III. Accentuation of the 'Kṣaipra' Svarita.

Accentuation of the 'Kṣaipra' Svarita may be classed under the following heads :—

- (1) That which is followed by an Anudāṭṭa or *virāma*.
- (2) That which is followed by an Udāṭṭa.

1. A 'Kṣaipra' Svarita followed by an Anudāṭṭa or *virāma* is marked with the symbol '२२', while the preceding Anudāṭṭa is marked '२२'. The following examples will illustrate this :—

(a) The so-called 'independent' Svarita followed by an Anudātta :—

Sāma Veda.

R̥gveda.

३ १ २ इक२र ३ २

इविक्कद्धिर्भनूयेभिरग्निः (I. 1. 2. 3. 7). इविक्कद्धिर्भनूयेभिरग्निः (III. 29. 2).

इक२र

Note the accentuation of मनुयेभिः. The Kṣaipra, followed by the Anudātta syllable भि, is marked '२र', the preceding Anudātta being marked इक्. It will be noticed that the symbol '२र' also occurs in the case mentioned under II, i.e. after two or more Udāttas. May it be supposed that the pitch of the independent Svarita was relatively higher, as was presumably the pitch of the Svarita after two Udāttas? The significance of the symbol 'इक्' is even more obscure.

(b) The so-called 'independent' Svarita followed by a 'virama' :—

Sāma Veda.

R̥gveda.

१ २ ३ २ इक२र

अतिर्जज्ञानमुक्थ्यम् (II. 9. 1. 2). अतिर्जज्ञानमुक्थ्यम् (IX. 29. 2).

इक२र

Here उक्थ्यम् stands at the end of a sentence, and is so marked. Similarly cf.

Sāma Veda.

R̥gveda.

इक२र

सथक् (II. 8. 1. 5. 2). सथक् (IV. 47. 2).

2. The Kṣaipra followed by an Udātta is a product of Sandhi and is marked with the pluta symbol '३' after a lengthened vowel (with a symbol '२' over it) in the Sāma Veda but in the R̥gveda it is marked with '२' (an Anudātta mark '-' being also put under the syllable concerned) if each element of the Sandhi is a short vowel, but with '३' if one or both the elements of the Sandhi are long vowels. The following examples will illustrate this difference :—

(a) Kṣaipra with original short vowels.

Sāma Veda.

R̥gveda.

२ २ २ ३ २ २

पाङ्गुर्न द्वितीयवा (I. 1. 1. 4. 2). पाङ्गुर्न द्वितीयवा (VIII. 60. 9).

Note that in the original पाङ्गि+ङ्ग, both the vowels of ङि and of ङ्ग(न) are short. Note also that the succeeding syllable न् is Udātta, otherwise cf.

Sāma Veda.

R̥gveda.

इक २२

देवेतु (I. 1. 2. 1. 2).

देवेतु (I. 40. 3).

Here the original देवी + एतु is followed by the Anudātta and न so III (1) will be applied.

(b) Kṣaipra with an original long vowel.

Sāma Veda.

R̥gveda.

१ २ ३ २ २ ३ १ २

मा न इन्द्राभ्यादिभ्यः स्वरः

(I. 2. 1. 4. 4).

मा न इन्द्राभ्यादिभ्यः स्वरः

(VIII. 92. 31).

Here note that in the original अभि + आदिभ्यः one of the vowels, viz. आ, is long, while the accent of the syllable इ which succeeds the Kṣaipra Sandhi is Udātta. Both these conditions bring about the peculiar R̥gvedic accentuation in इन्द्राभ्यादिभ्यः where, in contrast with the previous case (a), the Anudātta mark '˘' is also put under अ, a sign which does not occur in the Kṣaipra mentioned under (a). Cf. R̥gvedic पाञ्च इत्.

Conclusion.

The above study gives us the following points :—

(1) It is an empirical systematisation of facts hitherto confusing and complicated.

(2) Although the fact was observed by Pānini (VIII. 4. 67) that a Sannatara Anudātta after an Udātta could not be raised to a Svarita, the actual reduction of this Udātta to a Svarita in the Sāma Veda indicates the system to be a development on that of the R̥gveda and presumably embodies the explanation for the parallel treatment in the R̥gveda.

(3) The treatment of the Udātta before a virāma and a Sannatara indicates that both the Svarita and the Sannatara accents were a reality in the language.

(4) This study definitely gives us the following lines for further investigation :—

- (a) The psychological significance of symbols like 'इक', '२२', etc.
- (b) The varied treatment of the Kṣaipra Svarita in the Sāma and the R̥gvedas.
- (c) The exact shades of pitch in the Sannatara and the preceding Udātta.

APPENDIX.

A summary of the above results in Sanskrit Sūtras.

अथ सामस्वरप्रक्रिया ।

१. सामवेदे

इत्यधिकारः

२. उदात्तस्य स्वरितो विरामे

सामवेदे उदात्तस्य विरामे परे स्वरितः स्यात् । यथा दोषावस्त्वर्धिया वयम् (I. 1. 1. १९ ३९ ३९)

२. ४) अत्र वयम् इति 'यस्य' स्वरितः । विरामे किम्—वयमिन्द्र (I. 2. 1. ४. ८) ॥

३. सन्नतरपरस्य च

सामवेदे सन्नतरः परः यस्मात् तस्योदात्तस्य च स्वरितः स्यात् । यथा 'अग्र आयाहि वीतये' (I. 1. 1. 1. १) अत्र 'अग्र' इति प्रथमाकारस्य स्वरितः । सन्नतरपरस्य किम्—
अग्रे युंस्त्वा हि ये (I. 1. 1. ३. ५) ॥

४. तत्पथमोदात्तस्य सोकारः

सामवेदे सन्नतरपरा य उदात्तास्त्रेषां प्रथमस्य स्वरितः स चोकाराङ्कितः स्यात् । यथा
परो यदिध्यते दिवि (I. 1. 1. २. १०) ॥

५. अनेकोदात्तेभ्यः सरेषः

सामवेदेऽनेकोदात्तेभ्यः परः यः स्वरितः रेफाङ्कितः स्यात् । यथा निश्चोता सत्सि बर्हिष (I. 1. 1. १. १) ॥

६. क्षैप्रश्चानुदात्ते

७. तत्पूर्वानुदात्तः सककारः

सामवेदे क्षैप्रः स्वरितोऽनुदात्ते परे रेफाङ्कितः, तस्मात् क्षैप्रात् पूर्वस्य योऽनुदात्तः स ककाराङ्कितः स्यात् । यथा मनुष्येभिः (I. 1. २. ३. ७) ॥

८. उदात्त क्षैप्रस्वरस्य भुतत्वं

सामवेदे उदात्ते परे क्षैप्रस्वरस्य भुतत्वं स्यात् । यथा पाशूभ्यः (I. 1. १. ४. २) ॥

THE CRADLE OF THE INDRA-VṚTRA MYTH.

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आराध्य सप्तसिन्धूनां	सरणे कारणं हरिम् ।
यद्देशे रूपकन्तेतत्	प्रागुत्पन्नं विचारये ॥
देशोऽसौ बलकशप्रान्त	रशियाभुवि मध्यतः ।
“सेमिरिशिन्ग्” इति ख्यातः	स “सप्तसिन्धुर्” अर्थतः ॥

In my paper ‘*Indra in the Rgveda and the Avesta and Before*’, presented to the Fourth All-India Oriental Conference, I have said that the character of the Rgvedic Indra is very complex (*Proceedings*, pp. 11 ff.). I have there tried to show that the most original trait of Indra that we can think of on the basis of the available evidence is that of a national God. Several problems about Indra have yet remained unsolved. I have not there called into question the correctness of Indra’s connexion with the phenomenon of raining as given by tradition and generally accepted by scholars. But some Western scholars still hold that Indra had no connexion with rains in the Rgvedic period. I believe that there is ample evidence in the *Rgveda Samhitā* for this connexion. Without entering into a discussion of this question, which I reserve for a later occasion, I wish to discuss here a certain problem in the Indra-Vṛtra myth, which presupposes Indra’s having something to do with rains even in the Rgvedic period.

The myth of Indra’s annual fight with the demon who keeps away rain waters, variously named as Śambara, Ahi, Śuṣṇa, etc., or more usually Vṛtra, is briefly this. The ‘Enemy’ (as the word *vṛtrá* means, *vide* pp. 14-16) steals away the cows (=waters) and keeps them concealed in the cave Vala (=vara, an enclosure, from √vr̥. ‘to surround’). Indra attacks him with the Maruts (the storm gods) and other helpers, chases him from rock to rock (i.e. cloud to cloud), finds him at last, and kills him. The covering stone of Vala is also shattered and the waters are released and with eagerness they go the way of the Ocean.

Now, very often our poets describe Indra's victory as 'letting the rivers, or more specifically the Seven Rivers, to flow'.¹ What does the letting loose of the Seven Rivers mean? Does it merely refer to the falling of the rain waters from the sky in the usual metaphorical style of the *R̥gveda Samhitā*? But that seems impossible in view of the fact that rain waters have been metaphorically described in the *R̥gveda Samhitā* as cows. The specification of the number of rivers also creates difficulty. It seems, therefore, more likely that actual rivers were meant. Two problems arise in this connexion.

When rivers are described as let loose by Indra to flow, the inference is natural that they were not flowing before his intervention. As this fight of Indra with Vṛtra is an annual affair, the rivers should have ceased to flow before the annual rains. But could such a condition have even prevailed in the Punjab and its adjoining lands, where the R̥gvedic hymns must have come into existence? The geographical allusions scattered throughout the *R̥gveda Samhitā* leave no doubt in our mind as to where the whole of that literature, or at least the main body of it, must have been composed. But water never fails in the rivers of the Punjab during summer and this has been the climatic condition of the province all throughout the present geological epoch. The reason is not far to seek: these rivers are all fed by glacier streams, which run throughout the summer on account of the increased melting of the snow. Consequently it could never have been true of the rivers of the Punjab in the present epoch that they were not flowing before Indra annually killed Vṛtra and released the pent up waters. These rivers, therefore, could not have given rise to the myth of Indra letting loose the rivers to flow again (अवाह्यत् सतवे सप्तसिन्धून्, etc.). We thus have a problem as to what rivers are responsible for this seemingly traditional expression and where they are to be placed.

The next problem is what are the *seven* rivers. Various explanations have been given as to what specific rivers stand for the number *seven*. Durgācārya's statement that they are the seven atmospheric streams, Bahulā, Aśvā, Titutṛā, Abhṛapatnī, Meghapatnī, Varṣayantī, and Arundhā (or Purastādarundhā)?² need not be seriously taken.

¹ Rv. I. 32. 12, 61. 10; II. 11. 2, 12. 3, 12, 15. 3; IV. 17. 1, 18. 7, 19. 3, 5, 6, 8, 28. 1, 42. 7; VII. 18. 24, 67. 8 (?); VIII. 32. 25, 85. 1, 18, 89. 12; X. 49. 9, 67. 12, 89. 7; III. 9, 133. 2.

² Commentary on the *Nirukta*, Venkateswar Press Edition, p. 428.

The rivers must be earthly rivers. Otherwise the land of the Indo-Aryans could hardly have been called in the *Ṛgveda Samhitā* (VIII, 24, 27) *Saptā Sindhuṣu* and in the Avesta (Vend I, 19) *hapta hindu*. Sāyana's *Gaṅgādyāḥ sapta nadyaḥ* does not deserve any better consideration, for the group, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Godāvarī, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāverī, belongs to a time long posterior to the *Ṛgveda Samhitā*, when Aryan civilization had spread all over India. That *saptā* can mean *sarpaṇasīlāḥ*, as Sāyana also suggests, cannot be believed for a moment. The European efforts at fixing the rivers have not succeeded either.³ One cannot see why they should be the Indus, the five well-known tributaries of the Indus that have given the Punjab its name and the Sarasvatī or the Oxus. This fixation seems extremely arbitrary. The poets of the *Ṛgvedic* hymns know of many more streams, like the Gomatī, the Yamunā and the Sarayū, mentioned several times, which should hardly have been omitted from the enumeration. Zimmer's view, which the authors of the *Vedic Index* accept, that there is no particular significance in the number is no better. If the number five in *Pāñca Jānāḥ* is significant, one wonders why it should not be so in *Saptā Sindhavaḥ*. So instead of cutting the Gordian knot in the way Zimmer has done, we should hold 'seven' to be a traditional number, coming from a place where the Aryans lived earlier and where there were seven and only seven rivers. The number would cling to popular memory long after the original home was forgotten and remain fixed in popular or at least hieratic expression. In several districts of Bengal the adjacent river is called Gāṅg (= Gaṅgā), though it is not the Ganges.

H. Brunnhofer in his *Urgeschichte der Arier in Vorder-und Central-Asien*, Vol. II, p. 22 ff., suggests the name of such a possible earlier home of the Indo-Aryans. It is Semirechinsk in Russian Turkestan, watered by the Ili, Lepsa, Karatal, Baskan, Aksu, Sarkan, and Biyen, seven rivers which flow into the Lake Balkash. Brunnhofer has gained a certain notoriety for wild speculations. Consequently this extremely good suggestion of his did not catch the attention of sober scholars. Dr. N. G. Sardesai of Poona made the self-same suggestion, quite independently of Brunnhofer, in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 93-96, and his writing must have attracted the notice of at least Indian scholars.

³ See *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 424.

Semirechinsk, the name of the province, means 'the Land of the Seven Rivers'.

Strangely enough, of the seven rivers of this land, some do dry up before the rains. 'The Lepsa, Ili, and Kartal alone reach Balkash throughout the year, all the others either losing themselves in the sands or discharging their waters into the lake only during the floods.'⁴ 'The climate' of the place 'is thoroughly continental. In the Balkash steppes the winter is very cold; the lake freezes every year and the thermometer falls to 13° F. In the Alakul steppes the winds blow away the snow. The passage from winter to spring is very abrupt and the prairies are rapidly clothed with vegetation, which, however, is soon scorched up by the sun.'⁵ In addition to the general dry character of Central Asia, it is well known to students of geography, how desiccation has gone on in this part for centuries and millenniums.⁶ Consequently drying up of rivers before the rains in such a region as Semirechinsk can very easily be understood. It is quite likely that a period of unusual drought, say the one between 3000 and 2200 B.C.,⁷ led the Aryans or some of them to leave the land and march towards India and may be also towards Iran. The Balkash region may easily have been a starting point for the southward and westward marches of the Aryans.

This Semirechinsk could well be the land where the idea of Indra letting loose the pent up (seven) rivers arose. The occasional drought of the land would also explain the conception of the demon Śuṣṇa (Drought) in the Indra myth and the rigours of the cold season the expression *hima*=winter for the year or the myth of Indra piercing Arbuda with snow (Rv. S. VIII, 32, 26).

We do not yet know if any other place can give an equally satisfactory or a better explanation for these traits in the Indra-Vṛtra myth. For want of any other satisfactory explanation we may tentatively place the Cradle of the Indra-Vṛtra myth in Semirechinsk, the Land of Seven Rivers, in Russian Turkestan. Here the Aryans could have lived long and developed their peculiar

⁴ Keane, *Asia*, (1896), Vol. I, p. 130.

⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Ed., Vol. 24, p. 617. See there the articles on Semirechinsk, Semipalatinsk and Balkash.

⁶ See E. Huntington's *Pulse of Asia* and the three volumes of the two *Pumpelly Expeditions*.

⁷ See Brooke, *Climate through the Ages*, p. 358.

characteristics, after separating from the other Indo-European peoples. If the original home of the Indo-Europeans was in Siberia, as De Morgan⁸ would have us believe, Semirechinsk would be on the way to India and Iran.

Strangely enough this province also satisfies the various data philologists have posited for the Indo-European Urheimat. But I do not yet dare to rush to the conclusion that that Paradise is to be 'regained' here. Peter Giles' words of caution in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th Edition, Vol. 14, pp. 498-500) should be borne in mind though he himself forgot them later.⁹ Let that Urheimat yet remain undetermined.

⁸ *La Préhistoire Orientale*, Vol. III; see also Jarl Charpentier in *B.S.O.S.* IV, 170.

⁹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Ch. 3.

THE VALABHI SCHOOL OF VEDABHĀṢYAKĀRAS.

(Summary.)

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I. A distinct style and method that justify the appellation ; the following can be included in the school : Skanda, Nārāyaṇa, Udgītha, Maheśvara, Mādhava, Harisvāmin, and two works called Vārarucaniruktasamuccaya and Āśvalāyanagrhyamantrabhāṣya ; a reference that Bhaṭṭabhāskara also belongs to this school.

II. Skanda ; two recensions ; one found in the MSS. discovered in Malabar, and another in a MS. discovered in Tanjore ; the first is more elaborate, but occasionally the second contains matter not found in the first ; for the first recension, three MSS., one in Trivandrum for the first seven adhyāyas of the first aṣṭaka (Dr. Sarup's description of this MS. not correct), another for the first aṣṭaka from the middle of the second adhyāya to the end, in the possession of the present writer and third, a mere fragment in the first aṣṭaka also in the possession of the present writer ; first adhyāya according to the Malabar recension published from Trivandrum. For the second recension only one MS. till now discovered, from Tanjore ; complete for the first aṣṭaka ; belongs to R. Krishnaswami Sastri, Esq., Tanjore, now in the possession of the present writer ; being published by the present writer.

III. Nārāyaṇa ; no quotation from a nārāyaṇabhāṣya met with ; stated to be a collaborator of Skanda by Venkaṭa Mādhava ; MS. of a bhāṣya from V, 57. 1 to VI, 75. 5 available, with portions missing occasionally ; MS. in Trivandrum, and a portion in the possession of the present writer. Colophons say that it is by Skanda ; authorship of Nārāyaṇa only a conjecture.

IV. Udgītha ; a quotation from the available portion attributed to Skanda by Devarāja ; colophons clearly state that the bhāṣya is by Udgītha ; Sāyaṇa quotes a portion and gives the name Udgītha also ; three MSS. available ; one in the possession of the present writer from X. 5 to X. 20, another in the D.A.V. College from X. 19 to X. 83, and a third also in the possession of the present writer

for X. 71. Udgitha mentioned as belonging to this school by Ātmananda.

V. Maheśvara ; for the whole of the Nirukta ; colophons in the form of a kārīkā say that the work is by Maheśvara ; but colophons in the form of prose ascribe the work to Maheśvara, to Skanda, and also to Śabara ; this last not noticed by Dr. Sarup ; work never quoted as by Maheśvara, but always as by Skanda ; extensive quotations in Devarāja and in the A.S.S. edition of Nirukta ; Maheśvara a disciple of Skanda, hence the work attributed to Skanda by later writers ; not a ṭīkā on a bhāṣya of Skanda, but an independent commentary of Yāska ; the name Niruktabhāṣya ṭīkā misled Dr. Sarup and also Prof. F. Edgerton ;¹ complete MSS. available, one with the present writer and the other in D.A.V. College, Lahore, another for the uttarasatka in the possession of the present writer ; fragments available in Baroda and in Visvabharati.

VI. Mādhava of Sāma Veda ; described in my paper on the Mādhava Problem ; same Introduction as in Skanda's R̥gvedabhāṣya, same style.²

VII. Harisvāmin ; fragments published by Weber ; manuscripts available in fragments in various places ; introductory portion in Benares ; his Guru is Skanda ; bhāṣya on Śatapathabrāhmaṇa wrote in Kali, 3740, i.e. 639 A.D. ; Dr. Sarup says that this Kali date corresponds to A.D. 538 ; Harisvāmin in an inscription of about 600 A.D. mentioned as a great Vedic scholar. The Vikramaditya of the 7th century mentioned by Harisvāmin.

VIII. Niruktasammuccaya ; bhāṣya on various vedamantras ; with occasional explanations on other subjects ; in four Kalpas ; only MS. available with the present writer ; style that of the Skanda School ; colophon : iti vāraruce niruktasammuccaye, etc.

IX. Āśvalāyagr̥hyamantrabhāṣya ; author not known ; style of the Skanda School ; bhāṣya on the mantras occurring in Āśvalāyana Gr̥hya. MS. available with the present writer.

X. Skanda belonged to Valabhī. He has a distinct style ; he must have been the chief figure in a school of Vedabhāṣyakāras ; Nārāyaṇa and Udgitha were his collaborators, Harisvāmin and per-

¹ Portions of Mādhava's Vivaraṇa described as ajātasatrubhāṣya in the Bikaner MS.

² Maheśvara quotes from Vakyapadiya. He refers to Durga and mentions his name.

haps the Sāmaveda Mādhava were his disciples ; Nārāyaṇa, Maheśvara, and Udgītha quoted by later writers as from Skanda ; so the whole school I style as Valabhī School after the country of the chief of the school.

XI. Ātmānanda includes Bhaṭṭabhāskara also in this school.

THE MĀDHAVA PROBLEM IN THE VEDABHĀSYA.

(Summary.)

PROF. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D.PHIL. (Oxon),
University of Madras.

I. The Problem of Sāyana and Mādhava and also the problem of the other Mādhavas ; a source of perplexity even to Max Muller.

II. Sāyana Mādhava quotes another Mādhava ; his work discovered ; he is Veṅkata Mādhava ; Devarāja quotes a Mādhava ; there must be at least three Mādhavas in the quotations by Devarāja, viz. Sāyana Mādhava, Veṅkata Mādhava, and the Anukramanikāra Mādhava ; Veṅkaṭa Mādhava quoted by Keśava.

III. The Anukramanikāra Mādhava ; quotations in Devarāja ; quoted by Vedāntacārya in Sudarśana Mimāṃsā ; doubts regarding the identity of this Vedāntacārya ; Anukramanikāra Mādhava's vedabhāṣya ; only copy in the Adyar Library ; complete for the first aṣṭaka ; being printed ; the opening stanza gives the names of the Anukramanīs he has written, very difficult to reconstruct on account of the condition of the MS. ; the colophons ; the Anukramanīs he refers to in the bhāṣya.

IV. Mādhava quoted and referred to by Mahidhara ; Sāyana himself.

V. Mādhava the author of the Sāmavedavivarāṇa ; referred to by Satyavrata Samasrami ; Satyavrata differentiates among three Mādhavas : Sāyana, Mādhava quoted by Devarāja and Vivarāṇakāra ; Keith suggests that he may be the same as the Mādhava referred to by Sāyana ; MSS. available ; three in the Sanskrit College at Calcutta, one in Bikaner, one in Visvabharati, two in Bodlein, and one in Berlin ; the opening stanza is the same as that of Kādambari—rajojuse janmani, etc. : not noticed by anybody who has prepared the catalogues or who has mentioned this Mādhava ; belongs to the Valabhī school ; date about 600 A.D. ; his father Nārāyaṇa, perhaps the collaborator of Skanda mentioned by Veṅkaṭa Mādhava.

VI. Mādhava in his Dhātuvṛtti quotes another Mādhava.

VII. The two Mādhavas assumed by Dr. Sarup ; really only one Mādhava ; a slight misunderstanding ; Mādhava's father was

Veṅkaṭa and he had a son also called Veṅkaṭa ; refers to himself in the third person.

VIII. There is a Mādhava quoted very many times in a work of grammar called Prakriyāsarvasva ; this Mādhava must be different from Sāyaṇa Mādhava, the author of Dhātuvṛtti.

IX. There is a Mādhava who has written commentaries on some of the Kāvyaas.

X. Of the Vedabhāṣyakāras, there are four Mādhavas : Sāyaṇa Mādhava the latest ; Veṅkaṭa Mādhava before him ; the Anukramanikāra Mādhava still earlier ; and Vivaraṇakāra Mādhava the earliest ; Veṅkaṭa Mādhava may be about 950 A.D.

XI. Date of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava ; is he quoted by Durga ? Durga must be in the sixth century or earlier ; quotation must be from some recension of Bṛhaddevatā ; the earliest known MS. of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava in the Mysore Library, catalogued in 1900 ; not noticed in Aufrecht.

THE ANUKRAMANĪ LITERATURE.

(Summary.)

PROF. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M A , D.PHIL. (Oxon),
University of Madras.

I. The importance of the Anukramanī : A very necessary guide in fixing the text throws light on the condition of Vedic exegesis in ancient India.

II. The Sarvānukramanī of the Vedas : For the R̥gveda by Kātyāyana, for the Taittirīya Saṃhitā by Yāska, and for the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā by Kātyāyana.

III. The Commentaries on the R̥gveda Sarvānukramanī : Commented by Ṣaḍguru, published : one by Uvata (authorship very doubtful), three manuscripts available ; only one complete, another only for the Paribhāṣa, and a third up to the third Maṇḍala, then there are commentaries by Jagannātha, Vāsudeva, Gaṇeśa, Raghunātha, etc. Only the commentaries of Gaṇeśa and Vāsudeva are of much importance ; others are merely a list of R̥ṣis, etc., practically no new information.

IV. Works based on Sarvānukramanī, lists of R̥ṣi, Devatā, etc. Useful only for purposes of checking ; no new information.

V. Sarvānukramanī of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā ; no MS. available ; but extensive quotations in a work on Sāmaveda ; the available quotations ; his relation to Yāska of Nirukta and Yāska referred to in Bṛhaddevatā.

VI. The Anukramanī of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava ; scattered in the R̥gvedabhāṣya called R̥garthadīpikā ; eight subjects dealt with corresponding to the eight aṣṭakas, each with eight sub-headings corresponding to the eight adhyāyas of each aṣṭaka ; its relation to Mahābhāṣya, Bṛhaddevatā, Nirukta, the Brāhmaṇas.

VII. The Anukramanī of Mādhava, quoted as those of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava by Devarāja ; this Mādhava is different from Veṅkaṭa Mādhava ; he too has commented on the R̥gveda ; both the Mādhavas belong to the same village ; this Mādhava is quoted by Vedānta-charya and also in his own Vedabhāṣya, called R̥gvedanirukta (only copy available in the Adyar Library).

VIII. Śaunaka's anukramaṇis; Ārṣānukramaṇi and Chandonukramaṇi already published by Rajendra Lal Mitra; quoted by Śaḍguru, Skanda, and Venkata Mādhava.

Chandonukramaṇi, also published by Rajendra Lal Mitra; quoted by Śaḍguru and Venkata Mādhava; the Chandas portion in the Prātiśākhya, in the commentaries on the Sarvānukramaṇi, in the Nidāna-Sūtras, etc.

Devatānukramaṇi, three MSS. known; one though catalogued is not in the collection; another also catalogued, but returned to the original owner, but possible to get back soon; a third available, complete but nearly 30 stanzas in the middle missing; of these three MSS. the first and the last are different works, the second cannot be ascertained till it is recovered from the owner, most likely the same as the last; this anukramaṇi quoted by Śaḍguru, etc.

IX. Brhaddeyatā; its relation to Devatānukramaṇi; supposed authorship of Śaunaka.

X. Other works of Śaunaka; Sūktānukramaṇi, Pādānukramaṇi, Chandaḥśaṅkhyā Anuvākānukramaṇi, Ṛgvidhāna, Charaṇavyūha, etc.; the two recensions of Charanavyūha and Ṛgvidhāna.

XI. Other works of the nature of Anukramaṇis; Śamāna, Vilāṅkhyā, Napara, etc.; throw light on the condition of Vedic studies in ancient India.

XII. Questionable authenticity of the works of Śaunaka;

Still all of them are very old. Even Skanda quotes the Devatānukramaṇi and Ārṣānukramaṇi.

TAKMAN OF ATHARVAVEDA.

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Introduction. The word *takman* seems to be derived from *tañc*, to contract, and thus may mean what affects the body. There are several hymns in the Atharvaveda against *takman*. (I, 25 ; V, 25 ; VI, 20 ; VII, 116 [121].) From the attributes assigned to *takman* in these hymns we are in a position to find out its true nature. We shall discuss them in detail and finally consider the nature of the disease it means.

Characteristics of Takman :

(1) *Birth-place.* The birth-place of *takman* has been mentioned in several passages. In one place (I, 25, 1), we are told that the birth-place of *takman* is there, where the *Agni* (fire—celestial fire or heat produced by the sun), entering, burned the water and where the performers of religious duties used to pay homage. We consider this place as a collection of stagnant water used to be heated by the sun and becoming foul by the decomposition of the water plants from excessive heat. In another passage (I, 25, 2), his birth-place is said to seek the place of woods (used for fuels). In a third one (VI, 25, 3), he has been called *vanya*, that is, arising from the forest. We shall show later on that the last two passages refer to it as the *Jungle fever*.

(2) *Original home.* We find that *takman* has been connected with several countries, as Gandhārv, Mūjavat (a mountainous country), Aṅga, and Magadha (V, 22, 14). Again, *takman* has been asked to go back to his original home peopled by the Mahāvṛṣas (V, 22, 4, 5, 8), Mūjavants (V, 22, 5, 6, 8), and Balhikas (V, 22, 5, 9). These passages probably refer to the prevalence of the disease in those countries. The second passage hints at the idea of its original home being in those places from which it spread to other regions.

(3) *Signs and symptoms.* (1) *Heat.* *Takman* is called heat-weaponed (VI, 20, 1) ; he is provided with heat (I, 25, 2) ; he is a producer of heat (I, 25, 4) ; he heats or consumes (the body) like fire (V, 22, 2) ; he consumes the whole body (I, 25, 3 ; VI, 25, 3) ; he dries up the body (VI, 20, 1). *Takman* has also been called *rura*,

heat or fever (I, 25, 4 ; V, 22, 10, 23 ; VII, 116 [121], 1) He is a producer of burning sensation like fire (VI, 20, 1) All the passages refer to the increased body temperature. (II) *Rigor*. *Takman* has been described as a producer of shaking (V, 22, 7) and trembling (V, 22, 10). Perhaps it is why it has also been said to be provided with fearful missiles (V, 22, 10). (III) *Cold*. It has also been designated as a producer of cold (I, 24, 4 ; V, 22, 10, 23 ; VII, 116, 1). This no doubt refers to the afebrile stage between the febrile periods. (IV) *Sweat*. *Takman* has been referred to as *cyavana*, one who causes perspiration. (VII, 116, 1.) (V) *Periodicity*. *Takman* has been divided into several forms according to the periodicity of the febrile stages. Thus we find:—(a) Quotidian type (*Ubhayadyu*). Fever coming on daily, followed by intermission (I, 25, 4 ; VII, 116, 2). (b) Quartian type (*anyedyu*). Fever coming on alternate days (I, 25, 4 ; VII, 116, 2). (c) Tertian type (*Trtāyaka*). Fever coming on every third day (I, 25, 4 ; V, 22, 13 ; VII, 1, 6, 2). (d) Double tertian type (*virṭiyaka*). Fever coming on two days out of three (V, 22, 13). (e) Irregular type (*avrata*) (VII, 121 [116], 2). (f) Remittent type (*sadandi*). Fever continuing for several days without break (V, 22, 13). All these types are recognized to-day from clinical observations. (VI) *Skin affections*. We are informed of the following skin changes caused by *takman* : (a) *Takman* is a producer of yellow colour (*harita*) (I, 25, 2, 3, V, 22, 2 ; VI, 25, 3). It refers to the pale yellow tinge of the skin of chronic cases of malaria. (b) *Takman* is producer of redness like the fire (V, 22, 3 ; VI, 25, 3). It points to diffuse erythemata which are not infrequently seen in malaria. (c) It is producer of reddish brown colour (VI, 25, 3). It evidently refers to the pigmentation of the skin, quite common in malaria. (d) It gives rise to a spotted or variegated condition (of the skin). (V, 22, 3.) The passage might have referred to the purpureal rashes of the skin. (VII) *Nervous symptoms*. (a) *Takman* has been called *vigada*, producer of confused talking (V, 22, 6), evidently referring to low muttering delirium. (b) Again, he has been designated as one who talks incoherently like a drunkard (VI, 20, 1), referring to boisterous delirium. (VIII) *Some general symptoms*. We have some additional attributes of *takman*, in the way of some other symptoms : (a) He has been called *dhṛisnu* (from *dhṛis*, to overpower), evidently referring to the prostration after an attack (VII, 116, 1). (b) He has been called *nodana* (from *nud*, to

drive away repeatedly), indicating the frequency of attacks (VII 116, 1). (c) We have a passage *pūrvakāmakṛityane* (VII, 116, 1), referring to *takman* and literally meaning 'former desire-performing'. Perhaps it indicates the relapses—the repetitions of the same series of symptoms. (d) He has been called mischievous (V, 22, 6) and producer of a crippled condition (V, 22, 6).

(4) *Complications*. In a passage (V, 22, 11) *takman* is found to have been requested not to make cough, *valāsa* (oedematous swelling) and *udyuga* (hiccough?). Again *valāsa* has been called *takman*'s brother, cough his sister, and *pāman* (herpes) his cousin brother (V, 22, 12).

(5) *Seasonal types*. We find mention of three types of *takman* named after the seasons: (i) of the summer, (ii) of the rainy season, and (iii) of the autumn (V, 22, 13). In this connection we mention the epithet of *takman* as 'Varuṇa's son' (I, 25, 3), which perhaps refers to the autumn, as we have reasons to believe that Varuṇa is closely connected with the autumnal equinox.

(6) *Miscellaneous notes*. We now consider a number of additional notes related to *takman*. (i) *Takman*, *valāsa* and *Ahi* (erysipelas?) have been called the slaves of the ointment (IV, 9, 8). This probably refers to the prevention or cure by anointing the skin with the ointment. (ii) *Takman* has been designated as *sakambharasya mustiḥa* (V, 22, 4), literally meaning 'killer of dung-carrier by fist'. The actual significance is far from clear. We doubtfully think it to mean that *takman* is killed by (the burning of) dung-cakes. (iii) *Takman* has been asked to seek *sūdras* (V, 22, 7), fugitive slave women (V, 22, 6) and toads (VII, 116, 2). These passages probably indicate ill-feeling and hatred of the Aryans towards the non-Aryans and also show that the toad was considered an animal without any economic use.

(7) *Treatment*. As regards treatment we find that Kuṣṭha (*Costus arabicus*) has been invoked as the killer of *takman* (V, 4, 1).

REMARKS. We shall now try to find out the true nature of *takman* from the standpoint of modern medicine. That it is some form of fever is easily understood when we are told that it produces heat on the body surface and also causes sensation of heat inside the body. Considering the other attributes, viz. a cold stage after the febrile period, profuse perspiration (evidently in the cold stage), presence of rigor and periodicity (quotidian, quartian, tertian, double

tertian and remittent types) we are inclined to take *takman* as the *malarial fever*. We have further evidences towards the same conclusion. Takman's birthplace in collections of (foul) stagnant water and forest is quite consistent with the ætiology of malaria. Larvæ of malarial mosquito breed in dirty stagnant water. Again the mosquitoes live in forest and give rise to malaria. *Jungle fever* is another name of malaria. The skin affections mentioned in the Atharvaveda have all been found in malarial patients. The nervous symptoms depicted in the hymns against *takman* have all been observed in *cerebral types* of malaria. Considering the seasonal types, we find that malaria occurs in all the three seasons, worst types appearing in the autumn. In fact, the malarial remittent has been called the *æstivo-autumnal fever*. Coming to the complications, viz. cough, œdema or general anasarca and hiccough (?), we find they have all been known to occur in malarial patients. Malarial bronchitis (even pneumonia) was described a few years ago. Oedema of the legs is quite common in chronic malaria with severe and long-continued anæmia. Dropsy due to malarial cirrhosis of the liver has also been described. Malarial hiccough has been described by many observers. On the whole, we may safely conclude that *takman* is a *malarial fever*. What is remarkable is that all the main signs and symptoms and the complications were more or less observed by the sages and sung in the hymns at such an early period and these took years of observations on the part of a large number of present-day physicians before they could put them together. If any one consults some comprehensive treatise on tropical medicine (as one by Manson or Castellani and Chalmers) he will be surprised to see how the disease was thoroughly studied by the sages of the bygone days and many physicians of to-day became renowned by simply re-describing them.

TRITA.

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Trita Āptya is a well-known figure in Vedic literature. The earliest references to him are in the Second maṇḍala of the R.V. (*trito rbhukṣāh*, 31, 6; *tritam jaraya jūratam*, 34, 10; *tritona yān pañcahōtrān abhiṣṭaye*, 2, 34, 14). In the Fifth maṇḍala his connection with the waters is emphasised (41, 4 and 41, 10) and in the Sixth maṇḍala there is reference to several Tritas as preserving the nectar of immortality (44, 23—*triteṣu vindat amṛtam nigūṭham*). In the First maṇḍala Trita Āptyah is definitely mentioned (105, 9). In the Eighth maṇḍala he is mentioned as Āptya (47, 13) and connected with Dvita (47, 16). Evil dreams are driven away by him (47, 15). In the Ninth maṇḍala he is said to bear Varuna in the ocean (95, 4). In one of the latest texts (R.V., I, 105, 17) he is represented as concealed in a well (*kūpevahitaḥ*). In the Atharva Veda his connection with dreams is emphasised (A.V., XIX, 56, 4). In the Yajur Veda we have his association not only with Dvita but with Ekata also. In the *Yājñikī Upaniṣad* of the Yajur Veda god Savitā is prayed to for protection against the prognostication of evil dreams. It is thus clear that there was some connection between Savitā and Trita, as indicated as early as R.V., II, 31, 6—*trito rbhukṣāh savitāca no dadhe*.

There is similar association of Trita and the other Āptyas with the killing of Vṛtra in stories in the Yajur Veda Saṃhitās. Indeed in one of them Viśvarūpa, son of Tvasta, is said to have had three heads through which were taken respectively soma, surā, and food (T.S., 2, 5, 1 and 2). The origin of Vṛtra is connected with this story. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (7, 28) mentions Indra's slaughter of Tvastā's son Viśvarūpa and Vṛtra. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1, 2, 3) ascribes to Indra the sin of killing Viśvarūpa and distinctly adds that Ekata, Dvita, and Trita abetted the killing and thereby incurred sin. We now understand the story in the Yajus Saṃhitās how Indra wiped off his sin of the slaughter of Vṛtra on different agencies one of whom are the Āptyas including Trita. The latter shifted the sin on to those who were yet sleeping at sunrise, and

so on. This also explains the reference in the *Rāmāyaṇa* to Bharata's mention of sleeping at sunrise among the cardinal sins.

The key to the explanation is perhaps to be found in the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* in a passage shunned or shied at by our scholiasts, Sāyana and Bhāskara—*evam nānā samuddhānāḥ kālāḥ samvatsaram śrītāḥ apuśaśca mahāśaśca sarve samavayan tritam*. The Scholiasts accept this reading, but, unable to explain it, change *tri* into *ti*. But the significance of *tri* which they miss thereby can be brought out from two passages—

(1) *yenatrito arṇavāt nṛbhabhūva yenasūryam tamasō nirmumora tenajyotiṣā ānaśāna ākṣi* (T.A., II, 3, 7)

(2) *samudrāt arṇavāt adhi samvatsarojāyata* (R.V., X, 190, 1)

which show that *Trita* is identical with *Samvatsara* or the new year. The new year as a measure or unit of time includes the lesser units of days, nights, fortnights, months, seasons, and half-years. Hence the statement in the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka*. The very next verse of the passage gives the key—*adhi samvatsaram vidyat*—which has been lost upon the Commentators. The new year's day and the rising sun of the year are said to be hiding in the ocean or in the well, obviously during the intercalary days. Hence also the connection of *Savitā* with the *Samvatsara*.

The story of Indra's killing *Visvarūpa* and *Vṛtra* appears in the *Udyoga-parvan* of the *Mahābharata* (VIII, 6). Here *Nahuṣa* is made king of the Gods in place of *Indra* who disappears from the scene until *Agastya*, one of the stars of the Great Bear, displaces him from the palanquin of *Orion* (*Punarvasu*). The new year reappears and with its return *Indra* is installed again and there are fresh showers as the year begins with the *dakṣināyana* (*sa khalu samvatsarah etaiḥ senānībhiḥ saha indrāya sarvān kāmān abhivahati sa drapsaḥ*). The astronomical bearing of the story is clear from the references in it to *Agni*, *Brhaspati*, *Sachi* or *Aditi*, *Prajapati* and *Sarpa*, which represent the constellations from *Krittika* to *Makha*.

The legend appears also in the *Avesta*, connected with *Tritona*, descendant of *Athvya*. He is described as killing a dragon who had three heads, three girdles, and six brilliants in his tail. The three girdles of *Orion* (*iṣu trikaṇḍa*) are mentioned in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* (III, 33) along with *Mṛgavyāḍha* and *Rohini*. The only difference between the Vedic and Avestic stories in the matter of detail is in the number of stars in the *Krittikas* (*Pleiades*) which

are mentioned as seven in the Vedic and six in the Avestic. The difference is easily accounted for by the Greek tradition of the seventh sister among the Pleiades concealing herself, i.e. not being visible to the eye. The smiting of the dragon by Trita or Tritona means the emergence of the new year when the sun appeared among the belt of stars ranging from Orion to the Pleiades.

The bearing of the astronomical myths on the chronology of the Vedas and the Avesta may now be examined. The Avesta is later than the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* which mentions the seven stars of the Krittikas by name, and probably belongs to the age of the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* (3, 9, 2) which mentions that the six Krittikas became dissociated from Arundhati. The traditions of the Avesta are distinctly later than the *Taittiriya Samhita*, which mentions *nabhanedīṣta* (cp. Avestic *nabha nazdishta*) as a teacher of the Āngirasas. The sociological system of the Avesta corresponds to the Yajur and not of the Ṛg-Veda. The *rathesthas* of the Avesta are not in the Ṛg-Veda but are found in the *Taittiriya Samhita* (*jīṣṇū radheṣṭhāh* and *rathibhyasca namaḥ*).

Perhaps the earliest clear reference to the new year in the Vedic texts is in R.V., X, 85, 13, which says that the kine were slaughtered in the *aghas* (i.e. the intercalary days ended in Magha) and the marriage of Surya was celebrated in the Phalgunis. Though the seasons changed, Indian tradition maintained the sacredness of marriage in Uttara Phalguni as will be clear from the detailed description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Sita's marriage under that constellation. In the period of the Avesta and the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* the new year's day had shifted to the Krittikas, i.e. by eight or nine constellations. As the shifting of the equinox is roughly by the space of one nakṣatra in 950 years, this would mean an interval in time of about 8,000 years. We are thus enabled to push the antiquity of Vedic tradition to about 11000 B.C. or earlier. The data agree with the heliacal rising of Sirius, which has been attributed to the vernal equinox and 4500 B.C., but really must be associated with the summer solstice and attributed 11000 B.C. as otherwise the epithet *yahvatirapah* (R.V., I, 105) would make nonsense. The shifting of the new year's day (trita) is clearly referred to in the legend of Dirghatamas which describes him as having fallen into the well and invoking the Gods including Brhaspati (Lord of Pushya) for succour. Perhaps the very earliest reference of a chronological

bearing which we have in the R̥g-Veda is in R.V., VI, 55, 4, which describes Pushan (i.e. Revati) as 'the friend of Indra, the husband of his mother, and the gallant of his sister'—the two *ayanas*. As the reference must be to the autumnal equinox we would get about 13,000 years before now, i.e. about 11000 B.C.

NIDĀNA-SŪTRAM OF SĀMAVEDA¹

Nidāna-Sūtra is one of the several Sūtras of Sāmaveda. It was published by Śrī-Satyvrata of Calcutta in 1896 (Samvat 1953) on the basis of two Nidāna MSS. in Sanskrit College, Calcutta. He has given various differences of readings of these two MSS. called by him क and ख. But he was not able to find out its commentary or anything about its authorship. He simply writes on the title-page of the book

“ऋषिप्रोक्तमिदम् ।”

In the end of the book we do not find the number of order it holds among the Sūtras of Sāmaveda. The last line is

“इति निदानसूत्रे दशमः प्रपाठकः ॥ समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः ॥”

Still we are greatly indebted to him for the great work he has done in publishing many rare and useful works. Of course, we are now able to get help from more and more sources.

It is now definite that Nidāna-Sūtra is the work of Patañjali.—But which Patañjali—it is to be decided as yet. MS. No. 66 of Baroda Catalogue has the line

“पतञ्जलिहृतं निदानसूत्रम्”

Hṛṣikeśa, the commentator, otherwise known as Pettaśāstrī, has written a commentary on Chandovicitti, a work on the metres of Sāmaveda. Chandovicitti forms the first portion of Nidāna-Sūtra. The commentator tells us that the author of Nidāna is Patañjali :—cf. MS. No. 47(a) of Baroda Catalogue, pp. 27 and 144 (description).

‘याषष्ट् पिङ्गलनागादौः बन्दोविचितयः कृताः
तासां पिङ्गलनागीया सर्वसाधारणी भवेत् ॥
सर्वानुक्रमणी काचिच्छन्दोऽनुक्रमणी पुरा ।
शौनकीया तृतीयमास्तिस्र ऋग्वेदिनां सताः ॥
यजुर्वेदविदामन्या सर्वानुक्रमणी भवेत्
सामगानां निदानस्या पतञ्जलिहृता हि सा ॥

¹ The name of the author of this article was not communicated to the office of the Conference.—*Editor*.

....अथ भगवान् चन्दोविचितिकारः पतञ्जलिः श्रोतबुद्धिसमवधानाय वक्ष्यमाणार्थं सङ्गृह्य प्रतिजानीते—

अथातश्चन्दसां विचयं व्याख्यास्यामः ।.....
Colophon इति पञ्चाशत्खिविरचितायां चन्दोविचितिदृष्टौ द्वितीयपटले तृतीयः खण्डः ।
द्वितीयः पटलोऽपि समाप्तः ॥”

There is another commentary, by name Tattva-subodhini, on Chhandovicitti. Name of the commentator is not known. He states in the beginning that he is commenting on the Nidāna-Sūtra as a whole. But the codex ends with the commentary of the Chhandovicitti only.

Beginning :—

विद्वेशं भारतीनीशमाचार्यं पतञ्जलिम् ।
नत्वा निदानसूत्रस्य दृष्टिं कुर्वे यथासति ॥
क सूत्रमतिगम्भीरं कौतुह्यानुसाहसम् ।
तातप्रसादः कुरुते दृष्टिं तत्त्वसुबोधिनीम् ।

End :—

चन्दोविचितिज्ञानस्य फलं दर्शयति—
चन्दसां विचयं जानन् यश्चरौराद्विसुच्यते ।
चन्दसामेति सालोक्यमानन्त्या त्रियमश्रुते ॥ इति ॥
द्विरुक्तिः पटलसमाप्त्यर्थः ।

Colophon :—

इति निदानसूत्रदृष्टौ द्वितीयः पटलः ।

Thus it is definite that Patañjali is the author of Nidāna-Sūtra.

Two leaves of Nidāna-Sūtra-Vritti have been found out in Tanjore Library (leaves No. 4 and 5). It forms introduction to the commentary. As to the two MSS. of Nidāna-Sūtra-Vritti in the Adyar Library I may point out that one of these MSS. deals with Chandas portion (i.e. Chandovicitti) only of the Nidāna-Sūtra, and in the colophon we find there written Nidāna-Sūtra-Vritti. The other MS. is not Nidāna at all.

As to the number of order it holds among the Sūtras of Sāmaveda the two MSS. in my possession tell me that it is the third Sūtra of Sāmaveda

cf.

‘इति दशमः प्रपाठकः समाप्तः ॥ निदानसूत्रं समाप्तमिति ।

निदाननाम तृतीयसूत्रं समाप्तम् ॥ श्री’

(३१००)

and

‘इति दशमः प्रपाठकः समाप्तः । निदानसूत्रं समाप्तमिति ।

निदानं नाम तृतीय सूत्रं समाप्तम् ॥ श्री ॥ ३१०० ॥’

Thus it is clear that the Nidāna-Sūtra forms the third Sūtra of the Sūtras of Sāmaveda, and has ten prapāṭhakas. The third MS. in my possession (from Tanjore) has along with it Pratihāra, Prastāva, and Pradhāna Sūtras of Sāmaveda. But as to the Nidāna-Sūtra it has only the Chandovicitti portion only. It has one peculiar feature. An index of the sections contained in this MS. is given after the colophon, in reverse order :

अथावसानानि । अथ निचद्गुरिजः जर्ध्वगत्या अतिश्छन्दसौ । चतुश्चत्वारिंशदक्षरा त्रिष्टुप् । चत्वारिंशदक्षरा पङ्क्तिः । चतुर्विंशदक्षरा गायत्री । अथातश्छन्दसां विचय आख्यास्यामः ।

One thing about the remark of the MS. Catalogue :—

‘The Nidāna-Sūtras available in print in the Benares Sanskrit Series contains a division of the text into 12 prapāṭhakas.’ Now, I understand from Benares that Nidāna-Sūtra has never been published there. And again the MSS. in my possession and the Calcutta edition of Satyavrata contain 10 prapāṭhakas only. However, I am writing to Tanjore for that book if they possess.

In the commentary of Nidāna-Sūtra which has been referred to in Tanjore Library I find names of some of the Sūtras of Sāmaveda.

cf.

‘एवं ब्राह्मणकल्प-प्रधान-निदान-प्रतिहार-फल्गोपग्रन्थेषु छन्दः पुरस्सरम्’

In this commentary I find a quotation from a commentator of Ārseya Brāhmana by name Vidyāranya, cf. ‘अर्धेयब्राह्मण भाषकारेण विद्यारणेन ।’

The quotation is

‘अविदित्वा ऋषिश्छन्दो देवतं योगमेव च ।

योऽध्यापयेज्जपेत् नायात् न तत्फलमवाप्नुयात् ॥’

In another place in this commentary I find this commentator mentioned as 'मन्त्रभाष्यकृता विद्यारणेन । Now, विद्यारण्य is another name of सायणाचार्य.

‘श्रीमद्विद्यारण्यसावच्छालिवाहनशाक्य त्रयोदशशतके प्रादुर्बभूवुः । क्वचित्त्रयोदश-
धिकत्रयोदशशतके आसन्निति प्राचीनशिलालेखालोचकैर्निर्णयति । इमे एव पूर्वत्रमे
श्रीमद्वैरवकुट्टपतिविषद्विरिषन्मुख्यसभासारा-श्रीमन्माधवाचार्याभिरुक्ता वङ्गशः श्रुतिस्मृति-
भाष्यादिविविधग्रन्थानुरौचन्निति सुप्रसिद्धम् ॥

He adopted this name when he became सन्यासौ. Varadarāja, another commentator of Ārseya Brāhmaṇa, quotes from Nidāna-Sūtra very profusely. He has quoted 56 times from the Nidāna-Sūtra. More than 50 of its quotations have been traced out. About the rest four or five, at present I am not able to find them in the printed text of the Nidāna. Similarly, a large number of quotations from the Nidāna is found in Vidyāranya's commentary.

As to the importance of Nidāna-Sūtra it may be said that it refers to a vast amount of Vedic literature. Many of the works referred to are unheard of before. We can know something about many rare works from the quotations quoted herein. But the text printed in the Calcutta edition is corrupt in many places ; punctuation-marks are not cared for ; and verses also have been written like prose without any differentiation. Now, as more information has come to light it is but befitting to critically edit the text along with its commentary so far discovered. Then we can get correct text of the quotations of other unknown works.

Section of Classical Sanskrit.

President :

PANDIT VANAMĀLI VEDĀNTATĪRTHA.

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HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF SANSKRIT

PANDIT VANAMĀLI VEDĀNTATĪRTHA.

It is customary for the President of a meeting of scholars, assembled to discuss any particular subject, to open it with a speech containing either a piece of serious research or, at least, a summary of the results of the previous years' work in that particular subject, carried on in diverse languages and in different countries. This custom makes the president-elect work on the subject for a length of time and perchance he might come upon something really worth publication or, at least, his work may focus information lying scattered in different journals and books and thus be of help to the beginner.

In the present case, however, the effect of this custom will prove quite other than wholesome. You will have to listen to a speech, which has pretension neither to originality nor to deep thinking nor even to up-to-date study. This is not due to my laziness or indifference. I lack the ability required for such work. It would have been altogether better for all parties concerned, including myself, if I could have mastered sufficient strength of mind to decline the flattering offer of the presidency, when it was first made to me. But the prospect of notoriety proved too much.

The only thing, which now remains for me to do, is to begin by frankly apologising to all of you for having accepted a position, for the responsibilities of which I have no qualification save my age and sincere respect for all who devote themselves to research. I crave your indulgent attention to my unworthy address and beg you to do the work of our section with devotion in spite of my unfitness.

Here we stand on sacred soil, immortalized by associations with Pāṇini, Pīṅgala, Vyādi, Vararuci, and Patañjali, all honoured names in the domain of linguistics (काव्यनौमांसा—कविरहस्य १० अध्याय), here worked Kauṭilya and Chandragupta, Aśoka and Puṣyamitra and Samudragupta. Let us pray to these and other immortal dead connected with this historic city that our efforts may be fruitful, and that our enthusiasm and energy might last through life.

Patna—Pātaliputra, Kusumapura—has a peculiar claim to the affections of all lovers of ancient Indian culture. To me, this place has a particularly sad interest. It is hallowed by the memory of

three distinguished workers—the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmā-vātara Śarmā and Messrs. Surendra Nath Mazumdar and Jogendra Nath Samaddar. I had the honour of having Pandit Rāmāvatāra as a respected colleague, in the Central Hindu College, Benares, and I fondly remember the work which he and Pandit Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī did for our literary venture, ‘the *Mitra-goṣṭhi Patrikā*’. The MM.’s work, as the Śrīgopāl Vasu Mallick Fellow and as an editor of important books, is well known. Of the M.A.’s I know, none could equal him in knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar. I had the honour of having been in close touch with Mazumdar, in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and in those days I often felt that young Surendra had it in him to attain the eminence of Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar or MM. Dr. Haraprasād Śāstrī. But Providence decreed otherwise, and Sanskrit Scholarship is all the poorer for the loss. The enthusiasm and wide literary interest of Prof. Samaddar has left many volumes of English and Bengali works, and they will long continue to be his fitting monument.

What shall I say about Sanskrit grammar? It is a subject which has attracted throughout the ages some of the finest intellects of the land from the unknown author of the arrangement of the letters in the *Siddha Varna-Samāmnāya* (सिद्ध वर्ण-समाम्नाय) down to Taranath Tarka-vācaspati, Chandrakanta Tarkālankār, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, and Vamana Shivarama Apte. I salute all these before beginning my essay.

Those who arranged the alphabet in the order अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ ए ऐ ओ औ क ख ग घ ङ च छ ज झ ञ ट ठ ड ढ ण त थ द ध न प फ ब भ म य र ल व श ष स ह in what it is called the सिद्धवर्णसमाम्नाय, i.e. the eternal or universally known or ready-made order of letters, hundreds of years before Mahesvara or Mahesha’s rearrangement of them in the form of the शिवसूत्र¹ must have been extraordinary men. Their influence and prestige might be inferred from the fact that this arrangement was accepted by the people and has lasted to this day. Is there any one among us, even in the second quarter of the

¹ When we were school children we used to hear a story. It deserves recording, for the story given by Mr. Rajanikanta Gupta in his excellent *Pāṇini* (in Bengali) is slightly different. Kālidāsa had gone to Benares. There he came across a stone image of Vyāsa, with a longish belly. Kālidāsa rubbed his hand over the belly of the image and said rather irreverently ‘Oh,

20th century, who could have produced a better order or even the same order? What physiological and linguistic knowledge is presupposed in this arrangement of the alphabet! The arrangement of the *Śiva-Sūtras* is clever, but it does not surpass the *Siddha* arrangement in its scientific character. First, the simple vowels (समान स्वर) and then the diphthongs (सन्ध्याक्षर), then consonants according to the organ of articulation, and in each group (वर्ग), the sharps (अघोष) coming before the sonants (घोष), non-aspirate before the aspirate, followed by the nasal, then the semi-vowels (अन्तस्तर) and the sibilants (जघन) coming in the order of the organs, य ञ going with च वर्ग, र ष with ट वर्ग, ल ष with त वर्ग. Such perfection of arrangement could not have been reached in one generation. Centuries must have

there were so many ungrammatical forms and ea vā tu hi in this belly,' where upon lo 'a voice from heaven cried out—

“यान्युज्जहार माहेशात् व्यासो व्याकरणार्णवात् ।

तानि किं पदरत्नानि सन्ति पाणिनिगोष्ठे ?”

In Kālidāsa's time Sanskrit used to be learned very much as our children learn English, by the aid of grammars, vocabularies, and readers and by listening to the language of those who had learned the language similarly. So Kālidāsa might be supposed to have learned Sanskrit by a study of *Pāṇini*. The more comprehensive grammar of Maheśa had fallen into disuse. In this *Śloka* Kālidāsa is taunted for his inadequate knowledge of grammar derived from the hand-book of Pāṇini. Pāṇini borrowed the *Pratyāhāra-Sūtras* from Maheśa's grammar. If the mythologizing tendency of a later age has farthered the fourteen प्रत्याहार *Sūtras* upon the beating of the drum by the god Śiva after finishing his dances, the recorder of this myth has also left the observation एतद् विमर्षे शिवसूत्रजालम्—this I think is the collection of the *Śiva-Sūtras*, which proves that this was his opinion, not the old tradition.

Maheśa or Maheśvara was a real human grammarian. Pāṇini perhaps based his work on his grammar, and did not think it incumbent upon him to record Maheśa's opinions, especially like those of काश्यप, शाकटायन, आपिशलि, स्फोटायन, चक्रवर्धन, भरद्वाज, शाकल्य । The author of the *Kaṭhāsaritsūgarā* has recorded this fact in the form of an old myth. He says that Pāṇini got his grammar from the god Śiva, after performing severe penance, and that the roar of Śiva made the older current grammar of Indra disappear from the earth.

तत्र तौत्रेण तपसा नोषितादिन्दुशेखरात् ।

सर्वविद्यासुखम् तेन प्राप्तं व्याकरणम् नवम् ।

नभःस्थेन महासारी ऊङ्गारः शम्भुना कृतः ।

तेन प्रनष्टमैन्द्रं तदस्मद्वाकरणं भुवि ॥ ४।१९ and १४ख १५क ॥

elapsed between those who first analysed words into letters and their successors who arranged these letters in this perfect order. Where are the results of the earlier efforts at arrangement—the imperfect arrangements which must have preceded this *Siddha* arrangement? Did they die out without leaving any vestiges behind? What people did first analyse language¹ into words and words into letters? Was it our ancestors? Or did they borrow the letters from some yet unidentified neighbours? Even on the latter hypothesis, the great credit of having given us a perfectly scientific arrangement of the letters in the *Siddha Varṇa-Samāmnāya* belongs to our ancestors. It must be further borne in mind that no other nation has yet had the liberal instinct to re-arrange the alphabet on a scientific and phonetic basis, as our ancestors did thousands of years ago. The prevailing Indian scripts provide phonetic spelling of all Sanskrit words—every sound with one letter and every letter with one sound. Yet there are people who would have us adopt the Roman script!

I was emphasising above the phonetic character of the Sanskrit alphabet. But, alas! the pronunciation of Sanskrit is so different in different parts of India, that Sanskrit spoken by a Bengali or an Assamese Pandit cannot easily be understood by a Mahratta or a Bihari Pandit and *vice versa*. I appeal to all lovers of Sanskrit to try to introduce the correct pronunciation, each in his own locality. In Bengal little children are now made to say ङ्ख इ, दीर्घ इ (or ई); ङ्ख उ, दीर्घ उ (or ऊ) instead of इ ई and उ ऊ as we used to do, when we were children. To call one na—cerebral na (नृन्), and another dental na (दन्), is ludicrous; उ र र as a name for इ, and ढ र र as a name for ढ is *reductio ad absurdum* of this evil practice. Every Sanskrit scholar must learn to articulate properly the three sibilants, the two nasals, and व व, and even school children should be taught to recognise these symbols as standing for *separate sound* elements.

¹ Bhartṛhari (850 A.C. ?) recorded it long ago that the sentence is the unit of language and that words and letters are results of later analysis. पदे न वर्णा विद्यन्ते वर्णेष्वयथा इव (१। ७३क) यथा पदे विभज्यन्ते प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादयः। अपोहारस्तथा वाक्ये पदानामुपवर्णते ॥ (१। १०) Vide P. C. Chakravartti's '*Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar*' (1930), p. 93, and *Sanskrit Made Easy*, pp. i and ii (1909).

The state of Sanskrit pronunciation in and about Calcutta is bad, though it is slightly better in the remote parts. It is not far better in Assam. To give only one example, Assamese Pandits will say cerebral *ta* and dental *ta* to signify त and त.

I shall deal with a few points of Sanskrit grammar, which have particularly interested me. I shall also make a few observations on the method of teaching the subject pursued in the indigenous schools, known in different localities as *Pāthasālās*, *Tols* (why are they so called ?) and *Paṭhāhālis*, and also in the high schools and colleges. I shall exclude from my survey all discussions about the time, the locality, and the personal history of particular grammatical writers, though the results of such discussions are quite helpful to a student of Sanskrit grammar. A proper determination of the time of not only the several grammarians, but also of the authors of works in every department of the Sanskrit Vānmaya, beginning with the *Mantras* of the *R̥g-Veda* and ending with works of quite modern times, such as the *Viśvagunādarśa-campū*, *Candravaṁśa*, and *Vāsan-tika Svapna* (*A Midsummer Night's Dream* in Sanskrit), would be of immense aid to the compilers of a comprehensive historical grammar of the Sanskrit language. And when once well established, the results of this historical grammar might be introduced even into elementary school grammars and thus render the study of the subject more interesting and invigorating.

I give a few well-known examples to prove that there has been some development or change in Sanskrit grammar even after Patañjali.

Vopadeva (about 1270 A.C.) justifies forms like अनेशत् with एकार in लुङ्. Does it imply that there was a revival of Vaidika forms near about the time of Vopadeva, and that he was merely recording a change in the language such as is noticed, e.g. in the line चेष्टा यानेशन् निखिलास्त्राद्याः (नैषध १४। ५५) of Śrīharṣa, who could not be later than the 12th century? Ratnamālā (1568 A.D.) notes that forms like अनेशत् are allowed by some grammarians. Vopadeva sanctions the form वेश्, etc. optionally with ववश्, etc. apparently with a view to justify verses like वेश् केचिद् रधिरम्. Are we justified in supposing that this epic form (वेश्) had come back into *laukika* language in spite of Panini and Sarvarman and that Vopadeva could not therefore neglect them any longer? The author of Ratnamālā justifies in his *Vṛtti* (आः २८१) उद्देश् on the principle that 'rules with a

नञ् admit of exceptions (नञोऽनित्यत्वात्)'. Again, why did Vopadeva write श्च instead of श्च in श्चश्चद्वादि thus giving श्चश्चतुः etc. instead of श्चश्चतुः, etc. sanctioned by Pāṇini and Sarvavarman? श्चश्चतुः, etc. according to Pāṇini, Sarvavarman, and Ratnamālā are wrong forms of श्चश्चतुः, etc. In giving the conjugation of क्त्स्, Vopadeva gives क्रम्यति, क्रामति, Maitreyarakṣita (Dhātu Pradīpa, 1100 A.C.²), Kramadīśvara (earlier than Vopadeva?), Puruṣottama (Ratnamālā, 1568 A.C.) and Bhattoji (about 1630) give क्रामति and क्राम्यति, while Durgasiṃha probably and Padmanābha certainly gives all the three forms क्रम्यति, क्राम्यति, and क्रामति। There is an oft-quoted verse—

इच्छते श्चि दीर्घत्वं दाक्षि-लक्षणे-वेदिभिः।

तेन क्राम्यति, कौमारि चानौत्यस्योपलक्षणात्॥

[दाक्षि=पाणिनि ?]

It seems that Pāṇini and Sarvavarman, as distinct from their commentators, might fairly be interpreted to sanction either (1) क्रम्यति, क्रामति or (2) क्राम्यति, क्रामति; Vopadeva took the first alternative, Maitreyarakṣita, Kramadīśvara, Puruṣottama, and Bhattoji the second alternative, and Durga Siṃha and Padmanābha combined them both. So, this particular case may not represent any development or change in the actual usage. The grammarians might have simply paraphrased the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini according to their own light and not attempted to frame rules by reference to actual recorded use in epics, Purāṇas and Kāvya. For one thing, Whitney gives क्राम्यति in square brackets in his admirable *Roots* indicating that it is one of the 'Verbal forms not yet found in recorded use' but 'authorized by Hindu grammarians'. He does not give क्रम्यति at all.

Let us go to another field. The second case plural of वाचा is वाचान् according to the Paninian system, but Kātantra and Mugdhabodha give वाचाः, while Padmanābha gives वाचाः, वाचः, वाचान्, Kramadīśvara, Rāma Tarkavāgīśa, Durgādāsa, and Ratnamālā give वाचः, if वाचा be derived from the root वा (वाचय् जहाति), Goyichandra and Ratnamālā sanction वाचान् when वाचा is regarded as *avyutpanna* (not derivative). The Mugdhabodha and Saṃkṣiptasāra have especially provided for the vocative वुञ्चु in order to account for its occurrence in Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭi, etc., the Ratnamālā is constrained to observe that exceptions occur such as लक्षि, वुञ्चु, etc. These forms seem to have been ungrammatical even in the time of Sarvavarman.

The incorrect usage of one period has become, if not the good, at least the tolerable, usage of a later period. Vararuci, who seems to have written a commentary on the *Kātantra Sūtra*, from which *Durgasiṃha* borrowed the opening salutation¹ of his celebrated *vr̥tti*, justifies under II 1. 47 (*Kātantra*), the forms घोवरीः, पौवरीः, सरस्वतीः, फलिनीः, फलवतीः, ओषधीः for the first case plural, found in standard authors. Susena objects to such justification, saying that they are un-Pāṇinian. Again, अन्यतम and द्वय do not occur in the list of *Sarvanāma* as given by Pāṇini and Sarvavarman. But some later grammarians accepted them as *Sarvanāma* in order to account for the forms *anyatamasmin* and *dvayeṣām* (अन्यतमस्मिन् in शिक्षायुर्वेद, द्वेषां in *Māgha*). Even Prathama (प्रथम) and paścima (पश्चिम—विष्णुपुराण १। २२। २५ has पश्चिमस्यां दिशि) have been used as *Sarvanāmas* (see *Kātantrapariśiṣṭa* and Susena's comment, Kavirāja). This seems to be a case of real but unprogressive change. It should not be forgotten that every language is in a state of flux. It should be a gross error to suppose that deviation from rules laid down by Pāṇini, though he is the greatest grammarian of the world, is always a gross error. If people find it useful or think it meritorious or commendable to write and speak in Sanskrit, the language must change, as it has done even after Pāṇini. The ancient or rather mediæval Sanskrit grammars record some of these changes, and hence they are very useful to a student of historical grammar. A mine of useful information might be gathered from Śripati's *Parīśiṣṭa*.

We now pass on the *Samāsa Prakaraṇa*. When the rules found in Pāṇini were composed there was some rigidity in the formation of compounds just as there is in English even now. Thus the *second tatpuruṣa* (*Dvītiya Samāsa*) was limited only to वित्त, अतीत, पतित, गत, अत्यस्त, प्राप्त, and आपन्न. The *Vārtika-kāra* found this enumeration too narrow for the facts of the language in his time. So he added गमिगम्यादीनाम् उपसंख्यानम्, i.e. ग्रामगमि, ग्रामगमिनी, and अन्नबुभुक्षु had become correct in Kātyāyana's time, though they were not so in the time of the *Sūtra*. Similarly with the *Sūtra* सप्तमी शौडैः. The *Kātantra* does not give any lists and the *Mugdhabodha* follow the *Kātantra*.

The tendency in modern classical Sanskrit is to allow unlimited liberty in the formation of compounds, if there is सामर्थ्य or

¹ “देवदेवं प्रणम्यादौ सर्वं सर्वदर्शिनम् ।

कान्तन्त्रस्य प्रवक्ष्यामि व्याख्यानं सार्ववर्षिकम् ॥

But even in older Sanskrit forms like यत्त-साय-यत्त occur, just as in English we meet with more-than-one-ness. This seems to be a case of natural development. Number, gender, and case should be regarded as attributes of the primary word and not of the secondary ones. The *Samāsa* is one way of leaving out the declensions of the secondary words, and hence it is logical and natural. Long compounds are not found in the *Mantras*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Epics*. They are against the spirit of Pāṇini's and Śaṅkara's rules. Still the length of compounds increased and increased till the climax is reached in books like the *Kādambarī*. This represents another side of development. It is hardly helpful or progressive.

Take yet another example. Pāṇini has डमोहसादचि डमुण् नित्यम् ८।३।२२ (१३४). Mark the word *Nitya*. But Pāṇini himself uses सनाद्यन्ता धातवः, उणादयो बह्वलम्, where the reduplication is wanting. Can it be that these *Sūtras* originally showed the reduplication? *Śabda-Kaustubha* says आगमशासनस्य अनित्यत्वात् सनाद्यन्ता धातवः, इको यणचि इति. This is really giving up the game. Padmanābha expressly says that the reduplication takes place where there is no *Samāsa* (Sutra 50). Durgādāsa follows him. *Ratnamālā* observes समासे प्रायशो न द्विरसमासेऽपि कुत्रचित् [न द्विः] (८१. १०). Rāma Tarkavāgīśa's solution that the letters are not reduplicated when they are parts of a suffix (प्रत्यय) is futile. Bhatta Vartika is quoted by Kramadīśvara (196-197S) and Rāma Tarkavāgīśa:—सनन्ताद् सनिष्ठते against which is quoted the observation of Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* सन्नन्तात् सनः प्रतिषेधो वक्ष्यः (३। १। ७). The right conclusion is given by Śrīpati, उत्तरपदे डणनाम् द्विलम् अनित्यम्. (नामप्रकरणम् ३०). Goyichandra says that the reduplication is compulsory unless it is used by an authority (प्रमाणभूत-पुरुष-वाक्य).

Here is another example. What are the roots that admit an indirect object? Kātyāyana gives two ślokas (सद्भाष्य १।४।१)

दुहि याचि बधि प्रहि भिचि चिञामुपयोग-निमित्तमपूर्वविधौ ।

द्रुवि शाचि गुणेन च यत् सचते तदकौर्मितमाचरितं कविना ॥

नौवहोर्हरतेऽपि गत्यर्थानां तथैव च ।

द्विकर्मकेषु यद्गणं द्रष्टव्यमिति निश्चयः ॥

The *Kāśikā* strangely does not give even *nī*, *vah* and *hr* (नी, वच्, हृ).

Durgasimha gives the above eleven roots strictly in the order in which they occur in the *Bhāṣya-Vārttika* and adds two more only, *ji* and *daṇḍ* (जि, दण्ड) (*Kātantra-Vṛtti*).

The *Samkṣiptasāravṛtti* adds *kr̥ṣ* (कृष्) to Durgasimha's list and brings the number to fourteen. In *Supadma* the number of roots is fourteen, the same as in *Samkṣiptasāra*. The *Mugdhabodha* augments the list by the addition of three more, namely *muṣ*, *pac*, and *grah* (मुष्, पच् and ग्रह्), and brings the number to seventeen. *Kaiyaṭa* observes that roots like *ji* also have two accusatives, as indicated by the *ca* (च). *Mādhava Acharya* says—

अयतेः कर्षते मन्थे मुषेर्दण्डयतेः पचेः

तारे प्राञ्जिस्तथामोचेस्त्याजिर्दीपिष्य सग्रहः

कारिकायां च-शब्देन सुभाकरसुखैः कृतः ॥

Bhaṭṭoji in his well-known *Kārikā* 'दुष्प्राच्पच्दण्ड, etc.' has given the eleven given by the *Vārttika Bhāṣya* and the six mentioned in line one. His number is sixteen, because he has not thought it necessary to include *Bhiks* (भिच्) given by *Kātyāyana* as it is covered by *Yāc* (याच्), though he had shown their difference and therefore the necessity of including both याच् and भिच् in the *Śabda-Kaustubha* before he composed this *sloka* for the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*. The author of the *Prakriyā-Kaumudī*, *Rāmachandra*, gives all the seventeen given by *Vopadeva*. *Bhaṭṭoji* and his school have criticised him severely. For *ग्रह्* with two accusatives, *Rāmachandra* gives the example *अग्राह द्युतरं शक्रम्* = (*Kr̥ṣṇa*) took away the *pārijāta* tree from *Indra*, and *Vopadeva* gives *अग्राह यन्वनो भोज्यम्*. The example of *पच्* given by *Rāma* is a paraphrase of *Vopadeva*'s *योःसौ पचति लोकानां पुष्पापां सुखारुचम्*¹. When *Bhaṭṭoji* wrote his *Śabda-Kaustubha* he justified some of the explanations and examples of *Rāmacandra*, but after writing the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* he criticised *Rāma* at every opportunity in the *Praudha Manoramā*, perhaps with the object of winning scholars away from the *प्रक्रिया-कौमुदी* and he did succeed. Under the present *Sūtra* he observes in the *मनोरमा*, 'अग्राह द्युतरं शक्र इत्युदाहरणमपि अयुक्तम्'. The *Tattva-bodhinī* has quoted the opinion of some experts who regarded this remark of *Bhaṭṭoji* as improper. The ingenuity of commentators² has found all these roots except, perhaps *पच्*, in the *Vārttika* and the *Bhāṣya*. Whether they

¹ Was *Vopadeva* later than *Rāmacandra*, as is held by *Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Śāstri*?

² *सूत्रेष्वेव हि नत् सर्वं यद् दृष्टौ यच्च वार्तिके* (*Śabda-Kaustubha* I. I. 1): the principle enunciated herein is universally accepted by medieval scholars, though it is clearly wrong from the modern point of view.

are right or whether we have here a case of genuine development is more than I know. But it looks like the latter. Kielhorn in his small grammar follows the *Vārttika* strictly and omits पच्, दण्ड, जि, मन्, सुष्.

In connection with the roots governing two objects it is interesting to note that the opinion of the *Āpīśālīya* school embodied in the following *Kārikā*

गत्यर्थादिषु कर्मैव नीखाद्यादिषु कर्तृता ।

शेषे कर्म च कर्त्ता च यथासम्भवमिष्यते ॥

which would permit both the second and the third cases in the प्रथोच्च (पाचयति औदनं देवदत्तेन देवदत्तं वा) and be supported by numerous passages in *Kālidāsa*, *Bhaṭṭi*, *Māgha*, *Manu*, *Śrāddha-Kalpa* finds little support from the school of Bhaṭṭoji, though the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, the *Parīśiṣṭa*, and *Ratnamālā* have noticed this sympathetically.

Pāṇini, *Kātyāyana*, *Patañjali*, and *Śarvavarman* allow only the fifth case with ऋते. *Durgasiṃha*, apparently following the *Cāndra* grammar, allows the second case optionally; *Haradatta* says that the use of the second case with ऋते is wrong. But it is met with in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, and the *Mahimnastotra*, etc. etc. *Vopadeva*, *Kramadīśvara*, *Padmanābha*, and *Puruṣottoma* (*Ratnamālā*), all follow *Durgasiṃha* and allow the second case optionally.

In निर्धार, *Pāṇini*, *Śarvavarman*, etc. allow the 6th and the 7th cases. The 5th case is also allowed by *Vopadeva* and *Kramadīśvara*, apparently with an eye to expressions like अजातघ्नतद्वृद्धेभ्यो मृताजातो दुनौ वरम्.

According to the accepted view amongst the mediæval grammarians, the seat of authority in grammatical matters is the *Mahābhāṣya* of *Patañjali*, because his¹ knowledge extended to a larger number of usages. But cases occur where *Patañjali*'s authority has been set aside in favour of *Pāṇini* and *Kātyāyana* by these mediæval grammarians themselves (see *Śabda-Kaustubha* I. 4. 31). By the same reasoning (अधिक-लक्ष्य-दर्शितात्) it might be maintained that for *laukika* (i.e. classical) Sanskrit, the real centre of authority has been gradually moving down. Bhaṭṭoji has observed that modern poets

¹ मुनिद्वयाच्च भाष्यकारः प्रमाणतरम् अधिक-लक्ष्य-दर्शितात् । मुनीनां यद्योत्तरं प्रामाण्यम् ।

sometimes set at naught the authority of all the three sages—*Pāṇini*, *Kātyāyana*, and *Patañjali*. As an instance in point mark his observation ‘*Kvasu* and *Kānac* (कसु, कानच्) are confined to *chandas*’ (unless, of course, especially provided for, as in *सापायां सद्वसन्नुवः*). ‘This is the opinion of the three sages. But poets use them largely’ (Sk. 3095). Take another case. The compound *परम-पात्रे-समिताः* is wrong, for *पात्रे-समितः*, etc. do not occur as parts of other compounds. Now *Patañjali* gives the *Vigraha* *परमं पात्रे समिताः*, but *Bhaṭṭoji* in *कौमुदी* and *Nāgeśa* in *शेखर* prefer *परमाः पात्रे समिताः* following *Nyāsa*, *Kaiyaṭa* and *Padmañjarī*. To a modern, both these analyses are correct. *Patañjali* has rejected the *Sūtra* अर्धं नपुंसकम्. Agreeing with him, *Sarvavarman* and *Vopadeva* did not frame any corresponding *Sūtra*. In modern Sanskrit *पिप्पल्यर्धम्* and *अर्धपिप्पली* both mean half a pippalī, according to *Patañjali*, *Durgasiṃha*, *Vopadeva*, *Kramadīśvara*, and *Puruṣottama* (*Ratnamālā*). *Padmanābha* and *Mallinātha* do not support this view, they prefer to follow *Pāṇini*. I need not multiply examples. They are known to all.

For current Sanskrit such as was written by *Kālidāsa*, *Bhaṭṭi*, *Bharabhūti*, *Bhāravi*, *Māgha*, *Śrīharṣa* and such as is being written even nowadays by a host of gifted scholars in every part of India such as MM. Gananath Sen, Hemchandra Ray, Kalipada Tarkāchārya, Appāsāstri, MM. Durgaprasada Dvivedi, etc. etc., the real authority has shifted to *Nāgeśa*’s works in the *Paninian* system, and to *Suśeṣa* (*Kavirāja*) and *Śrīpati-Gopinātha* in the *Kātantra* system.

If you persist in treating the Sanskrit as a living language, such changes must occur and must be tolerated, for without change there is no life. *Kramadīśvara* has a *Sūtra* justifying the पिञ्जन् forms लिखापयति, वण्डापयति, and लज्जापयति (लज्ज?). *Goyicandra* observes (तिङ्न्तपाद 448S) ‘*श्लिष्टप्रयोगदर्शनात् लक्षणमेतत् कृतम् न तु आर्धम्*’. This shows that in the opinion of *Goyicandra* the time for enunciating new *Sūtras* did not pass away with *Patañjali*. Theoretically speaking, we of the second quarter of the 20th century A.C. also may make new *Sūtras*. But the formulation of new *Sūtras* is a task which should not be lightly undertaken. Some of our best authors have given *Sūtras* which are not strictly accurate, e.g. ‘In the first person the plural sometimes stands for the singular, *if the speaker is a high personage*’. The portion italicized should be omitted, and ‘or the dual’ should be inserted after the ‘singular’.

What has been said above is a plea for the preparation of a historical grammar of the Sanskrit language, so far as this could be done by comparing the old Sanskrit grammars, comprising the सूत्रपाठ, धातुपाठ, गणपाठ, परिभाषा, लिङ्गानुशासन and their commentaries with one another. The results arrived at by this process must be checked by a reference to actual usage recorded in extant Sanskrit literature. In this latter respect, Whitney's 'Grammar' and 'Roots' might serve as models. Modern English grammars derive most substantial help from the Oxford English Dictionary. The intending author of an historical grammar of the Sanskrit language might find much valuable material in the great St. Petersburg lexicon with its valued supplements. But the Wörterbuch requires improvement in numerous points in the light of the great amount of material which has accumulated since its publication. Take a simple case. सदृवाच as a name of Indra is usually derived from the well-known myth of *Ahalyā* and *Indra*, but no modern dictionary would be worth its name, if it omitted to mention the explanation of the name occurring in the *Arthaśāstra* 'इन्द्रस्य मन्त्र-परिषत् ऋषीणां सदृवम् । तस्माद्-इत्यमपि सदृवाचमाहुः' (quoted from memory). Secondly, the *Wörterbuch* requires revision from the Indian point of view, just as the *Encyclopædia Britannica* had to be revised from the American point of view, in order to meet American criticism. The fact is that the time for the compilation of a Great Sanskrit Dictionary on the lines of the Oxford English Dictionary has come. A reference to this Sanskrit Dictionary—will it be the Patna Sanskrit Dictionary?—ought at once to show when or in which period any particular word is first met in existing literature, how it changed its meaning or form or both, and in the case of some words, when and why it became obsolete either temporarily or permanently, how it is derived by Indian grammarians, and how by European philologists, what are its philological or genetic connections with words in other languages. Such a comprehensive dictionary cannot be compiled by one individual, however industrious, enthusiastic and resourceful he might be.

The *Śabda-Kalpadruma* of Sir Radhakanta Deva which is a dictionary and an encyclopædia combined was compiled by a board of *pandits*. The great *Vācaspatya* is the work of one literary giant, but it is based upon the *Śabda-Kalpadruma* and it becomes extremely meagre after the first few letters. In the 'Present State of Sanskrit Learning in Bengal' (1908), I pleaded earnestly for the compilation

of such a work. But mine was a feeble voice unable to make itself audible to the people who count. Would the Patna University and the Bihar Research Society, which have already so much good work to their credit, rise to the height of the occasion and undertake to organise the compilation and publication of such a work? The Bhandarker Research Institute of Poona, which was the centre of Hindu revival in the recent past, is engaged in the gigantic task of bringing out a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*: the fasciculi already published have amply justified the outlay of money and labour devoted to the work. Will Patna, the centre of India's intellectual and political life in bygone days, make an effort to compile a comprehensive, historical dictionary of the Sanskrit language? There is especial fitness in Patna's undertaking the work: it was here that the great authority on Indian lexicography Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmāvatāra Pandeya worked and died. To the grammarian, such a dictionary would be an indispensable help book, but a help book still, and I have already said a little too much on the subject.

The future grammarian of Sanskrit on historical principles should firstly study all available systems of old and mediæval grammatical *Sūtras* and commentaries, and formulate rules therefrom. Secondly, he should always refer to recorded use in order to justify or modify these rules. Not only this, he must, thirdly, study the modern system of derivation, etc. taught by Euro-American grammarians and their followers, and it ought to be his aim to compare it with that given by Indian Grammarians and find out the truth. Take a few examples.

How is the word पितामह derived? पिह् + डामहच् replies the grammarian. He is right, as far as grammar is concerned. But might not the modern philologist suggest something like this.—मह or मच् (cf. महत्) as an independent word means great, and पितामहः is simply 'father grand', i.e. grandfather. But it may be said that this would not do in any but the first case singular, पितामहौ, पितामहस्य etc. would be ungrammatical on this hypothesis, पिता being first case singular, and महौ and महस्य being first case dual and sixth case singular. Cannot it be said that the ह् of पिह् in कर्मधारय समास becomes च् when मह (which ought ordinarily to precede) follows? Would not this be a nearer approach to the actual derivation? If so, should this not be taught even to young learners? Take another

case. Mokṣ (मोक्ष) is regarded as a root in Sanskrit grammar. Would it not be better to derive it from मुच् irregularly? Similarly दीच् from दच्, शिच् from शक्, दरिद्रा from द्रा, चकार from काश्? Again वधति वधेत् वधिष्यति वधिष्यते, etc. occur. Why then should we derive वध अवधीत् from वन्? Would it not be nearer the truth to say that the real लुङ् form of वन् and the लट्, etc. वध have become obsolete?

Rāyamukuta derives शिक् from शक्. *Bhānuji* blames him and derives it from धनस् according to *unādi*. Who is right? Again is the प्रानिपदिक *ya* or *yad*? *ta* or *tad*? These examples show that it has become absolutely necessary for some one to undertake to write a new grammar of the Sanskrit language, embodying all that is best in the new grammars and philologies and also in the old sūtras and their authoritative commentaries. It would not do to keep *Pāṇini* and Whitney in separate compartments of our minds. I wish the great Assamese scholar, Mr. Anandaram Barua, B.Sc., I.C.S., were living now to do the work. He had projected like a Titan and had engaged gifted Pandits to collect materials. But the cruel hand of death snatched him away and his projected work has yet to be done. Who would do it? Young India must learn to be independent in the matter of Sanskrit scholarship.

I have taken a little too much of your time in pressing upon your attention the necessity of compiling an historical grammar of the Sanskrit language, because I have myself had to waste much time (and I suppose the experience of all other actual teachers is like mine) in hunting grammatical information from books like the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, *Kātantra*, *Mugdhabodha*, etc. which in a properly written grammar should be found out at a moment's notice. A good deal of time is now wasted in learning the technicalities of *Pāṇini* and his commentators and in coming to decisions even in comparatively easy points of grammars. This I know from my experience as a teacher and a University examiner. The aim of the future grammarian ought to be to give the rules and examples in an easily understandable form. This does not mean the neglect of *Pāṇini*, *Sarvavarman*, *Vopadeva*, etc. It presupposes a comparative study of these, a study which would be more thorough than what has hitherto been customary in the Universities.

What Professor Otto Jespersen and Dr. Prabhat Chandra Chakravartti style the philosophy [or logic] of grammar, has always been studied in the indigenous Sanskrit schools with great enthu-

siasm. In fact, it was a reasonable complaint that the *Pāṭhaśālās* (or *ṭols*) attached too much importance to the *Vicāra* portion of grammar to the neglect of the actual rules and their proper application (*lakṣyas* and *lakṣmas*). When an attempt was made to explain the principles of elementary deductive logic (European brand) to the students of the Sylhet Sanskrit College, one of the cleverer students remarked, on hearing my lectures on terms, propositions and immediate inference, that this was really grammar. He was partly right, because he was already familiar with *Vādārtha*, and had read his *Kātantra* rather thoroughly. In the high schools and colleges, however, this department of grammar has been necessarily neglected, so that the ordinary graduate is unaware of the very existence of these exceedingly interesting discussions on *Kāraka*, *Samāsa*, *Śakti*, etc. to which his brothers of the *Pāṭhaśālās* devote so much time and attention.

Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya is the book on this subject. A scholar who would endeavour to correctly understand the book, with the help of the authoritative commentary and then, and not till then, to produce a faithful translation of it into easy English or into his mother tongue, with occasional notes to explain the more difficult topics, and full references to the passages of the three *munis* on which the *Vākyapadīya* professes to be based, and also to those passages in the *Siddhānta Kārikās* of *Bhaṭṭoji*, the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa* of *Koṇḍabhaṭṭa*, and the *Mañjūṣā* of *Nāgeśa*, which are based on the *Vākyapadīya*, will find his labours amply rewarded. There are numerous other well-known books on the subject, such as *Śabdasaṅgrahaprakāśikā*, *Vyutpati vāda*, *Sāraṃjanī*, *Ṣaṭ Kāraka*, which have to be explored. Needless to say that the ordinary commentaries and sub-commentaries and glosses on the grammatical *Sūtras* have also devoted considerable amount of space in their several books to this subject, and that these also deserve perusal.

Mr. Kamalāśaṅkar Prāṇśaṅkar Trivedi's English notes on the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa* (Bombay Saṃskṛita Prākṛita Series), and Dr. Prabhat Chandra Chakravartti's *Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar* (Calcutta University) will be of help to the beginner, especially if he cannot have the benefit of the guidance of a *ṭol* Pandit (*Śāstrī*).

The study of the logic of grammar would furnish us with many nice terms for the corresponding technical words of modern logic and philosophy. I give a common example. What Sanskrit words

correspond to denotation and connotation of English logic? शक्य and शक्यतावच्छेदकधर्म would be as good as any that have been suggested.

There are many general principles scattered in the commentaries on the grammar *Sūtras*. It would be a useful task to collect them and study their origin, scope, and validity; e.g. सर्व एव शब्दा परस्पर विप्रतिषिद्धार्थाः (Kātantratikā—द्वन्द्वसमास) अनन्यलभ्यः शब्दार्थः (शकौ. p. 546), l. 4. 49

Sanskrit grammarians put forth the dictum अनेकार्थाः धातवः = verbal roots have many meanings. Thus it is maintained that the root 'हृ' has the meanings to beat, to eat, to kill, to wander about, and to forsake, beside the usual meaning of 'to take from one place to another', and 'to steal' and the prefixes प्र, आ, सम्, वि, and परि merely serve to bring to light these various meanings already existing in "हृ". This theory is necessitated by the force of the grammarian's logic. The problem for the philologist and grammarian of the present day is to trace the different steps by which one primary meaning or more have gradually given rise to so many different meanings, either in connection with *upasargas* or without them. The *upasargas* are said to have no meaning of their own, they are not *Vācaka*, but *dyotaka*. This would not seem a very unreasonable doctrine, especially if compared with what are called 'empty words' having no proper meaning of their own, but merely serving to indicate the relations of other words. 'of' is an empty word in 'father of the boy', 'city of Rome', 'that scoundrel of a servant'; 'to' is an empty word in 'I want to hear', 'he refused food to the poor'; 'that' is an empty word in 'I saw that he came'; 'is' is an empty word in 'the doctor is clever'. If the modern philosophy of grammar requires so many kinds of empty words in English, it might as well accept the theory of the merely indicatory character of *upasargas* and *nipātas*. It will seem strange to many of us that the *Pratyayas* are allowed to have meanings, but not the *upasargas* and *nipātas*, which, after all, are full actual words, not mere parts thereof, arrived at by analysis like the *Pratyayas*. Were all *pratyayas* independent words originally, as is suggested by this theory of the वाचकत्व of *Pratyayas*? But this is not all: the meaning of the root verb is subordinate to the meaning of the *Kṛt Pratyayas* (धातूपस्थिता क्रिया हृदर्थं प्रति विशेषणम्) also the meaning of the *Prātipadika* is subordinate to the meaning of the *Vibhakti* in द्रोणो ब्रौहिः, प्रत्ययार्थे परिमाणे प्रकृत्यर्थे,

विशेषणम्. Again the meaning of a sentence like हरि भजति देवदत्तः, is हरि-निष्ठ-प्रीत्यनुकूलः एक-देवदत्त-निष्ठः वर्तमानो व्यापारः. Devadatta worships Hari=the present action tending to produce pleasure in Hari (is) in one individual Devadatta, the meaning of the sentence हरिः भज्यते देवदत्तेन is precisely the same. This is founded on the following doctrine of the Philosophy of grammar: क्रियाप्रधानमाख्यातम् the action signified by the verb root is the principal (विशेष्य substantive, primary) with reference to the meaning of the तिङ् विभक्ति, which is subordinate (विशेषण). The doctrine of the *Naiyāyikas* is more familiar to us, who are conversant with the analysis of sentences taught in English grammar; देवदत्तः हरिं भजति (according the *Naiyāyikas*)=हरिनिष्ठ-प्रीत्यनुकूल-व्यापाराद्ययो देवदत्तः, i.e. *Devadatta* is the individual in whom inheres the action tending to produce pleasure in Hari. This analysis has another advantage: हरिः भज्यते देवदत्तेन is allotted a separate meaning, namely, Hari is the individual in whom inheres the pleasure produced by an action inhering in D.= देवदत्त-निष्ठ-कृति-जन्य-प्रीत्याद्ययो हरिः.

I have dwelt at some length on this trite subject, in order to draw your pointed attention to the new problem before us. The modern Philosopher of Sanskrit grammar cannot be satisfied with mere exposition of old views, more or less familiar to students of *pāṭhasālās*, he has to compare the analyses of English grammar and logic with those of Sanskrit grammar and logic, and adjudicate upon their respective claims.

There is a very well-known *Śloka*, *Manu*, IV. 238,

धर्मं शनैः सञ्चिनुयाद् बलीकमिव पुत्तिकाः ।

परलोकसहायार्थं सर्वभूतान्यपीडयन् ॥

Here we are asked to store up merit by not hurting all beings. If we hurt (पीड) some beings, it can still be said that we do not hurt all beings. But that is not the meaning. The meaning is that we are to hurt no being. It would not do to reply that अपीडयन् means उपकुर्वन्, for in मा हिंस्याः सर्वा भूतानि, मा निषाद् प्रतिष्ठान्तनगमः श्राश्रयतोः समाः, and श्रेयविष्णुव्रतज्ञानि सर्वदैव न लङ्घयेत्, मा and न appear as distinct words. Mark here the great difference between English and Bengali idiom on the one hand, and Sanskrit idiom on the other. It ought to be one of the aims of the modern grammarian to compare Sanskrit with English and the vernaculars and show their differences and agreements. Are Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi, and English all

equally well adapted to express our thoughts? Or is any one of these superior as a vehicle of expression? For one thing, is the possession of many synonyms for the same thing, which might be helpful in poetry, not a real drawback of Sanskrit? What is the origin of so many synonyms? Does the Sanskrit language represent a synthesis of many provincial languages of a prehistoric India? Why, for example, should thing called 'the Earth' have assigned to it as many 27 names in the *Amarakoṣa* and 80 names in the *Śabdakalpadruma*?

The defects of the method of grammar study, such as prevails in the indigenous Sanskrit schools, are patent: it requires too much time and is too difficult and arduous for the ordinary students, and is wasteful. I pointed out some of the drawbacks of the system prevalent in Bengal in my 'Sanskrit Learning in Bengal' in 1938, and those that exist in Assam in my 'Report on the Reorganisation of Sanskrit Education in Assam' in 1923.

Similar defects probably exist in other parts of India. But the indigenous school had one excellent feature. It gave a deep and minute knowledge which was always available to the pandit, being stored more in his memory than in his library. But these advantages of the old method are fast disappearing, thanks partly to the introduction of the system of public examinations, and partly to the hard struggle for existence that faces the Sanskrit pandits of the present day. The pandit has no time and patience nowadays to toil for that kind of knowledge which was and still is a wonder to all lovers of learning. I appeal to all lovers of the old learning to try to introduce a more rational method into the indigenous Sanskrit schools.

I jot down a few points which are almost apparent (1) the beginner should be taught the rules of Sanskrit grammar in his vernacular and he should read a very simple Sanskrit reader at this stage. In fact, the method of the high schools should be introduced into the *Pāṭhaśālā*. (2) During the second year he might be given a grammar written in Sanskrit and a more difficult Sanskrit reader. Great care must be taken to see that the language of these readers be grammatical and idiomatic, and the sentiments expressed in them be suitable to the youth who would read them, which unfortunately is not always the case with books in use in the high schools of Bengal and Assam. (3) At the first reading most of the *Vyāvṛttis*

and discussions should be omitted. The aim should be to teach the rudiments of the subject, a few rules of *Sandhi*, *Ṣatva*, *Natva*, the easier and more frequent declensions and conjugations. (4) The students reading for the title examinations should carefully master all the *Vicāras* and should aim at some familiarity with systems other than their own. (5) *Kāvya*s written with a grammatical motive, such as *Bhaṭṭi*, *Rāvaṇārjunīya*, *Dryaśraya Kāvya* (Haima), *Kavirahasya*, *Vāsudevavijaya*, *Dhātukāvya*, *Naksatvamālā* (a love poem with *Paribhāṣās*), might be studied. But the study of these grammatical poems is less important even to the students of grammar than the study of a stout volume of typical selections containing illustrative and interesting pieces from the literature of all the epochs of Sanskrit literature and culled from every one of the *V' 'yās*, *Mantra*, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Upanisad*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Purāṇa*, drama, art epics, prose romances, philosophy, astronomy, astrology, medicine, tantra, Buddhist and Jaina Sanskrit works. The compilation of such a work is of utmost importance, and a committee of representative scholars might undertake the work. When compiled, such a book would automatically find a place in the curriculum for the examinations of the universities and the Sanskrit Boards. (6) It is a regrettable fact that some of the illustrations of the grammar manuals are too difficult not only for the boys but also for their less erudite teachers. For their benefit, these *lukṣyas* should be concisely and accurately explained in every printed manual. Sufficient material for this work lies scattered in books like the *Gaṇaratna Mahodadhī* of Vardhamana, the commentaries on *Bhaṭṭi* and *Rāvaṇārjunīya*, and the great commentaries on the grammars themselves. (7) Care should be taken to bring out correct editions of the grammars, containing full references to *Sūtras* and authorities and citations in the *ṭīka*. The late Professor Srischandra Chakravartti's edition of the *Nyāsa* might serve as a model to all intending editors. Even the much-studied *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, with the *Tattvabodhinī*, which apparently is a best seller, cries out for a conscientious editor. The *Sūtras* and *Bhaṭṭoji's vṛtti* available in the market nowadays are in several places worse than those given by Tārānāth Tarkavācaspati in his edition half a century ago. The paragraphs of the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* have to be renumbered. I am at a loss to understand why the important *Vārttikapāṭha* given as an appendix in the

Tattvavivechaka Press edition is no longer printed? Has it proved to be of doubtful authenticity?

That the descendants of *Pāṇini*, *Sarvavarman*, and *Vopadeva* could not themselves compile a comprehensive and accurate grammar of the English language in the vernacular or in English is a convincing proof of the utter futility and unproductiveness of their University education. A Kamrup Karaṇa surnamed *Kavikarṇapura*, during the time of Jahangir, wrote a grammar *Kārikā* of the Persian language in Sanskrit. He also wrote a संस्कृत-पारसीक-पद-प्रकाश. Naga-varman wrote a Kanarese grammar called कर्णाटक-भाषा-भूषण (1070 to 1120 A.C.) [Chintaharan Chakravartti, J.A.S.B., 1928]. If this was possible then, why should it not be possible now? Why should we content ourselves with merely translating English grammar of English authors? We should aim at discovering the rules of English grammar by our unaided efforts; we should try to rectify usual rules; at least this is what could be expected from the students of the world's greatest system of grammar. That we do not do this is sure proof that our grammatical and linguistic interests are not genuine. If Whitney can write a grammar of Sanskrit, why cannot we write a grammar of English? It might be worth while mentioning that after Rammohan Ray, no Bengali wrote a real comprehensive grammar of his mother tongue before Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra Ray did the work and he is not a professed Sanskrit scholar. Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji's monumental work came much later. Are we justified in hoping that this book is the first swallow that announces the advent of real spring?

FRAGMENTS OF KOHALA

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It is a misfortune that a vast Sanskrit literature on dramaturgy has perished in the course of ages. Kohala is one of the ancient writers on dramaturgy, who apparently composed an extensive work on the several topics of dramaturgy, but is now known only from quotations. A brief resumé of the references to his work contained in published works would be of interest to students of Sanskrit dramaturgy.

The compiler of the extant Nāṭyaśāstra says in a prophetic vein that Kohala will complete in a supplementary work the subjects of the Nāṭyaśāstra and that Kohala, Vātsya, Śāṇḍilya, and Dhūrtila will spread among the people the śāstra: शेषमुत्तरतन्त्रेण कोहलः कथयिष्यति (नाट्यशास्त्र 36, 65 of the Kāśī Series and Chap. 37, 18 of the Kāvya-mālā edition); *vide* also Nāṭyaśāstra 36, 71 (37, 24 of the Kāvya-mālā for the four names). In the first Chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra where the names of the hundred sons of Bharata are enumerated, Śāṇḍilya, Vātsya, Kohala, and Dattila are the very first to be mentioned (verse 26). It is not unreasonable to infer that when the Nāṭyaśāstra assumed its present form, Kohala's work had been composed.

The next important notice is that contained in the Kuttanāmata (verse 81) of Dāmodaragupta (latter half of 8th century) where Kohala is mentioned along with Bharata as a writer on music and dancing :

कनकसक्तमङ्गप्रं प्रस्थाने का च नर्तकी भर्ता ।

विटखेडके का नृत्यति कोहलभरतोदितक्रियया ॥ verse 81

In the Abhinavabhāratī (Vol I, in Gaekwad's Oriental Series) there are several references to Kohala's views. On p. 173 we read 'तोडकप्रकरणरासकप्रभृतेषुदसंभृतेषु तथापि नाट्यरूपलात्कोहलस्तु प्रवृत्तौति च परिहारस्तु समानलात्.' On the same page it is said that Kohala and others have accepted 'sāttvika abhinaya' and a quarter of a verse is quoted from him : सत्त्विकोप्यङ्गीकृत एव कोहलाद्यैः 'सत्त्वानि रित्तोभिनय' इत्यादिवचनमालिखद्भिः । (p. 173). On p. 182 two verses of Kohala are quoted :

तदुक्त कोहलेन—सन्ध्यायां नृत्यतः शम्भोर्भक्त्याद्रौ नारदः पुरा ।

गीतवांस्त्रिपुरोन्माथं तच्चित्तस्त्वथ गीतके ॥

चकाराभिनयं प्रीतस्तनस्रण्डं च सोम्रवीत् ।

नाट्योक्त्याभिनयेनेदं वत्स योजय ताण्डवम् ॥

On p. 184 a verse of Kohala on 'rāga kāvya' is cited :

यथोक्तं कोहलेन—लयान्तरप्रयोगेण रागैश्चापि विवेचितम् ।

नानारसं सुनिर्वाह्यं कथं काव्यमितिसूतम् ॥

Abhinavagupta tells us that the verse 'jitam-uḍupatinā' in the Ratnāvali (Act I) is exhibited by Kohala as an example of Nāndī according to the dicta of Bharata :

जितसुडुपतिना नमः सुरेभ्यो द्विजदृषभा निरुपद्रवा भवन्तु । अबतु च प्रथिवीं समृद्धसखां प्रतिपच्चन्द्रवपुर्नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः ॥ इत्येषापि भारतीयलेन प्रसिद्धा कोहलप्रदर्शिता नान्द्युपपन्ना भवति । (p. 25). On Bharata VI, 10 Abhinavagupta cites the view of the followers of Udbhata that the verse only enumerates the eleven constituents of Nāṭya according to Kohala and not according to Bharata : 'अनेन तु श्लोकेन कोहलमते एकादशाङ्गत्वमुच्यते न तु भरते तत्संगृहीतस्यापि पुनरुचोदेशात् निर्देशे चैतत्क्रमशः सनादित्यौद्घाटः' (p. 266). These references in the Abhinavabhāratī establish that Kohala's work was composed in verses (kārikās) and probably also in prose, that it gave illustrations of dramatic rules from the literature existing at its date, that it was composed after the Ratnāvali, and that the followers of Udbhata were acquainted with its doctrines.

The Nāṭyadarpaṇa (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p. 25) says that Kohala defined sātakas (saṭṭakas ?) : तेन कोहलप्रणीतलक्षणाः साटकादयो न लक्ष्यन्ते. The same work says (p. 38) that according to Kohala a *viṣkambhaka* occurs only at the beginning of the first Act, while according to all other writers on dramaturgy a *viṣkambhaka* can occur in the first Act after the *āmukha* (prologue) and in the other Acts at the very beginning (अङ्गादाविति प्रथमेङ्के आमुखादूर्ध्वं अन्येषु पुनरारम्भे इति तावत्सर्वं समानमिति । कोहलः पुनरेतं प्रथमाङ्गादाववैच्छति ।). The Nāṭyadarpaṇa (p. 132) quotes a verse of Kohala to the effect that in the dramatic variety called *vithi* the hero may be high, middling or low and there are only one or two *pātras* (dramatis personæ) :

यदाह कोहलः—

उत्तमाधममध्याभिर्युक्ता प्रकृतिभिस्त्रिधा ।

एकचार्या द्विचार्या वा सा बौधैत्यभिसंज्ञिता ॥ इति

In the Bhāvaprakāśana of Śāradātanaya several views of Kohala are cited. On p. 204 Kohala's idea of *bindu* is noticed :

(फले प्रधाने विच्छिन्ने बीजस्यावान्नरैः फलैः ।

तस्याविच्छेदको हेतुः विन्दुरित्याह कोहलः ॥).

According to Kohala there is an option as to the existence of *patākā* in a drama, since in the Mālavikāgnimitra there is no *patākā*, while in the Mālatimādhava there is *patākā*

(अभावस्तु पताकाया यथा मालविकादिषु ।

सङ्गावो दृश्यते तस्या मालतीमाधवादिषु ।

तस्मात्पताका स्यादिति विकल्प प्राह कोहलः ॥

भावप्रकाशन, p. 210).

Kohala's definition of the species of drama called *anika* is given in Bhāvaprakāśana, p. 236

(समस्तपात्रनिष्क्रामावसानोद्गोभिधीयते ।

पताकास्थानकान्यत्र विन्दुरन्ते च बीजकम् ।

प्रयुज्यते यदि भवेत्तत्राहु इति कोहलः) ॥

The definition of Bhāna given by Kohala and other *ācāryas* is cited in the Bhāvaprakāśana, p. 245 :

(कोहलादिभिराचार्यैरेतन् भाषस्य लक्षणम् ।

लास्याङ्गदशकोपेनं सम्यगुत्पाद्यवस्तु च ।

भारतीष्टतिभूयिष्ठं शृङ्गारैकरसाश्रयम् ।

परस्मात्मानुभूतार्थधूर्तचारित्रवर्णनम् ।

तत्तद्विष्टोक्तिप्रत्युक्तिविहिताकाशभाषितम् ।

सुखनिर्वहणप्रायः सन्धियुग्मपक च यत् ।).

According to Kohala there may be or may not be *lāsyaṅgas* in a *vithi* (भवेयुर्वा न वेत्यस्यां लास्याङ्गानौत्याह कोहलः । भावप्रकाशन, p. 251).

According to Kohala in the variety of *uparūpakas* called *उत्सृष्टिकाङ्ग* there are two Acts, while according to Bharata there is only one and three Acts according to Vyāsa and Āñjaneya (भावप्रकाशन, p. 257).

In the commentary on the Saṅgitaratnākara (Ānandāśrama ed.) a verse of Kohala (an Upajāti) is cited wherein it is said that there are 22 śrutis (in music) according to some, 66 according to others, and numberless according to others :

तथा चाह कोहलः—

द्वाविंशति केचिदुदाहरन्ति श्रुतौः श्रुतिज्ञानविचारद्वयाः ।

षट्षष्टिभिर्द्वा खलु केचिदासामान्यमेव प्रतिपादयन्ति ॥ संगीतरत्नाकर (p. 35).

In the same work (pp. 679-689) there is a very long quotation in verse from Kohala extending over eleven pages on 'cālakas' in reply

to a query of sage Śārdūla. In this quotation the views of Taṇḍu, Nārada, and Śambhū are cited. The same work at pp. 675-679 contains a long quotation from Kohala on 'vartanāḥ'.

In the Rasārṇava-sudhākara of Śingabhūpāla it is said (p. 8) that Śāṇḍilya, Kohala, Dattila, and Maṭaṅga and other sons of Bharata composed works on dramaturgy. The Saṅgītasamayāsāra (Madras Government Sanskrit MSS. Cat. for 1918, p. 8751, No. 13028) enumerates a host of writers on music, such as Dattila and Kohala (लोके दक्षिणकोटिलानिलसुताः सोमेश्वरस्तुम्बुरुः ब्राह्मं भोजमतङ्गकश्यपमुखा यावेनिरे वे पुरा । 2nd verse),

Hemacandra in his Kāvyañusāsana (pp. 325, 329) mentions Kohala along with Bharata as an authoritative writer on dramaturgy without actually quoting from him.

There is a MS. of a work called 'Kohalarahasya' (the 13th chapter only) in the Madras Government MSS. Library which deals with various musical modes and wherein Kohala is styled the son of Bharata and is represented as imparting instruction to Maṭaṅga (vide Madras Government MSS. Triennial Cat. for 1910-13, p. 1039, No. 787).

KUNTAKA'S CONCEPTION OF GUNAS.

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Although K U N T A K A treats of g u n a s at length devoting not less than twenty-five pages of his book, yet he does not mention the word g u n a in his definition of poetry, nor does he consider g u n a s as lying at the root of the soul of poetry, as *M a m a ṭ a* has done.¹ According to him poetry is that union of word and sense,² which resides in a composition endowed with the v a k r a - k a v i - v y ā p ā r a ³ and which gives rise to joy in the minds of people who understand poetry.

This union of word and sense is to be found where ⁴ the striking-ness and the charming g u n a s and a l a ṅ k ā r a s exist in a condition of vying with one another. This union should be like that of two friends and should tend to impart beauty to word and sense both.⁵ It is that charming co-existence of both where neither is in an inappropriate quantity.⁶ *K u n t a k a*'s s ā h i t y a very aptly conveys the idea of what is literature. For, it is that indescribable and excellent construction of sentences wherein word and sense both, each vying with the other, display all the resources of their beauty in a way so as to give rise to joy in the hearts of the men of taste.⁷

(N.B.—References to K U N T A K A are from the second revised and enlarged edition of the *Vakrokti-jivita* by S. K. De, Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 8, Calcutta, 1928.)

¹ tadadosau śabdārthau sagunāvanalamṛtī punaḥ kvāpi. I, 4.

² śabdārthau sahitaū vakra-kavi-vyāpāra-śāhni,
bandhe vyavasthitau kāvyam tadvidāhlāda-kārini. I, 7.

³ It is explained by the author as: śāstrādi-prasiddha-śabdārthopanihanā-vyatirekī, p. 14, i.e. different from the well-known usage of word and sense as found in scriptures, etc.

⁴ kīdrśam ? vakratā-vicitra-guṇālankāra-sampadām paraspara-spar-dhādhirohaḥ, p. 10.

⁵ sama-sarva-gunau santau suhrdāviva saṅgatan, parasparasya śobhāya śabdārthau bhavato yathā, p. 11.

⁶ sāhityam anayoh śobhā-śālitām prati kāpyasau,
anyūnānati-riktatva-manohārinyavasthitih. I, 17.

⁷ tasmād etayoh śabdārthayor yathāsvam yasyām sva-sampat-sāmagrī-samudayaḥ sahrdayāhlāda-kārī paraspara-spardhayā parisphurati sā kācīdeva vākya-vimnyāsa-sampat sāhitya-vyapadeśa-bhāg bhavati, p. 27.

This union or *sāhitya* should contain the *gunas*—*mādhurya*, etc. befitting the different *mārgas* or styles.⁸ These *mārgas* or styles, which correspond to the *ritis* of *Vāṁśana*⁹ and *Daṇḍin*¹⁰ are the essential parts of poetry. The number of these *mārgas* differs with the different writers, *Vāmana* recognising three,¹¹ *Daṇḍin* treating of two only out of many.¹² But *Kuntaka* recognises three *mārgas*. Unlike the *vaidarbhi*, *gaudī*, *pāñcālī*, etc. the very names of which indicate a geographical origin, *Kuntaka* names his styles as *sukumāra*, *vicitra*, and *madhyama*.¹³ He very pertinently criticises the views of the old writers, some of whom ordain three *ritis*, viz. *vaidarbhi*, etc.,¹⁴ while others two *mārgas*, viz. *vaidarbha* and *gaudīya*.¹⁵ He shows that both these views are wrong. For, *ritis* or *mārgas* cannot depend upon the different countries of their origin, because in that case there should be as many *mārgas* as the countries. Moreover, as in the case of marrying the sister of maternal uncle's son (a custom prevalent in the South of India), it cannot be laid down as a rule that a particular kind of style shall be adopted by a particular country.¹⁶ Again to designate these *ritis* as *uttamā*, *adhama*, and *madhyama* is still more unjustifiable.¹⁷ For, when a writer is defining *uttamā* which imparts pleasure to men of taste, it is no use in formulating the *adhama* and *madhyama* styles, which are devoid of the qualities possessed by the *uttamā*, viz. the *vaidarbhi*. Nor can their mention be justified on the ground that it is meant for their exclusion, for their exclusion can be more easily done by not mentioning them at all. Therefore, it is poet's nature, his temperament, and his ability which determine his style. *Asukū-*

⁸ *mārgānugunya-subhago mādhuryādi-guṇodayaḥ*, p. 28.

⁹ *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*, I, 2, 6.

¹⁰ *Kāvya-darśa*, I, 40.

¹¹ *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*, I, 2, 9.

¹² *Taruṇa-vācaspati* on *Kāvya-darśa* I, 40, quotes the following verse enumerating six *ritis* :—

Vaidarbhi sātha Pāñcālī Gauḍīyāvantikā tathā,

Lātīyā Māgadhi ceti śodha rītirhi gadyate. ¹³ I, 24.

¹⁴ *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*, I, 2, 9-13.

¹⁵ *Kāvya-darśa*, I, 42.

¹⁶ *na ca viśiṣṭa-rītyuktatvena kāvya-karapam mātuleya-bhaginī-vivāhavad deśa-dharmatayā vyavasthāpayitum śakyam*, p. 45.

¹⁷ cf. *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*, I, 2, 14-15—*tāsāṃ pūrvā grāhyā guṇa-sākalayet. na punar itare stoka-guṇatvāt.*

māra poet has the natural ability for saukumārya or delicacy, and his style will be sukumāra¹⁸ Similarly a poet of vicitra (lit. variegated) nature adopts the vicitra style and a poet of mixed nature employs the madhyama style. But as the nature and temperament of poets are many, it is impossible to enumerate and define them all. Therefore, Kuntaka selects only three types. One may here observe that Kuntaka's opinion is open to the same objection which he put forth against the geographical division of ritis into three kinds.

It has been pointed above that these mārgas contain the qualities mādhyaya, etc. In fact what constitutes the specific individuality of these three mārgas, is the difference in the guṇas which reside in them. Kuntaka first of all gives a general description of these mārgas and then points out the four guṇas which reside in all these mārgas, but which are different from one another in every mārga.

Sukumāra style is pleasing to heart; word and its sense used in it should be able to please the sahrdayas. They both spring up spontaneously and do not require any exertion on the part of poet. The alaṅkāras are few but charming and are not brought into play by a poet with any special exertion¹⁹ The erudition (āhārya-kaśāla)²⁰ of the poet is hidden behind his ingenious handling of the subject matter. The description is full of inner charm and it agrees with the inner experiences of the sahrdayas. In short whatever charm it possesses, it is derived from the genius of the poet and is not due to his exertion.²¹ This is the pet style of Kālidāsa.

The guṇas of the sukumāra style are:—

- (1) mādhyaya, which consists in those words which are free from compounds and which are pleasing in sound

¹⁸ The term sukumāra is difficult to translate. It may be expressed by 'noble,' 'delicate' or 'graceful'. Saukumārya may be translated by 'delicacy of expression'. It is the sahaṃśakti (natural or inborn capacity, the same as the 'naisargiki pratibhā' of Daṇḍin; see *Kāvya-darśa* I, 103) and stands in contrast with 'vaidaghyā' (acquired ability, equivalent to vyutpatti).

¹⁹ āyatna-vihita-svalpa-manohāri-vibhūṣaṇaḥ. 1, 25.

²⁰ Explained as—vyutpatti-vihitaṃ kauśalam, p. 50.

²¹ tat sarvaṃ alaṅkāraṇāṃ pratibhodbhāvam kavi-śakti-samullasitam eva, na punar āhāryam yathākathānīti prayatnena nispādyam, p. 48.

as well as in sense and which are arranged in a sentence beautifully (*saṃniveśa-vaicitryam*).²²

- (2) *prasāda* is that which makes the words convey their sense at sight. Its province are the *rasas* and the *vakrokti* which is common to all the *alāṅkāras*. It should be noted that *Kuntaka*'s idea of *prasāda* tallies with that of *Dhvanyāloka* where it is *sarva-rasa-sādhāraṇaḥ sarva-saṅghatanā-sādhāraṇaśca*.²³ Here also there should be no compounds; the words should be used in their well-known meanings. Of course, this characteristic — *prasiddhābhidhānatvam* — is the same as the *prasiddhārthatva* of *Daṇḍin*.²⁴ The relation of words to one another should be direct and not obscured by the insertion of other words in between them. The compounds, if at all they are used, should be easily comprehensible.

- (3) *lāvanya* is the beauty of the arrangement of sentences in a piece of composition. The letters should be so arranged as to enhance the beauty of the words they make and of the sentences which the words make in their turn. This, of course, should be done with a sort of lightness and not pertinacity. That is, *lāvanya* is that excellence of composition which is brought about by the charm and grace of word and sense.

It seems that *Kuntaka* himself has not been able to make this point clear, for he says that the beauty of arrangement cannot be described but can only be experienced by the *sahṛdayas*.²⁵

- (4) *ābhijātya* is that which is characterised by the

²² cf. the *asamāsā saṅghatanā* of *Dhvanyāloka*, pp. 133 ff.

²³ p. 140. cf. also—*prasādaśtu sarveṣu raseṣu sarvāṣu racanāsu ca sādharāṇaḥ. Rasa-gaṅgā-dhara*, p. 54. (Nirṇaya-sāgara edition.)

²⁴ *prasādat prasiddhārtham. Kāvyaadarśa*, I, 45.

²⁵ *atra saṃniveśa-saundarya-mahimā sahrdaya-samvedyo na vyapadeṣṭum pāryate*, p. 54.

pleasantness of sounds, which softly touches the heart and which possesses a spontaneous charm of blandness or sweetness.

The thing which stands out clearly in these definitions and descriptions of the *guṇas* is that they are either vague or overlapping. The *asamasta-padatva* of the quality *mādhurya* is the same as the *padānām asamastatvam* of *prasāda*. The *manohāritva* of *mādhurya*, which is explained as due to *śruti-ramyatva* and *artha-ramyatva* does not differ from the *śruti-peśalatā-śālitva* of *ābhijātya*. Again the *vimṇyāsa* of *mādhurya*, which is explained as *samṇiveśa-vaicitrya* is the same as the *samṇiveśa-mahimā* of *lāvanya*. It may be argued that in *mādhurya*, the *vimṇyāsa* (arrangement) is that of the *padas* (words), whileas in *lāvanya* it is that of the *varnas* (letters). But the *varṇa-vimṇyāsa* of *lāvanya* also leads to the *samṇipat* of *pada-sandhāna*, which is ultimately the same as the *pada-samṇiveśa*. Again, the epithets employed are only high sounding words without any clear cut logical connotation. For, the word *saukumārya* is at one place explained as *ābhijātya* (page 48). But *saukumārya* is also the term which comprehends all the *guṇas* of the *sukumāra* style, and *ābhijātya* is one of the four *guṇas* that constitute the *sukumāra* style.

Kuntaka enters into the discussion of the question as to how *lāvanya* and *ābhijātya*, the qualities residing in an extraordinarily handsome lady, can be considered as the qualities of poetry. In reply he says, that if such an objection is raised then the definitions of *mādhurya* and *prasāda* by the old writers will also be faulty. *Mādhurya* is ascribed to poetry on account of producing pleasure similar to that produced by sweet things like molasses in which it really resides. In the same way *prasāda* is ascribed to that poetry which possesses the quality of clearness and perspicuity in common with clear water or marble, for which it really stands. Similarly the beauty of composition which is brought about by the charm produced by a poet through his skill, cannot be better expressed by another term than by *lāvanya*. And accordingly the naturally bland and sweet grace in poetry is expressed by the term *ābhijātya*.

But the term *lāvaṇya* has been used by some writers²⁶ to denote the idea of suggested sense. Is it not a fault to call the beauty of composition alone by that name? *KUNTAKA* says, that the verse of *Dhvaṇyāloka*:—*pratiya mānaṃ*, etc (I. 4) establishes the existence of *dhvani* only and not that of *lāvaṇya*. But as the suggested sense and *lāvaṇya* are both *prasiḍdhāvaṇya* (different from the well-known limbs) a comparison is drawn between the two. There is no intention on the part of *Dhvaṇīkāra* to establish a very close similarity between them. For, *lāvaṇya* of a lady is a thing which can be recognised by all people with their eyes. But the suggested sense cannot be grasped by all men. It can be comprehended by *sahṛdaya*s alone, and therefore it corresponds to *saubhāgya* (pleasantness or agreeableness) in a lady. *Saubhāgya* is something which is subtler and finer than *lāvaṇya*. The former is within the grasp of specially qualified people. Therefore, beauty of composition alone should be designated as *lāvaṇya*.

Now coming to the second kind of *mārga*, viz. *vicitra*, the first characteristic of importance is *vakratā* or *bhaṇiti vicchitti*, i.e. the charming way of speech. A charm, which is not produced with an effort by a poet, is visible in word and sense both²⁷ As for example in the verse :

ko'yaṃ bhāti prakārastava pavana padam
loka-pādāhatinām,
tejasvivrāta-sevye nabhasi nayasi yat
pāṃśupūram pratisthām;
yasminnutthāpyamāne jana-nayana-patho-
padravastāvadāstam,
kenopāyena sahyo vapusi kaluṣitā-dosa
eṣa tvayaiva. (p. 58),

the second sense which is suggested is on the same level as the expressed. That is, in this *apraśasta-praśamsā*, the charm

²⁶ *Dhvaṇyāloka*, I, 4. The verse is quoted by Kuntaka; it may be translated. Suggested sense is something else (i.e. quite different from the expressed sense) in the writings of great poets. It appears as something apart from its well-known parts, as the *lāvaṇya* of a lady (Jacobi: Schoenheit) is different from her limbs.

²⁷ *kavi-prayatna-nirapeksayoreva śabdārthayoh*, p. 58. cf. n. 21.

of word and sense lies in the fact that the suggested sense is known simultaneously with the expressed sense.

The next characteristic is that an alaṅkāra is made the subject of another alaṅkāra. That is, the two figures in a verse stand in the relation of upakāryopakāraka (one supporting the other). This case is quite different from saṅkara (combination of dependent figures), because both the figures are separate and distinct. It is also different from samṛsti (where both the figures are independent), because here one figure is subordinate to another.

The figures should by themselves be so charming and dazzlingly beautiful, that the real sense has its beauty enhanced, as the dazzlingly beautiful ornaments enhance the beauty of a lady's body. Such figures are: vyāja-stuti, paryāyokta, etc., e.g. aprastuta-prasāṁsā in—katamah pravijrmbhita-viraha-vyathahṣūnyatām nīto deśaḥ. A poet should make a happy choice of words so that an ordinary thing appears to be extraordinary. An old idea is garbed in new epithets. Not only this, but a poet must be able to give a beautiful shape to an ugly thing also. The poet should strive to produce suggested sense by means of words capable of it. The nature of all the objects²⁸ should be described as full of charming and implied sense, for which he should employ his extraordinary skill.²⁹

It is evident that according to *Kuntaka* this mārga is dependent upon the skill of the poet in contrast with the sukumāra-mārga which is an outcome of the latter's inborn nature.³⁰

(1) mādhyurya stands for the avoidance of looseness in structure.

(2) prasāda or perspicuity, according to *Kuntaka*, is the same as with the old writers, but with this difference that it has a touch of ojas also.

According to old writers prasāda is the quality of perspicuity,³¹ but *Kuntaka* seems to mean by it a samasta-

²⁸ bhāva-śabdenātra sarva-padārtho'bhidhiyate, na ratyādireva, p. 65.

²⁹ vaidagdhienottejitaḥ, p. 65.

³⁰ cf. S. K. De's Introduction, pp. XXXIII-XXXIV.

³¹ athānukto budhair yatra śabdādarthaḥ pratīyate, sukha-śabdārtha-samyogāt prasādaḥ parikīrtyate.

paḍa-n yāsa (absence of compounded words). Ojas or vigour has abundance of compounds.³² *KUNTAKA*'s definition of prasāda then amounts to—employing of words devoid of compounds, but slightly using compounds,—a queer definition indeed. *KUNTAKA*'s definition reminds one of *VĀMANA*'s discussion on prasāda-guṇa.³³

KUNTAKA gives one more definition of this guṇa according to which several sentences go to produce the sense of a particular sentence. That is, the sense of a particular sentence is suggested or brought into light by several sentences which surrender their meaning for this purpose. *KUNTAKA* uses the term gamaka and explains it by samarpaka, a term which is used by *ĀNANDAVARDHANA*³⁴ in his definition of prasāda.

(3) lāvanya makes the words appear as juxtaposed because they do not drop their visargas and have short vowels lengthened by the following conjunct consonants. In sukumāra style, this quality is the samniveśa-mahimā, beauty of skilful arrangement of words and letters.

(4) ābhijātya is a quality which a poet produces by his skill and erudition. It consists of avoiding too much of softness or hardness in the composition.

KUNTAKA remarks that the difference between the guṇas of this and the sukumāra style is that in the former these guṇas acquire a kind of pre-eminence on account of poetic skill.³⁵

prasādat prasiddhārtham. *Kāvyaḍarśa*, I, 45.

śaithilyam prasādaḥ. *Kāvyaśaṅkārā-sūtra-vṛtti*, III, 1, 6.

³² samāsavadbhir vividhair victraiśca padair yutaṃ, sē(?) tu svarair (sānurāgar, acc. to *Abhinava-bhārati*) udāraiśca tad ojaḥ parikīrtiyate.

Nāṭya-sūtra, XVI, 99.

ojaḥ samāsa-bhūyastvam. *Kāvyaḍarśa*, I, 80.

gāḍha-bandhatvam ojaḥ. *Kāvyaśaṅkārā-sūtra-vṛtti*, III, 1, 5.

³³ cf. *Kāvyaśaṅkārā-sūtra-vṛtti*, III, 1, 5-9 and also the remarks of Hemacandra in his own commentary on *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, p. 196, ll. 4-12 (*Nirayasaṅgāra* edition).

³⁴ *Dhvanyāloka*, II, 11. Abhinava-gupta's Commentary on this runs—samar-pakatvaṃ samyag arpakatvaṃ hrdaya-samvādena prati-pattn prati svātmā-veśena vyāpakatvaṃ.....upacārāt tu tathā-vidhe vyaṅgye'rthe yac chadbārthayoḥ samarpakatvaṃ tadapī prasādaḥ.

³⁵ ābhijātya-prabhrtayah pūrva-mārgoditā guṇāḥ, atrāśīṣayam āyānti janitāhārya-sampadaḥ, p. 69.

Following is the comparative table:—

sukumāra	vicitra
1. mādhuṛya. (a) samasta-pada-prācūryābhāva, (b) manohāritva.	1. mādhuṛya. (a) śaithilyābhava.
2. prasāda. (a) padānām asamastatvam, (b) prasiddhābhīdhanatvam, (c) avyavahita-sambandhatvam, (d) samāsa-sadbhāve'pi gamaka-samāsayuktatā.	2. prasāda. (a) asamasta-padatvam with a touch of ojas, (b) gamaka-vākya-prayoga.
3. lāvanya. (a) śabdārtha-saukumārya-subhagah samnivośa-mahimā.	3. lāvanya. (a) alupta-visargatvam, (b) samyoga-pūrva hrasva letters.
4. ābhijātya. (a) svabhāva-masṛṇa-ccāyātvam.	4. ābhijātya. (a) nāti-komala-ccāyātvam, (b) nāti-kāthina-ccāyātvam.

From the table given above it is evident that mādhuṛya of vicitra style has a kind of compactness which is not very essential in sukumāra style. In prasāda of sukumāra style there are either no compounds or easy compounds, whileas in vicitra style there is a mixture, and also the employment of sentences which bring the sense of a particular sentence into prominence. Lāvanya of sukumāra style is the beautiful arrangement of words and sense, but in vicitra it is the juxtaposition of words which is made specific by retaining the visargas and by the employment of short vowels lengthened by the following conjunct consonants. Ābhijātya of sukumāra style has a natural softness which is tampered by harshness in the vicitra style.

The chief characteristics of the mādhyama style are, that it appeals to men of sukumāra and vicitra temperament both. Herein the qualities of both the styles reside in a harmony, as if vying with one another. The natural ability and the skill of the poet blend together to produce charm in this style. It is the

province of those poets who are aroca kins by nature,³⁶ that is, who are discriminate and are fond of beautiful things

Kuntaka now proceeds to classify the poets according to different m ā r g a s. M a t r g u p t a, M ā y u r ā j a, M a ñ j i r a, etc., are the followers of the m a d h y a m a style, because we find an admixture of the first two styles. The writings of *K ā l i d ā s a*, *S a r v a s e n a*, etc., breathing of natural delicacy, fall within s u k u m ā r a style. V i c i t r a - v a k r a t v a is to be found in the *H a r ṣ a - c a r i t a* of *B ā ṇ a* and also in the m u k t a k a s³⁷ (detached verses or simple prose) of *B h a v a b h ū t i* and *R ā j a ś e k h a r a*.

Kuntaka, unlike some of the rhetoricians, does not regard these g u ṇ a s as restricted to word or sense, but considers them pervading the composition as a whole.³⁸

Kuntaka now proceeds to treat of the g u ṇ a s a u c i t y a and s a u b h a g y a which are common to all the styles.

(1) a u c i t y a is that quality which establishes and develops the greatness of anything (i.e. the excellence of any particular object), by means of clear description. The life-essence of this quality is propriety and appropriateness with which all the excellences are attributed to a particular thing.³⁹ The sense of words should be befitting the nature of the speaker, listener or observer.

(2) The quality s a u b h ā g y a or pleasant charm requires the husbanding of all the resources of poetry. It is not only the genius but all the powers of a poet which give rise to this g u ṇ a. It is not brought about by the excellence of word, sense, termination,

³⁶ cf. *Kāvya-lankāra-sūtra-vṛtti*, I. 2, 1—arocakinaḥ satṛnābhyavahāri-naśca kavayaḥ. Vāmana explains arocakinaḥ as vivekinaḥ. Kuntaka, however, explains it as kamañiya-vastu-vyasaninaḥ, p. 71.

³⁷ *Kāvya-darśa*, I, 13.

³⁸ mārgeṣu guṇānaṃ samudāyadharmatā, p. 71.

³⁹ cf. anaucityād ṛte nānyat rasa-bhaṅgasya kāraṇam,

prasiddhaucitya-bandhastu rasasyopaniṣat parā. *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 145.

Kuppusvāmin sums up the views of all the schools of poetry in this verse :

aucitīm anudhāvanti sarve dhvani-rasonnayāḥ,
guṇālaṅkṛti-rītiṇāṃ nayāścānrju-vān-mayāḥ.

cf. also Ksemendra who has written a book on this topic.

ucitam prāhur ācāryāḥ sadṛśaṃ kila yasya yat,
ucitasya ca yo bhāvastad aucityaṃ pracakṣate.

Aucitya-vicāra-carcā, 7

case-ending, temperament, gestures, etc. singly, but by all put together. Both these qualities pervade all the three styles by existing in word, sense, and composition.⁴⁰ Absence of these both obstructs the charm of poetry.

⁴⁰ *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā*, 8-10 ; *Dhvanyāloka*, III, 6-14.

A NEW DRAMA OF BHĀSA (?)

(Summary.)

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I. *Vīṇāvāsavadattā*. Name known from a commentary on *Śākuntala*.

II. M. R. Kavi attributed it to Śūdraka (Ref. Proceedings of the Madras Session of the Conference); no evidence.

III. Eight *Aṅkas* available : first four complete ; mere fragments for the remaining four , perhaps complete only in ten *Aṅkas* : evidence thus far only for eight *Aṅkas*.

IV. Story same as that of *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa*.

V. All the stanzas in the drama available in two collections. Only eight *Aṅkas* in these collections, also a prologue and an epilogue.

VI. *Pratijñā*- perhaps a later adaptation from this ; comparison with the scrappy nature of *Svapnavāsavadatta*. Reference to the story of Udayana in *Bhāmaha* perhaps to this Drama.

VII. Differences and agreements between this Drama and the *Pratijñā* ; also between this Drama and the story known in books of tales in Sanskrit.

VIII. Two MSS. both in the possession of the present writer : one his own and the other got on loan from Mr. M. R. Kavi. The first complete for the first three *Aṅkas* ; the other fragments for the first three, complete for the fourth and fragments for the remaining four *Aṅkas*.

IX. Affinity with the *Bhāsa* School ; begins with the entry of *Sūtradhāra*, no name of work or author in the prologue, prologue-styled *Sthāpanā* and not *Prastāvanā* ; same *Prākṛt* as in *Bhāsa*.

X. Style ; affinity with *Kālidāsa* ; common ideas between *Kālidāsa* and this Drama.

XI. Remarks on *Prākṛt*. Peculiar way of writing *Prākṛt* in Malabar.

XII. Fire incident in this Drama.

XIII. References to this Drama in *Svapnavāsavadatta*.

XIV. No quotation from this or reference to this traced except in a commentary on *Śākuntala*.

HARISVĀMĪ—THE COMMENTATOR OF THE ŚATAPATHA
BRĀHMAṆA AND THE DATE OF SKANDASVĀMĪ—
THE COMMENTATOR OF THE RĠVEDA.

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Harisvāmi, the commentator of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, is an important ancient author. His Commentary, in extracts, on Kāṇḍas I (from the fourth Brāhmaṇa of the seventh Adhyāya as far as the end) and XIII of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa was edited by Weber as early as 1849. Pandit Satyavrata Sāmaśrami, in his edition of the same Brāhmaṇa, which unfortunately still remains unfinished, edited Harisvāmi's Commentary, in full, on the above-mentioned portion of Kāṇḍa I. A reference to the introductions of these two editions shows that, according to the information of these two scholars, no complete manuscript of the Commentary of Harisvāmi was to be found anywhere. The only portions of this commentary which were known to exist in manuscript-libraries consisted of the Commentary on Kāṇḍas I (only on the final portion referred to above), II, VIII, and XIII. As far as my present knowledge, in this connection goes, I cannot add any new information to the above, excepting of course that which is given below and which is mainly the basis of this paper. This, together with a few references to him by other authors as Karka and Deva Yājñika, is almost all that we so far have known regarding Harisvāmi. It was a pity that no further definite information was available regarding this important author who is quoted by as old an author as Karka (cp. his Commentary on *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* VIII, 181).

But fortunately last year I came across, in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, a complete manuscript (referred to below as the Benares manuscript) of Harisvāmi's Commentary on the whole of the first Kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which is unique in more than one way. So far I have no information of any other complete manuscript of the Commentary on the first Kāṇḍa. Not only its introductory stanzas give us some very important information regarding this author, its concluding portion, which is some-

what different from that of the other so-far-known manuscripts of the first Kāṇḍa, is also of the highest importance, giving as it does the definite date when the Commentary was composed. Let us first consider these portions of the manuscript.

The introductory stanzas of the manuscript are as follows :—(sic)

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

मातामहमहाशैलं महस्तदपि तामह ।
 अमाहमाहक वन्दे यन्मत्तद्विरदानं ॥ १ ॥
 अभिधाय विवस्वन्तं भगवन्तं त्रयीमय ।
 त्रुत्यर्थविद्वत्तिं वक्ष्ये प्रमाणपदनिश्चितं ॥ २ ॥
 याक्यवक्त्रं मुनिं शश्वत्किञ्चै कात्यायनं कुलगुहम् ।
 प्रणिपत्य करिष्येहं व्याख्या शतपथश्रुतेः ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रूयते पक्षिलस्वामी प्रवक्ता पदवाक्ययाः ।
 प्रसिद्धो जगतीपीठे मौमांसो यज्ञमानकृत् ॥ ४ ॥
 नागस्वामी तत्र—भा श्रीगुहस्वामिनन्दनः ।
 तत्र याज्ञौ प्रमाणज्ञ आद्यो लक्ष्म्या समेधितः ॥ ५ ॥
 तन्नन्दनो हरिस्वामी प्रस्फुरद्वेदवेदिमान् ।
 त्रयी व्याख्यानधीरेयो धीततन्त्रो गुरोर्मुखात् ॥ ६ ॥
 यः सम्राट् कृतवान्सप्तसोमसंस्था-स्तथक्त्वं श्रुतिं ।
 व्याख्या कृत्वाध्यापयन्नां श्रीस्वन्दस्त्राप्यस्ति मे गुरुः ॥ ७ ॥
 ततोधीतमहातन्त्रो विश्वोपकृतिहेतवे ।
 याविष्ट्याहुः श्रुतेरर्थं हरिस्वामी नतो गुरुः ॥ ८ ॥
 श्रीमतोवन्तिनाथस्य विप्रमस्य चित्तीशितुः ।
 धर्माध्यक्षो हरिस्वामी व्याख्यां कुर्वे यथामति ॥ ९ ॥

It is clear from this introduction that Harisvāmī was a pupil of Skandasvāmī, the famous commentator of the Ṛgveda and the Nirukta. As regards Paksilasvāmī, 'the famous writer on (or teacher of) Pada and Vākya (i.e. Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṃsā),' who was the grandfather (on the father's or mother's side, it is not clear) of Nagasvāmī, the father of Harisvāmī, as yet nothing is known. Apparently he is different from Vātsyāyana, the commentator of the Nyāya-sūtras, who is also referred to by this very name by Vācaspati Miśra in the beginning of his Nyāya-vārttika-tātparyatikā, because he is not so far known to have written anything on Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṃsā. As regards Nāgasvāmī and Guhasvāmī I have not even come across these names, so far, anywhere else.

The concluding portion of the manuscript is as follows :—(sic)
fol. 208 :

श्रीश्राचार्यहरिहरस्वामिनः कृतौ शतपथभाष्ये हविर्यज्ञेषु षष्टमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः
समाप्तमिदं काण्ड ।

नागस्वामिस्तुतोवन्त्यां पाराशर्यो वसन् हरिः ।

श्रुत्यर्थं पातयामास शक्तितः पौष्करौयकः ॥ १ ॥

यदादौनां कलेर्जम्भः सप्तत्रिंशद्वर्षानि वै ।

चत्वारिंशत्समाप्त्यास्तदा भाष्यमिदं कृतं ॥ २ ॥

This is followed by the scribe's words :—(sic)

यदि हृदयनिवेशाल्लेखनिष्ठांतिभावान्

नयनचलनसङ्गाद्भोचशब्दावलम्बान् ।

लिखितमकृतबुद्ध्या यन्मया पुस्तकेस्मिन्

करकृतमपराधं क्षन्तमर्हति संतः ॥

श्रीसंवत् १८०४९ लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं लक्ष्मीकान्त-शर्मा श्रीकाशीनाथ-प्रीतये
शुभम् ॥

The one important point in which this concluding portion differs from that of the other manuscripts is the stanza यदादौनां कलेर्जम्भः, etc. which fixes the date, as already stated, of the composition of the commentary. According to it the work was composed when 3740 years of the Kali era had passed. The present Kali era being 5031, the work was composed 1,291 years ago, i.e. about 639 A.D.

The date evidently coincides with the reign of Harṣa. If so, who was the Vikrama or Vikramārka (cp. the ending of the commentary on Kāṇḍa I in Sāmaśramī's edition) who is spoken of above as अवन्तिनाथ and जितौचित्ता and whose धर्माध्यक्ष Harisvāmī claims to be? No Vikrama reigning at Avanti about this time is known to historians. If there is no mistake in the above date we can meet this difficulty by the assumption that some subordinate king of Avanti is here referred to by the name or title of Vikrama or Vikramārka. The general opinion of historians is that about this time Avanti was a part of the empire of Harṣa; cp. C. V. Vaidya: *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. I, pp. 23-25 and 36. It is just possible that the Vikrama referred to by Harisvāmī was a local king subordinate to Harṣa. Or, cannot we assume that after the defeat of Harṣa by Pulakeśin II in about 620 A.D. Avanti might have passed into the hands of the latter and therefore about 639

A D Vikramāditya I, the son and successor of Pulakeśin II, was the Governor, though not the king, of Avantī ?

However it may be, the stanza is important as it gives us the date of Harisvāmī, an important author. But to my mind it is still more important for pointing out the date of Skandasvāmī, the famous commentator of the Rgveda. Skandasvāmī 'who after having explained the Rgveda taught the same to Harisvāmī' (cp. तथर्कज्ञानि व्याख्यां कृत्वा व्यापयन्मास्) must have written his Rgvedic commentary by the end of the 6th century A.D. Thus Skandasvāmī preceded Sāyaṇa by about eight centuries

But as the stanza is wanting in all the other known manuscripts of the work, a suspicion, however slight, still remains as regards its genuineness. For this reason I thought it necessary to examine in detail the Benares Manuscript as well as the extracts, edited by Weber, of the Commentary of Harisvāmī, and to see how far that independent examination corroborated the above date.

If Harisvāmī really lived as early as the beginning of the seventh century A.D., this examination is important also for throwing, by the way, a sidelight on the condition of his contemporary literature.

Before setting out to give briefly the results of this examination it is important to remark that most unfortunately the Benares Manuscript is very very corrupt. There is hardly even a line which is free from mistakes, so much so that sometimes it is found difficult even to make out the general sense of a passage. It being so, it is very likely that I might have passed over, without noticing some important quotations from, or references to, other works or authors. Moreover, I have not taken any notice of the passages from the Brāhmaṇas or other similarly very ancient works.

It may also be pointed out here that the author, generally speaking, is very indefinite in regard to the authorities which he quotes or refers to. Very often he introduces a quotation simply by such words as चाह, यथाह, तथा चाह, स्मृतौ; and his word स्मृति has a very general sense, including as it does works of so diverse a nature as the Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, Nirukta, Gītā, Manusmṛti, and the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. In view of this indefiniteness of the author, it is possible that some of the quotations which I have traced to one source may equally be traced to other sources.

Now let us proceed with the examination of the quotations. The traceable quotations are as follows :—

I. The following are some of the quotations from the Manusmṛti :—(sic)

- fol. 13^b : पितृदेवमनुष्याणां वेदश्चक्षुः सनातनम् । (XII, 94),
 „ „ उत्पद्यन्ते यथन्नेव यात्यतोत्यानि कानिचित् । (XII, 96),
 „ „ वेदश्चक्षुः एवादौ प्रथक्स्थो च निर्ममे । (I, 21),
 „ „ भूतं भवत् भविष्यच्च सर्व-वेदात्प्रसिध्यति । (cp. XII, 97),
 „ „ धर्म-जिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं परमं श्रुतिः । (II, 13),
 „ „ श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः । (II, 10),
 „ 38^a : सोष एव ससर्जादौ तांस्तु वीर्यनवाहजत् । (cp. I, 8),
 „ 83^a : धनं यज्ञशीलानां देवसं तद्विदुर्बुधाः । (XI, 20).

II. The following quotations can be traced to the Viṣṇu-purāṇa :—(sic)

- fol. 2^b : अज्ञानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा-न्याय-विस्तरः ।
 पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं विद्यास्तेताश्चतुर्दश ॥ (cp. V. Purāṇa, Jivanda ed., p. 371),
 fols. 13^b & 95 : नाम रूपं च भूतानां कृतानां च प्रपञ्चनं (प्रवर्तनं, fol. 95) ।
 वेदश्चक्षुः (त्य, fol. 95) एवादौ प्रथक्स्थो च निर्ममे
 (स्थाच्च निर्मल, fol. 95) ॥ (cp. V. Purāṇa, p. 50),
 fol. 141^a : एको वेदश्चतुष्पादः साष्टासंमितः ।
 पुनर्दशगुणः प्रोक्तो यज्ञो वै सर्वकामधुक् ॥ (cp. V. Purāṇa, p. 358.)

III. The Bhagavad-gītā is quoted in the following cases :—(sic)

- fol. 23^b : देवान् भावयतानेन ते भूता भावयन्तु वः । (III, 11),
 fol. 25^a : त्रैगुणविषया भेदाः । (II, 45),
 fol. 172^a : यज्ञाद्भव पर्जन्यः । (III, 14).

IV. There are many quotations taken from the Nirukta of Yāska. It is not necessary to give them here. But there is one quotation (अपि श्रुतिः, अपि तर्कतः) which is important in so far as it is taken from the 12th Varga of the 13th Adhyāya which is regarded as the परिशिष्ट of the Nirukta and as such a later accretion. The quotation shows clearly that as early as the seventh century A.D. the परिशिष्ट was regarded as a part of the Nirukta. The passage of the Commentary which contains that quotation is as follows :—(sic)

fol. 72^b : निरुक्तादिस्तुतौ यत्किंचिदनुपपन्नमिव लक्ष्येत तत्सर्वमेव श्रुतिपूर्वक-
मिति द्रष्टव्यं तैरपि चोक्तमेवापि स्तुतिनोपि तर्कत इति ।

V The Śrauta Sūtra of Kātyāyana is quoted very often. A few of the quotations are —

(fol. 54^a) प्रोक्षिता स्वेति तासां प्रोक्षणम्, (II, 80),

(fol. 64^b) स्याद्वा धर्ममात्रत्वात् (VIII, 37).

VI The Mīmāṃsā-sūtras of Jaimini are similarly quoted here and there. It seems that some of the Sūtras as quoted by Harisvāmī differ in readings from those of the other texts, but as the Benares Manuscript is full of mistakes it is difficult to say anything definitely in this respect. For instance the quotation. (*sic*).

(fol. 36^a) तपश्च फलसिद्धत्वात् पूर्वोत्तरपक्षा लोकावदिति वाक्यशेषाच्च
differs in reading from the other texts; cp. Mīmāṃsā-sūtra III, 8, 9 and 10.

VII There is one quotation [ज्ञितो (:) प्रतिज्ञायाश्च पुनर्वचनं निगमनम्, fol. 23^a] which, though slightly different from the commonly accepted reading (हेलपदेशात् प्रतिज्ञायाः पुनर्वचनं निगमनम् I, 1, 39) is, I think, taken from the Nyāya-sūtras of Gautama.

VIII. On fol. 91, the manuscript has the passage:—(*sic*)
वाङ्मिषु स्त्रियां चेति ह्युभयलिङ्गो वाङ्मण्यः स्मर्यते । The quotation seems to have been taken from the Līngānuśāsana-sūtras attached to the Pāṇinian Grammar, though the present reading of the Sūtra (cp. No. 46) in that work is : इषुवाङ्ग स्त्रियां च ।

IX. Quotations from the Astādhyāyī of Pāṇini, Dhātupāṭha, and Vārttikapāṭha are frequently found in the Commentary. The Uṇādi-sūtras also are quoted sometimes. They need not be given here in detail. But it is important to make a few observations in this connection.

First of all let us take the Dhātupāṭha. There are plenty of quotations from this work. Almost in all cases the Dhātus are given with their Anubandhas and meaning, and together with their connected Dhātus, i.e. exactly in the same way as they are read in the present Dhātupāṭha. A few examples are:—

पूयौ विग्रहे दुर्गन्धे च (fol. 24^a), शूर वीर विक्रान्तौ (fol. 44^b), राध साध संसिद्धौ (fol. 29^a), तसु तपसि खेदे च (fol. 82^a). Cp. also कल रल लल चलने (fol. 48^a) and अखि वखि मखि गत्याक्षेपे (fol. 170^a), instead of which the Siddhānta-Kaumudī reads : कल लल चलने and अघि वघि मघि गत्याक्षेपे respectively.

In connection with the quotations from the Vārttikapāṭha it is worth noticing that the reading of some of the Vārttikas does not quite agree with that of the Kāśikā, e.g. (*sic*)

fol. 30^a: इदमेदोरन्वादेशे एनदिति नपुंसकैकवचने । (cp. Kāśikā on II, 4, 34);

fol. 40^b: तृतीयविधाने प्रकृत्यादिषु उपसंख्यानम् । (cp. Kāśikā on II, 3, 18).

fol. 60^a: सर्वस्य द्वे इत्यधिकारे कर्मव्यतिहारे सर्वनाम्नः समासवन्तवञ्छलं यदा न समासवत्प्रथमैकवचनं तदा पूर्वपदस्य स्त्रीनपुंसकयोस्तत्परपदस्य बाभाव इति । (cp. Kāśikā on VIII, 1, 12);

fol. 61^a: कविधौ सर्वत्र प्रसारिभ्यो डा वक्तव्य इति ।

(It is noteworthy that the last Vārttika does not occur at all in the Kāśikā; cp. Kāśikā and Śabda-kaustubha on III, 2, 3).

fol. 180^a: यदायद्योर्लिङ उपसंख्यानम् । (cp. Kāśikā on III, 3, 147).

Besides this, there are some occasional observations or remarks of the author on grammatical points, which do not quite agree with the Kāśikā. Some instances are—(*sic*)

fol. 42^a: विभ्रतद्वयं अव्ययमिति योगविभागाद्वा तिष्ठन्धादिषु वा द्रष्टव्यः ।;

fol. 46^b: असुररक्षसेभ्य आसंगादिति संबन्धाभीतो पंचमौ । विभाषा गुणेश्वर्या-मित्यत्र योगविभागात् लुव्योगाप्रख्यानदिति ।;

fol. 154^b: विमौते कालमिति मासचन्द्रः पूर्णमासः पौर्णमासः । ठञः प्रकरणे तस्मिन्वर्तत इति न च यज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानं । पूर्णमासादण् पूर्णमाः पूर्णमासो वास्या वर्तत इति पौर्णमासौ । (cp. Kāśikā on IV, 2, 21);

fol. 154^b: अमाशब्दो गृहवचनः । सहार्थे वा । गृहं चान्द्रमसं आदित्यमण्डलं इति अमावास्या.... । (cp. Kāśikā on III, 1, 122);

fol. 158^a: अमा गृहे वसत्यस्यामिति अमावास्या ।

Both the above facts are, I think, enough to show that the author did not utilize the Kāśikā Vrtti which was composed about 650 A.D. ; cp. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, by Dr. Belvalkar, p. 35.

In this connection it is also worth noticing that a few passages occurring in the Commentary, which look like Vārttikas, are not to be found either in the Mahābhāṣya or in the Kāśikā. Whether they are taken from some other source or are Harisvāmī's own observations, in the form of Vārttikas, it is difficult to ascertain. For instance, cp. (*sic*)

fol. 52^a: वैष्णव्या विष्णुमर्तत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ण्यत् प्रत्यय उपसंख्येयः ।

कुत एतदर्थार्थे ण्यत् इति यज्ञिये इ इति अर्थार्थे पर्यायदर्शनात् ।;

fol. 147 : अपात् पादरहितः संख्यासु पूर्वस्य (Pāṇini V, 4, 140) इत्यत्र
इन्द्रसि नवपूर्वस्य पादस्यान्तलोपः समासान्तो वाच्यः ।

X. There is one quotation from the Vākyapadiya The pas-
sage which contains that quotation is as follows :—(sic)

fol. 95 : (Text: वाचो वा इदं सर्वं प्रभवति) Commentary....

....तस्माच्च शब्दालिकाया अनुष्टुभ इदं सर्वं विकारजातं प्रभवति
जायते च जातं च विवर्तते इत्यर्थः । कथं । शुष्कतर्केण नावत् । शब्देन
प्रकाशितेर्त्यं प्रवृत्तिस्ततः सर्वार्थानां आत्मल्लाभ इति । तथा चाह ।

नाम रूपं च भूतानां कृतानां च प्रवर्तनं ।

वेदशब्देन्य एवादी प्रथकसंख्याश्च निर्मल इति ।

आगमने तु । तस्माद्वा एतस्मादात्मन आकाशः

अन्ये तु शब्दब्रह्मैवेद विवर्ततेर्यभावेन प्रक्रिया इत्यत आहः ।

तेषामधि

According to Itsing Bhartṛhari, the author of the Vākyapadiya, was a contemporary of Jayāditya, one of the authors of the Kāśikā. Of these two, according to the same authority, the former died in 650 A.D. and the latter, about A.D. 660. This coupled with the fact that the Kāśikā mentions the Vākyapadiya by name on IV, 3, 88 is enough to show that the composition of the Vākyapadiya must have preceded the former by many years. I think the Vākyapadiya was composed either by the end of the sixth century or by the beginning of the seventh century A.D. at the latest. In view of all this the above quotation from the Vākyapadiya is very significant. Besides, the manner in which Harisvāmi introduces the quotation at the end of the discussion and by the word अन्ये तु, shows that he regarded the source of the quotation as the latest and the most recent authority on the topic.

Apart from these traceable quotations, some of the important quotations which I could not trace to their sources are as follows :—
(sic)

उपन्यास प्रतिज्ञानं संबन्धः प्रश्नः प्रतिवचनं तु

प्रष्टा वक्तापसंचारस्तथोक्तपक्ष

अधियज्ञाधिभूते च तथाध्यात्माधिदेवते ।

उत्पत्तिर्विनियोगाश्च मन्त्रव्याख्यानमेव च ।

वाक्यार्थोक्तिः पदार्थोक्तिः कार्ये निगमनोपमे ।

वाक्यशेषो विपर्यासो निष्क्रान्तानागतेक्षणौ ।

हेतुर्निवचनं निन्दा प्रशंसाशंसयोर्विधिः ।

पुरष्क्रिया पुराकाले व्यवधारणकल्पना ।

उपदेशश्च निर्देशो उपदेशो निदेशन ।

उपक्रमेय प्रसिद्धाति दूरस्थावेक्षणोद्घने । (fol. 3^a).....

... एवे पञ्चचत्वारिंशद्वान्तरभेदा वाक्यस्य । (fol. 5^a).

In connection with this quotation it is noteworthy that the stanza हेतुनिर्वचनं, etc. is quoted in the Śāvara-bhāṣya on II. 1, 33 and is there referred to a vṛttikāra. Cp. also Śāvara-bhāṣya on II, 1, 38 for प्रश्न, etc. mentioned above. In this connection, cp. also Suśruta (VI, 65), Caraka (VIII, 12), Bṛhaddevatā (I. 35-39) and the Artha-śāstra of Kautilya (the last section). It is evident that the above quotation is from a very old authority.

2. On fol. 8^b occurs :—(sic)

मान शास्त्रं क्रियाभयं फलं बोधार्थगोचरः ।

भदो विधिनिषेधादिधर्मादिरर्थतः ।

3. On fol. 10^a occurs :—(sic)

यथोक्तं मार्गो ते ज्ञानकर्माणी ।

4. On fol. 32^b occurs :—(sic)

ब्राह्मणं ब्रह्महविरित्यादिषु स्मृतिष्वपि गीयते ज्ञान(=ज्ञान)कर्मसमुच्चयः ।

5. On fol. 35^a is quoted :—(sic)

अष्टाध्याय्या मध्ये नाम तत्तत्रैवोपसंहृतं ।

6. On fol. 63^b is given :—वर्णानां ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः ।

In spite of the fact, already noticed, that the author is, generally speaking, very indefinite in specifying the sources of his quotations, he sometimes mentions his authorities. The important authorities which I could notice are as follows :—

वाङ्मयपादिभिः, अष्टाध्यायी (of Pāṇini), वृत्त्यादिषु (of Vyākaraṇa, cp. fol. 5^a), भगवान् यास्त्रः or यास्त्राचार्यः, मन्वादिस्मृतियोगस्मृतय इतिहासपुराणे (sic, fol. 14^a), सूत्रकारः (=कात्यायनः), कात्यायनः, सूत्रे (=श्रौतसूत्र of Kātyāyana), जैमिनिः, स्मृतिः, स्मृतिषु (cp. fol. 172^a), पौराणिकाः (cp. fol. 84^b), नैयायिक—(cp. fol. 59^b), यादृताः (sic; cp. तत्तत्र समुच्चयेवाग्नेः सर्वदेवतात्मनि यादृताः, fol. 150^b).

A few times some तर्किकाः are referred to by the author. The manner in which they are referred to evidently shows that they are different from the traditional Naiyāyikas. They seem to represent a school of Vedic interpreters who apparently used to give more or

less like the Āryasamājists of to-day, rationalistic or naturalistic explanations of Vedic texts. The following passages will make this clear :—

fol. 30 . मन्त्रार्थं व द्विविधः । सूत्रस्य वाङ्मयः योतः आधियज्ञिकसमाधान-
क्रियारूपो कश्चित्तात्त्विकैरयमेवाथो नान्य इत्येव परिगृहीतः सूत्रस्य आभ्यन्तरो, etc (sic);

fol. 38^a : यज्ञो वा आप इति । तार्किकदृष्ट्या यज्ञसाधनत्वात् ;

fol. 66^b : शिरः पुरोडाश इति । साधनान्तरापेक्षया । प्रधानलाङ्घुर्वल्लाङ्घेति
तार्किकाः ;

fol. 125 : यज्ञो विग्रहवानपचक्रामेतिहासदर्शनेन । तार्किकदृष्ट्या
तु यज्ञः क्रियात्मक एव । तस्य विस्मरणमपक्रमणम् । स्मरणमुपावर्तनम् ।

fol. 150^b : अग्निः सर्वा देवता इति । उपकारकेऽग्नौ देवतात्वमुपचर्यते यथा
राजा पत्तिगणक इति तार्किकाः ।

As there is no evidence of the existence of any school of this sort after the 7th century A.D. it seems reasonable to assume that this sort of school must have existed before that time and must have come into existence as the result of the efforts of the believers in the Vedic tradition to refute the objections of the Bauddhas and Jinas. That a school of this sort did actually exist about that time can be inferred from the following passages of Kumārila .—

सौमिमांसाशास्त्रवेजोभिर्विशेषेषोऽज्जलौकते ।

वेदार्थज्ञानरत्ने मे दृष्ट्यातीव विजृम्भते ॥

प्रायेणैव हि सौमिमांसा लोके लोकायतीकृता ।

नामास्तिकपथे कर्तुमयं यत्नः कृतो मया ॥ (श्लोकार्थिक, p. 4).

On this Pārthasārathi Mīśra says :—सौमिमांसा हि भर्तृमित्रादिभिरलोकायतीव सती लोकायतीकृता, etc.

लोकायतिकसूक्षाणां नैवान्यत्कर्म विद्यते ।

यावत्किञ्चिददृष्टार्थं तद् दृष्टार्थं हि कुर्वते ॥

वैदिकान्यपि कर्माणि दृष्टार्थान्येव ते विदुः । etc.

(तन्त्रवार्तिक, p. 85).

The fact that Harisvāmi refers to the views of the Tārkikas somewhat approvingly, without in any way criticising them, clearly shows that he lived before Kumārila who did not tolerate their views.

This is all that I could gather from a cursory examination of the most corrupt, though very important, Benares Manuscript, and the extracts edited by Weber. Unfortunately I had no access to the manuscripts of any other kāṇḍa. But I think it is enough to

prove the authenticity of the stanza which assigns the composition of the work to 639 A.D.

Before finishing this paper it would not be out of place to give here a few passages from the Commentary which might throw some light on the locality, etc. of the author. They are :—

fol. 56^b : आर्यावर्तापेक्षया.....यौ पूर्वापरौ समुद्रौ, etc.

fol. 76^b : शरभो जरष इति लोके प्रसिद्धः। I am told that this word is still used in Rajputana.

fol. 105^a : सोमिरिमा आर्यावर्ते सन्निहिता नद्योऽतिक्रामन् ददाह ।सदा-
नौरनाम्नी नदी उत्तराद् गिरेर्हिमवतो निर्गच्छति । न विन्ध्याद्रेः । यां गण्डकीत्याचक्षते ।

A comparison of these passages with the stanza

नागस्वामिसुतोऽवन्थां पाराशर्यो वसन्हरिः ।

श्रुत्यर्थं द्यो*तयामास शक्तिः पौष्करीयकः ॥

already quoted, shows that the author was very likely a native of pushkar near Ajmer.

HARADATTA MIŚRA AND HARADATTA ŚIVĀCĀRYA.

S. S. SURYANARAYAN SHASTRI.

The name of Haradatta Miśra is familiar to students of Samskr̥t sacerdotal literature, by the commentaries on the Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa, and the Āpastamba Dharma and Gr̥hya-Sūtras. Students of Samskr̥t Grammar are also familiar with an author of the same name, who wrote the *Padamañjarī*, a commentary on the *Kāśikā-Vṛtti*. An attempt has been made by those responsible for the Mysore edition of the commentaries on the Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa and the Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtras, to show that the writer of these commentaries was no other than the author of the *Padamañjarī*. 'This doubt as to the identity,' it is said, 'will be set at rest by a comparison of the subjoined extract from the *Padamañjarī* with the commentary on Dharma-Sūtra I, 5, 17, the latter merely reiterating the unique view which the author of the *Padamañjarī* holds as to the elongation of the final vowel in the name of the person addressed and the addition of an *a* to it in *pratyabhivādana*'.¹ Then follows an extract from the commentary on the *Kāśikā-Vṛtti* on Pāṇini-Sūtra VIII, 2, 83. The evidence thus offered is fairly strong, being founded on a peculiar view, though there is only one instance of it; and the identification has not been refuted up to now.² The identity of the commentators on the Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa with the author of the *Uj्ज्वालā*, the commentary on the Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtras, seems to admit of little, if any, doubt.³ A consideration of the invocation in the two works, consisting in each case of two lines, the first line,

¹ *Āpastambha-Dharma-Sūtras*, with Haradatta's *Uj्ज्वालā*, Mysore edition, p. ii.

² The mere unacknowledged citation of a commentary in another work is a very unsafe guide to the identification of the two authors. Thus, Appayya Dikṣita, in the *Śivādvaita Nirṇaya* (p. 67, text, Madras University edition), quotes freely from Haradatta's *Uj्ज्वालā* on the Sūtras in II, 9, 23 and 24. [This is certainly an earlier use of Haradatta's work than the reference to it by the author of the *Vīramitrodaya*, who, according to Bühler, wrote in the beginning of the seventeenth century and was probably the oldest writer on law to quote Haradatta (See *Sacred Books of the East*, II, p. xlii).]

³ See *Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa*, with Haradatta's commentary, Mysore edition, p. iv.

'pranipatya mahādevam haradattena dhīmatā', being common, would suggest a *prima facie* case for identification. This is strengthened, when we turn to the commentary on the Vaiśvadeva mantras,⁴ and to the *Uj्जvalā* on II, 2, 3, 12, the Sūtra beginning with 'Tesām mantrāṇām upayoge', etc. The identical Sūtra is cited in the commentary on the Vaiśvadeva mantras, and the commentary is substantially the same in both cases. Thus, we are told, 'upayoge niyamapūrvakam vidyāgrahanam' (in both), 'kartur eva vratam' (in one), 'upayoktur eva vratam' (in the other), 'anye tu patnyā apicchanti' (in one), and 'patnyā api kecid icchanti' (in the other). With this identification, we are able to look for a much earlier date for Haradatta Miśra, than that suggested by Buhler (i.e. sixteenth century A.D.); for, the commentator on the Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa has to be placed after Medhātithi and before Sāyaṇa (fourteenth century A.D.)⁵

There was a Śaiva teacher, Haradatta Sivācārya by name, who seems to have flourished not later than the eleventh century A.D. He belonged to Kāṁsapura, in the Tanjore District, and was a Vaiṣṇava by birth; the name given to him by his parents was Sudarśana, and he is occasionally cited as Sudarśanācārya.⁶ He would appear to have become an ardent Śaiva devotee, even while very young. When persecuted by his parents and relatives, he understood to defend the supremacy of Śiva over Viṣṇu, while seated on a red-hot tripod. He kept his promise, and the verses made on that occasion constitute the work known as the *Hari-hara-tāratamya*. His best known work is the *Śruti-sūktimālā*, otherwise known as the *Catur-veda-tātparyasaṁgraha*, wherein he seeks to show, on the authority of revealed Scripture, that Śiva is the Supreme Being worthy of absolute and whole-hearted adoration. This work has a commentary by a prince Śivaliṅga-bhūpa, of the Koṇḍavidu Redḍi dynasty, whose period can be roughly fixed as between the middle of the fourteenth and the middle of the fifteenth century A.D.⁷ The legendary account of Haradatta's life, contained in the *Bhaviṣyot-tara-purāṇa*, speaks of a Coḷa prince, named Śivaliṅga-bhūpa, as Haradatta's patron. No Coḷa prince of that name is known to history. Since, further, that prince is said to have written a

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. v.

⁶ See *Śivādvaita Nirṇaya*, p. 20 (text).

⁷ See Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India*, II, pp. 91-94; also *Madras Epigraphical Reports*, 1900, pp. 23-24.

commentary on Haradatta's work, the inference seems justified that the whole account was made up after the time of the Koṇḍavidu Śivaliṅga-bhūpa, and grafted on to the Purāṇa. The middle of the fifteenth century A.D. is thus the lower limit for Haradatta Śivācārya.

But it is possible to fix that limit even much higher. One of the minor works of Haradatta is the *Pañca-ratna-mālīkā*, a collection of five verses, with the usual theme of the absolute supremacy of Śiva. It is said that a Cola prince, possibly Kulottuṅga I, insisted on all learned men subscribing to the supremacy of Śiva, if they could not refute it in argumentation. Hearing of Rāmānuja, the great Vaisṇava protagonist, the king sent word to him too to come and subscribe. One of the most loyal of Rāmānuja's disciples was Kūreśa. Fearing harm for his preceptor at the hands of such an unscrupulous (!) king, the pupil personated the master, went to the king's court, and undertook to controvert the arguments in favour of Śiva's supremacy. A work known as the *Kūreśaviṇaya* purports to be an account of what Kūreśa said on that occasion; his arguments are directed, point by point, against those of the *Pañca-ratna-mālīkā*.⁸ The latter work and its author must then have been contemporaneous, at the latest, with Rāmānuja; that is to say, they should have belonged to the eleventh or the very early part of the twelfth century A.D.⁹

Grounds of parsimony may suggest an identification of Haradatta Mīśra with Haradatta Śivācārya, especially since there is no conflict between the periods to which the two have to be assigned, and the former too appears to have been a Śaiva (as witness his 'pranīpatya mahādevam', etc.)¹⁰ There does not seem to be, however,

⁸ The evil king would not accept defeat in argument, it is said, and insisted on Kūreśa's subscribing to the inscription, Śivāt parataram nā'sti. Kūreśa replied with the irreverent quip, dronam asti tatah param. The furious king had Kūreśa's eyes put out. Rāmānuja himself had fled the kingdom, at the earnest persuasion of his disciples, and it was in exile that he received the news of what had happened to his beloved Kūreśa. There is no doubt that Rāmānuja was away from the Cola country for some considerable time, at the Court of the King Bṛh̥tīdeva, who became a Vaiṣṇava under the influence of Rāmānuja, and took on the name of Viṣṇuvardhana.

⁹ See further *The Sivādvaita of Śrīkaṇṭha*, pp. 69-72.

¹⁰ The identification was actually made by the late MM. T. Ganapati Śāstrin, in his preface to the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtras*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 73, p. 1.

sufficient justification for the procedure, while there are some considerations to be urged against it. One such consideration rests on the recensions of the Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad known to the two Haradattas. In commenting on Dharma-Sūtra II, 2, 3, 16, which runs as, 'aupāsane pacane vā ṣaḍbhirādyaiḥ pratimantram hastena juhuyāt,' the writer of the *Uj्ज्वालā* explains the phrase ṣaḍbhirādyaiḥ as referring to the mantras, agnaye svāhā, somāya svāhā, etc. These mantras were traced by Buhler to the sixty-seventh anuvāka of the tenth prapāthaka of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (that is to say, Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, 67). Now, there are two recensions current of this Upaniṣad, the Drāvida and the Āndhra, and the mantras cited occur in the Āndhra, and not in the Drāvida recension. Assuming that Haradatta refers to that Upaniṣad, it must be to the Āndhra recension, of which there is reason to think Haradatta Śivācārya had no knowledge. All the mantras cited in the commentaries on the Sūtras from II, 2, 3, 16 up to and inclusive of II, 2, 4, 8 appear to be taken from the sixty-seventh anuvāka of the Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad. Buhler concludes from this that Āpastamba was possibly an Āndhra. There is reason to think that the author of the *Śruti-sūkti-mālā* knew only the Drāvida recension. The eleventh anuvāka of the Upaniṣad on that recension appears to be given up to the glorification of Nārāyaṇa, whereas the whole Upaniṣad, according to Haradatta, inculcates the supremacy of Śiva.¹² The eleventh anuvāka (called the Nārāyaṇā-'nuvāka) presents great difficulties to this claim, particularly at its close, wherein enumerating the glorious manifestations of the Supreme Being, it mentions Śiva, but not Viṣṇu. This leads to the inference that Viṣṇu himself is the Supreme Being. The difficulty is got over by Haradatta (and, in his wake, by Śrīkaṇṭha and Appayya Dīkṣita) by identifying the Śiva mentioned as a manifestation with Śaṁkāra-Rudra, and completing the list of manifestations in the light of the Kaivalya Upaniṣad,¹³ where the same text occurs, but with the following addition : ' sa eva Viṣṇu, sa prāṇaḥ, sa kalo'gniḥ, sa candramāḥ ', etc. This reference to another Śruti would have been unnecessary, had Haradatta been aware of the Āndhra recension of the Mahānārāyaṇa, where the text mentions Hari too among the manifesta-

¹¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, II, p. xxv.

¹² *Śruti-sūkti-mālā*, vv. 36-39.

¹³ *Ibid.*, v. 44.

tions : 'sa brahma sa Śivas sa Haris sa'ndras so'kṣaraḥ parama svarāt' The appeal to another recension is likely to be more convincing, while it is by no means unusual.¹⁴ The Ujvalā-kāra could not, therefore, have been the same as the author of the *Śruti-sūkti-mālā*.

The whole argument, however, rests on an error of Bühler in tracing the mantras to the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka. The mantras are there, no doubt, in the Āndhra recension, but the Ujvalā-kāra is thinking of them, as present not there, but in the Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa.¹⁵ Here too, the mantras occur in the same order, while the pariśecana mantras referred to in II, 2, 3, 17 occur *only* in the Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa, not in the Mahānārāyaṇa.¹⁶ Bühler's inference as to Āpastambha being an Āndhra is thus ill-founded, since neither he nor his commentator would seem to have had anything in mind but the mantra-praśna. The mantrapāṭha was naturally known to Haradatta Śivācārya, who draws from that, too, some arguments for his favourite theme.

It is, indeed, in the use made of the Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa that one seems to find definite indications of two Haradattas. The author of the *Śruti-sūkti-mālā* appeals to the Īśāna-bali mantras¹⁷ and to a mantra¹⁸ used at the upanayana ceremony, as indicating the supremacy of Śiva. The commentary on the Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa does not mention the supremacy of Śiva, in either case. Further, while the *Śruti-sūkti-mālā* treats Śiva as the adhvapati (mentioned in the upanayana ceremony), the commentator, Haradatta takes the word to mean the Sun.¹⁹ What is, perhaps, more significant is the

¹⁴ As witness the interpretation of 'na tasya prāṇā utkrāmanti' in the light of the reading of the other recension 'na tasmāt prāṇā utkrāmanti'.

¹⁵ Ete hi mantrāḥ mantrapāṭhe pathitāḥ. It is the Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa that is known as the mantrapāṭha or mantrapraśna.

¹⁶ See Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa with Haradatta's commentary, Mysore edition, p. 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-177.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91 : adhvānām adhvapate śroṣṭhasyā 'dhvānaḥ pāram aśīya.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Suryā! aham tvat prasādāt śreyaskarasya brahmacaryamārgasya paryantam āsmuviya. Sudarśanācārya understands a reference to Śiva, the Supreme Being, who is the Lord of the six adhvās, as being beyond them ; that the Supreme Being is beyond the adhvās is testified to by Śruti, which declares the released one to attain to what is beyond the adhvās ; so 'dhvānaḥ pāram āpnoti (*Kuṭha Upaniṣad*).

fact that the word Rudra which occurs often in the Īśāna-bali mantras, is explained as 'rodayitā saṁhāarakāle', while Haradatta Śivācārya (and after him, Śrikanṭha Śivācārya) invariably explain that expression as 'saṁsara rug drāvakah'.²⁰ The latter is the deeper religious and philosophical significance, and such as may be expected of a polemical Śaiva writer, as distinguished from a commentator who *happened to be* a Śaiva. Though it is not wholly impossible for one and the same person to have played the rôles of both a keen controversialist and a mild commentator, yet it is exceedingly unlikely that persistent and significant modes of interpretation would not be repeated wherever there is reasonable occasion. And the instances cited (the Īśāna-bali and the upanayana-mantras) are eminently such occasions. It seems, therefore, reasonable to hold that Haradatta the Śaiva dogmatist is other than the commentator of the same name, who flourished probably at or almost the same time.

²⁰ *Sruti-sūkti-mālā*, v. 25.

THE *DHVANYĀLOKA* AND THE TEXT OF THE *DHVAṆIKĀRIKĀS*.

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‘न नादिनिग्रहः कार्यो न शिष्यानुग्रहोऽपि च ।’

The generally accepted view that the basic *Kārikās* contained and commented on in Ānandavardhan's celebrated work, the *Dhvanyāloka*, were composed by an earlier writer, who has chosen to remain anonymous and whom it has been the fashion amongst scholars to call the *Dhvanikāra*, was challenged some years ago, amongst others, by Dr. A. Sankaran of Madras¹, who still persists in his view, as represented in his recently published work, *Theories of Rasa and Dhvani*.² He regards the arguments adduced by the upholders of the old view as insufficient and unconvincing and places some facts which he thinks would turn the scale and establish the identity of the *Dhvanikāra* with Ānandavardhana. At the outset we must make it clear that the printing of the *Dhvanyāloka* with the *Locanā* in the *Kāvya-mālā* edition has been done in a most slipshod manner and it is this that has contributed, in no small a degree, to accentuate differences in view amongst scholars. Abhinavagupta, who by no means is the earliest commentator³ on the totalised work, the *Dhvanyāloka*, in his *Locanā*, has, in several instances,⁴ shown us the proper text of the *Kārikās* which read differently and appear in distorted form in the printed text. Moreover, there are traceable in the *Vṛtti* work and in the commentary definite grounds which

¹ *The Authorship of the Dhvanikārikās*. (Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, pp. 85-89).

² Or, *Aspects of Literary Criticism*. Madras University Publication, 1930.

³ There was an earlier commentator, the Candrikākāra, whose commentary is referred to by Mahimabhaṭṭa in the introductory verses to his *Vyaktiviveka*, as well as by Abhinava himself किं लोचनं विनाऽल्लोको भाति चन्द्रिकयापि हि । p. 60; also pp. 36, 123, 124, 136, 140, 142-43, 157, 173, 201, 205-206). Some or all these references may be to the *Candrikā*.

⁴ e.g. I. 3. (vide *Locanā*, p. 13). p. 23 (S. K. De—Text of *Kavyāloka-locanā*. Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University).

would go to prove that the sweeping assertion of Dr Sankaran and his supporters is untenable as a general proposition

Abhinava, in this commentary, in more cases than one,⁵ has resorted to a criterion, which may be interpreted to give us a proper clue in the distinguishing of the original text of the *Kārikās* from the accretions that have grown around it, and in at least one instance has evinced doubts as to whether a text, which in all appearances, is a *Kārikā* should not better be regarded as a *Samgrahaśloka*, though the *Dhvanyāloka-vṛtti* text does not definitely point it to be so.⁶ The latter fact has got to be properly judged, and must not cause surprise inasmuch as there are many instances at hand in *Alaṅkāra* literature, as well as in other departments, which would go to prove that a text in the course of a period not less than a century even in the same country—and in the case under consideration the difference in time between the author and the commentator was about a century and a half—a text, which to later generations, is an authority on the subject—has raised doubts and involved discrepancies to be noted and discussed. The *Kāvya prakāśa* is the most well-known instance in hand and the earliest known commentator on the work, himself also hailing from Kashmir and an illustrious *ālaṅkārika*, withal, has to take upon himself the task of settling the text as well.⁷ The manner of exposition in the *vṛtti*—a manner taken as a model, though with modifications due to his own verbose elaborate and stylish manner, by Kuntaka in his *Vakroktijīvitā*⁸ in which the *Kārikā* text as Ānanda got it, has been explained and fully discussed—should lead one to the inevitable conclusion that several of the *Kārikās* in the printed text of the N.S. edition,⁹ have been additions and amplifications of the original text. While many of

⁵ e.g. I. 3. (*vide Locanā*, p. 13), p. 23. (S. K. De—Text of *Locanā*. Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University)

⁶ e.g. *Ibid.*, p. 15. अतएवास्य श्लोकस्य वृत्तिग्रन्थे बाह्यान् न हतम् ।

⁷ Rucaka in his *Kāvya prakāśasamketa*, especially in the commentary on last *ullāsa*. (A MS. of this work is preserved in the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona, and has been used by the writer of this paper for an edition of the work). For the dates of Mammata and Rucaka *vide* S. K. De, *Poetics*, Vol. I; Kane, Introduction to the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.)

⁸ *Vide Vakroktijīvitā* (2nd edition), as also *Introduction*. (Calcutta Oriental Press, 1927).

⁹ *Viz.* I. 14–21; II. 4–6, 19, 20, 24, 33, III. 3–5, 52, 53 and IV. (entire portion).

them are introduced in the *vṛtti* by Ānanda with such connecting links as तदयमत्र सञ्ज्ञेः, एषा चात्र सनीच्चा.. अपि च एतदेवोपपादयितुमुच्यते..¹⁰ the connecting links being not explained off as उपस्कार by the commentator, or the difficult words and phrases not elucidated by the *vṛttikāra* as in the case of other *kārikās*, e.g. the word स्वलङ्घनि. in I, 20, which is, by the way, a favourite work with the *vṛttikāra* and has been utilised by his celebrated admirer Mammata, there are a few in which no such clue is left for detection. In some of these additions the *vṛttikāra* simply rushed into the verse form (almost in all cases, in the *anuṣṭubh* metre—and this is true of the entire so-called *Kārikā* text of *Uddyota* IV) to explain and supplement, sometimes to discourse on the nature and philosophy of poetry and poetics,¹¹ or to avoid want of symmetry¹²; while in other cases, his object has been to make the work as a whole fit in with a comprehensive scheme of poetics, which he has meant to formulate after refuting views current in his day in his part of the country¹³ (viz. the views of the four great masters, Vāmana and Udbhata). Again, the manner of splitting up (खण्डित्य पठनम्) of certain *Kārikās* and that of taking two *Kārikās* forming a *yugmaka* separately—¹⁴, is, to say the least, peculiar, original and grotesque, if we are to take our stand on the view that the whole *Kārikā* and *vṛtti* texts come from one pen. Considered in this way, the evidences, favouring the identity of the *Vṛttikāra* with the author of the entire body of *Kārikās*, would seem to lose all their weight,¹⁵ leaving us where we were.

¹⁰ *Dhvanyāloka*, N.S. Edition, pp. 44, 74, 88, 104 (the subdivision of उभयशक्तिमूलध्वनि, it would appear, is unknown to the authors of the original Dhvanikārikās. In Pratiharenlurāja's classification [vide Benhatti's edition of the *Laghuvṛtti* this class is not mentioned. For controversy regarding its proper form vide the *Kāvyaṣṭakāśa*, which differs from Ānandavardhana's work *Dhvanyāloka* in this, a reference to Rucaka's K.P. *Saṃketa* is necessary.

¹¹ Explanation and supplementing as in I. 14-21, II. 19-20, III. 5. Theory of poetry and poetics—as in the fourth *uddyota*.

¹² e.g. II. 33. In all these cases a reference to the *Locanā* would dispel doubts on this point.

¹³ e.g. II. 4-6; III. 52-53.

¹⁴ e.g. I. 11 and 12; II. 30—अत्र हेतुः—this उपस्कार would be non-sensical, if the वृत्ति and the कारिका came from the same pen. For this as appearing in IV. 8 vide last but one paragraph of the paper.

¹⁵ e.g. in pp. 130 and 219-220. (N.S. Edition). The use of the क्वाच् or ह्यप् proves nothing for the case; for पाष्ठा and निरूपण of others' views by an author is quite possible.

The supporters of the new view seem¹⁶ to make short work of the distinction made by Abhinava between the *Vṛttikāra* and the *Kārikākāra* in the several passages noted in the preface to the *Kāvyamālā* edition. It appears to us that at least in pp. 60, 71, 108 and 123¹⁷ there are statements in the—*Locanā*, which decisively furnish the question of the *Kārikākāra* being different from the *Vṛttikāra* and point to a distinction between one set of *Kārikās* and another. It is only ingenuity to explain them off.

It is easy to see that this duality in the nature of the *Kārikās*, which came almost as a matter of necessity, caused a good deal of confusion, which even Abhinava with traditional information and a fair degree of proximity, could not dispel.¹⁸ The reason was that Ānanda was trying in his time and country to give currency to establish views and principles which were not those believed in his time, in the face of opposition of a strong and declared master Udbhaṭa. To us, as to the *nibandhakāras* of *Alaṅkāraśāstra* of a later age, it is quite incomprehensible how an *Alaṅkāra* work of the type of the *Dhvanyāloka*, the greatest work in the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, could not acquire contemporary sanction; for here as everywhere it took time for the minority view to establish itself as the only sane view on the subject. (It is also not at all unlikely that the original work of the *Dhvanikārikās*, which formed the nucleus of Ānanda's labours, was not a well-known one and might have been conceived in a totally different atmosphere.) But when it became the views of the majority, it was the elaborator and expositor that scored fame and ousted his pioneer. The *Dhvanyāloka*, written as it is with masterly grasp and rare intuition, could well be expected to do this. The result has been that with the generality of subsequent writers on the subject the terms *Dhvanikāra* has come to be synonymous with the author of the *Dhvanyāloka*, i.e. Ānanda. It

¹⁶ Vide Dr. Sankaran's paper (p. 88). 'When there are so many evidences the only evidence which apparently favours the opposite view.... loses its force.... Probably Abhinava desired....'

¹⁷ The late M. M. Durgaprasad in his preface to the *Kāvyamālā* Edition, only cites of these, the references in pp. 60 and 123, and not the other two, in which also the views of the two writers are placed in direct opposition.

¹⁸ e.g. on IV. 4—यदि वा उच्यते (in the sense of यद्वा उच्यते, a common form with many Kashmirian writers)... Abhinava's commentary may also mean that he does not take it as a कारिका।

is, therefore, not to be surprised at that authors like Mahimabhaṭṭa, Mammata, and Viśvanātha did not often discriminate between the *Dhvanikāra* and Ānanda. Of the *ālankārikas* Rājaśekhara,¹⁹ who comes nearest to Ānanda in point of time, ascribes a *parikarāśloka* and not a *Kārikā* to Ānanda, and this does not disturb our position. The same arguments would apply to the cases of Kuntaka²⁰ and Kṣemendra,²¹ (with modifications as apparent from the above), so much relied on by Dr. Sankaran.

But the quotation from the *Abhinavabhāratī*, relied on by Dr. Sankaran,²² cannot, it may be urged, be so easily disposed of. The *Kārikā* सुप्तिङवचन ..(III, 16 in the N.S. edition) is, in our view, a genuine *Kārikā*, forming the text of the original *Dhvanikārikās*. We have already referred to Abhinava's doubts in the matter of the fixing of the text, and, moreover, it is quite conceivable that he was relying on his memory (for Abhinava, as we have indicated, admits and accepts the fact that some views were incorporated in the *Dhvanyāloka*, which owed their parentage to Ānanda himself),—and what man is infallible? We have such cases of erroneous ascription by illustrious masters in other departments of Sanskrit learning. To come nearer to our subject. Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (Chap. VI, page 316, Jivānanda's edition)²³ ascribes a *Kārikā* to Dhanika, which he should have ascribed to Dhanañjaya, for Dhanañjaya is the reputed author of the *Kārikā* text and Dhanika that of the *Vṛtti* text of the *Daśarupaka*. Here, too, as in the case under

¹⁹ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 16. व्युत्पत्तिहिनो..दोषः (= *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 137). The preceding prose portion in the *K.M.* shows that the author was merely giving the substance of Ānanda's views. Or was Rājaśekhara quoting from the unknown work *Tattvāloka* of Ānanda, referred to in *Locanā* on IV. (Vide the *Text of Kāvya-loka-locanā* IV. p. 17—edited by S. K. De.)

²⁰ *Fakrokyiṇata*, p. 89 (2nd edition). Here also as in a discussion of the same question in the *Vyaktivveka*, the term ध्वनिकार has been loosely used for ध्वन्यालोककार.

²¹ III. 24 of *Dhvanyāloka* (printed edition), cited on the *Aucityavicāracyāi*.

²² एतदेवोपजीयानन्दवर्धनाचार्येणोक्तम् सुप्तिङवचनेत्यादि The remarks noted in this connection in the body of this paragraph apply *mutatis mutandis* in the case of Kuntaka and Kṣemendra.

²³ The *Sāhityadarpaṇa*'s reference to ध्वनिहिन and ध्वनिकार includes references to Chapter V, pp. 9, 13, 15, 16, 205, 220, 223. The confusion between the *Dhvanikāra* and Ānandavardhana occurs in a couple of cases and similarly explained.

consideration, the *Kārikā* and *Vṛtti* texts have caused confusion in and have been responsible for the wrong ascription.

In this connection one point in the learned doctor's original paper²⁴ deserves mention, though in his recently published work he seems to have modified the tenor and point of this assertion. It is rather unfortunate that he makes much capital of two statements in the text of the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 11, p. 144), the latter of which may be regarded as spurious seeing that it does not occur in the Kashmir and Poona MSS., and wants to emphasize that Ānanda is the originator of the theory or, at least, is the first expositor and formulator of this characteristic (*Dhvanī*) of poetry. Nothing can be further from truth than this. The beginnings of the *Dhvanī* doctrine were known and referred to, as early as the first half of the 7th century. The great poet Bānabhatta in his poetic introduction to the *Kādambarī*,²⁵ Dandin in his *Kāvyaadarśa*,²⁶ later, Bhatta Vāmana in his *Kāvyaālankārasūtravṛtti* seem to have been familiar with at least a crude form of this doctrine. The manner of introduction of the verse of Manoratha, who was at least an older contemporary of Ānanda, in p. 9. (यस्मिन्नस्ति न वस्तु .. इष्टः स्वरूपं ध्वनेः), as also the subdivision of *Dhvanīkāvyas* as noted in Pratiharendurāja's *Laghuvṛtti* on the *Kāvyaālankāra* of Udbhata,²⁷—a simpler

²⁴ 'Ānandavardhana expressly claims to have been the originator of this theory and (says) that thereby he has laid all learned men under a deep debt of gratitude to him' (p. 86, Pr. Th. Or. Conference).

²⁵ कटुकणन्तो मलदायकाः खल्लासदन्यतां बन्धनशृङ्खला इव ।

मनसु साधुध्वनिभिः पदे पदे हरन्ति शनो मणिनूपुरा इव ॥

The traditional interpretation as handed down amongst Bengal *pandits* takes ध्वनि to mean 'suggested sense'.

²⁶ The suggested or implied sense is assumed in the *Kāvyaadarśa*, e.g. I. 66, V. 76, II. 14. In Vāmana's treatment of *arthaguna ojas* सभिप्रायत्वम् (as illustrated and explained in p. 86. Vānivilās edition) takes note of the suggestive sense as something supremely charming. The same remark applies to his *arthaguna kānti*. His *alankāra vakrokti* or (सादृश्यालक्षणा वक्रोक्तिः 4. 38) also comes very near to this

²⁷ Vide *Kāvyaamālā* edition, pp. 84-85. Cf. also the summary in the verses :—
विवध्यमविवध्यं च वस्तुलंकारगोचरैः the figures दश भेदा ध्वनेरेते विंशतिः पदवाक्यतः
प्रधानवदुपौभूते . . . ॥ This classification starts as a different basis from that of Ānandavardhana. As Bauhatta points out :—In this classification scheme, the basis of division is शब्दशक्त्याश्रय and अर्थशक्त्याश्रय . .

subdivision than that noted and discussed in the *Dhvanyāloka* after the manner of the original *Kārikās* go to show that there was a considerable interval between the formulator of this theory and Ānandavardhana. The statements (अनन्दो मनसि लभतां प्रतिद्वाम्...p. 11, असदुपपन्नो न विस्मयः p. 144, if regarded as included in the text, and the last verse सत्काव्यतत्त्वविषयं...तद्वाकरोत् हेतोरानन्दवर्धन....) are meant to emphasize and form a proper estimate of the services that Ānandavardhana rendered to the cause of critical appreciation of literature from the *lakṣyas*—in the shape of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the great works of classical marks like the *Gāhāsaptasai*, the *Amaruśataka* and like those of Kālidāsa, an appreciation in the wake of or line of interpretation chalked out or vaguely hinted at by the *Dhvanikāra*.

And this brings us to an issue, the importance of which has not been hitherto realised. The *Dhvanyāloka*'s manner of interpretation of some *Kārikās*, as also his reading of certain intentions and views in them, and his own elaboration thereof, occasionally in *Kārikās* even, point unmistakably to the conclusion that Ānanda was trying often to reconcile and foist certain views, which could not have been in the minds of the original *Kārikākāra*. It would appear that the view-points regarding speculations about the relative importance of entities on the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* were different with these two different writers. The second *Kārikā* (Chap. I, 2, p. 12, N.S. edition), the 8th *Kārikā* and others would indicate the importance which the scheme known to the *Dhvanikāra* would offer for *artha* and its consequent charm.²⁸ The importance of *rasa* also in this scheme has more than once in the body of the *Kārikā* text been insisted on. It would thus appear that this was a way of theorists different from that preserved in the Kashmirian literature on the subject—at least from what has been preserved of it from the time of Ānanda down to that of Udbhata. That this view was not an unknown one appears from references in literature (e.g. in Bāṇa²⁹) and from the side-references we get in the works of some great

²⁸ अर्थः सद्दयस्नायः काव्यात्मा यो अवस्थितः । Then obviously for consistency with the next line the pronoun cannot be taken with the previous *Kārikā* as referring to the antecedent ध्वनिः (काव्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति)..

²⁹ नवोऽर्थः स्फुटिरग्राम्या..सुदोरसः । in the introductory verses of the *Harṣa-carita*.

opponents of the Dhvani school like Bhattanāyaka and Mahimabhāṭṭa. Ānanda was faced with other problems and, disturbed mainly as he was with issues and counter-issues raised by the works of Vāmana and Udbhata, he had to traverse grounds the bases of which were of a different nature. Some striking features in the scheme followed by the earlier writer seem to be concerned with the नित्यानित्य-दोषयवस्था, the easiest of शब्दालङ्कारs in general, the enumeration of alāṅkāras as *rūpakāḍi*,³⁰ the subdivisions of *Kāvya*s, including the relation and interrelation of plot with *rasa* and the consequent question of *vṛttis* in works of the Kathā type and drama, as also topics like the *three guṇas*, which have in the traditional ways as preserved in works of the Kashmirian school.³¹ Amongst the topics introduced by Ānanda which may be kept dissociated from the main work, may be mentioned the incidental use of *Śabdavṛttis*, of *saṅghaṭana* and *rīti* theories, which occupy so prominent a place in Vāmana's scheme and the question of figures of speech, particularly that relating to *rasavat*, *preyas* and *urjasvi*, which figure largely in the works of Bhāmaha and Udbhata (laterly in that of Kuntaka). Ānanda's credit lies, however, in co-ordinating these themes and blending them into a harmonious whole, and thus preparing the basis of a scientific, methodical and comprehensive treatment of the *sāstra*, in a manner surpassing that of later writers on the subject, including that greatest writer of Alāṅkāra-nibandha, viz. Mammaṭa.³²

A careful perusal of the *Kārikās* from their linguistic and metrical aspects would confirm the above conclusions. The brevity and terseness of the typical *Kārikās* and their rough-hewn aphoristic trend, a feat which one may see accomplished in the working defini-

³⁰ The views of a school, which have also been referred to by Bhāmaha in his *Kāvyaalāṅkāra* (I) रूपकादिमलङ्कारं वाच्यमाचक्षते परे । सुपां तिङां च व्युत्पत्तिं वाचां वाङ्मनिक्रमिम् । तदेतदाहः सौराष्ट्र्यनार्थव्युत्पत्तिरीदृशः ।

³¹ It is rather unfortunate that, while most of the important works bearing on the Kashmirian tradition excepting the काव्यकौतुक of Bhaṭṭa Toṭa and the *Bhāmahavivarna* of Udbhata are available, early works on the *sāstra* from other countries and other schools are not well known in MS.

³² Mammaṭa has been censured and ridiculed for his attempts at reconciliation and *rapprochement* of the views of the earlier schools with those of the Dhvani school by the earliest commentators on his work, the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*—Rucaka, Śrīdhara, and Caṇḍidāsa. His definition of *Kāvya* has been one of the many points.

tion of *Dhvani* noticed in I, 13 (यत्तार्थः शब्दो वा तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्त्वर्थो । यद्भुक्तायविशेषः स ध्वनिरिति स्वरिभिः कथितः ॥) or in the prosaic *Kārikā* (III, 44)—स गुणोभूतश्चैः . . . पुनरप्युद्योतते बद्धधा ॥—seems strikingly at variance with the elaborate, refined, discussion and often poetical finish of expression, as in the entire fourth *uddyota* and the manner of carrying a discussion over the same in I, 20 and 21. It appears to us that the entire fourth *uddyota* is more likely than not an apocryphal work so far as the original *Dhvanikārikās* are concerned. Here it is that the use of halting forms and enclitic particles, of poetic similes and analogies is carried to a limit far exceeding that of a technical work, untrammelled by considerations of matter and content. A favouritism for certain words³³ and for restricted meanings of them evinces itself in the portion which we would ascribe to Ānanda. Excepting the introductory *Kārikā*, composed in the *Śārdulavikrīḍita* and two verses composed in the *upajāti*, which certainly form a part of the original work, the *Kārikās* of the Dhvanikāra are composed in *anuṣṭubh* and *āryā*, the former being preponderant in number. Ānanda-vardhana's additions are all in the form of *anuṣṭubh* verses, excepting in the last three *Kārikās*, the fourth *uddyota*, composed in the *rathoddhata mālinī* and the *śikharinī*, rather unusual metres for the true *Kārikā* form. It may be noted in passing that in the apocryphal portion Ānanda has tried to escape detection by explaining the words in the *Kārikās* in the *vṛtti* following, exactly as if they are others' composition, in the manner we find illustrated, e.g. in the *Vakroktijīvita*.

We can now sum up our conclusions thus :—In the verse-forms of expression in the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, excepting, of course, illustrations and authoritative citations definitely so mentioned, we find three different catagories of matter :—

- (i) The original *Kārikās* of the Dhvanikāra, which, all told, would come up to not more than ninety in number and end with III, 51 of the printed edition.
- (ii) The *saṃgrahaśloka parikaraśloka* (*vide* explanation in Locanā, p. 34) and *antaraślokas* (for explanation of which term we have to look to Hemacandra's *Kavyānuśāsana-viveka* (p. 392 in the *Kāvyamālā* edition),

³³ e.g. विषय, गुणवृत्ति, स्वस्ववृत्ति, प्रतिभा (used in a special sense I. 15—as opposite to the ordinary sense as in I. 6, IV. 1, 6).

as in the works of Kuntaka and Mahimabhaṭṭa, which are found incorporated in the printed *vṛtti* text (e.g. in pp. 34, 147, 148, 163, 164, 221, 223).

- (iii) The additional or supplementary *Kārikās* coming from Ānandavardhana himself which are a little more than thirty in number.

BHRNGADŪTAM—A NEW KHANDA-KĀVYA.

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1. *Introduction.* The main purpose of this paper is to bring before scholars some interesting points of information about Bhr̥ṅga-dūtam—a recently found work of the Dūta-literature type. But before that, we propose to make some general observations on the Dūta-literature itself.

2. *General remarks on the Dūta-literature.* The poetical works in the Sanskrit literature are divided into दृश्यकाव्य, and श्रव्यकाव्य; of them, the latter is further divided into Mahākāvya and Khandā-kāvya. The chief difference between a Mahākāvya and Khandā-kāvya is that in the latter, the author takes up a particular event and deals with it in a comparatively limited scope, while the author of a Mahākāvya has to take up a plot consisting of a number of smaller events. The rhetoricians have laid down rules about the size of, and the subjects dealt with in, a Mahākāvya. There are several things which must find their place in the descriptive part of a Mahākāvya.¹ The writer of a Khandā-kāvya has got this advantage that he is not required to describe all these things; he takes up a particular theme of his own choice and exercises his poetic imagination. In this way, a poet can show the best of his poetic talents in a Khandā-kāvya. To judge the real merits of a poet, we should, therefore, look at his Khandā-kāvya, if any; there we will find the height of his poetic conception and imaginative faculty.

Meghadūta of Kālidāsa is unique in the Sanskrit literature in so far as it had led many later poets to imitate it. This very fact is a living proof of the excellence and intrinsic worth of Kālidāsa's

¹ Cf. साहित्यदर्पण (6-322-4)

संध्यासूर्येन्दुरजनौप्रदीपध्वान्नवासराः ।

प्रातर्मध्याह्नश्च गथा शैलर्तुवनसागराः ।

सन्मोगविप्रलम्बौ च मुनिस्वर्गपुराध्वराः ।

रणप्रयाणोपयम-मन्त्रपुत्रोदयादयः ।

वर्षानीया यथायोगम् etc.

poetry. Mr. Chintaharaṇa Chakravartī has mentioned¹ about fifty Khaṇḍa-kāvya composed on the model of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta. These works together form the so-called Dūta-kāvya literature or Dūta-literature.

What are the peculiarities of the Dūta-literature? The starting point of all the works of the Dūta-literature is to give expression to the feelings of separation. An inanimate (as cloud in Meghadūta), or animate (as swan in Haṁsadūta) or an abstract thing (as mind in Manodūta) is made a messenger and a message is sent to the person or thing from whom the speaker is separated. The sentiment depicted is the *विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार* in the majority of works, but *शान्तरस*, *करुणरस*, *भक्तिरस* are also found.² The message is usually sent by a lover to his or her beloved, but we come across such messages also in the Dūta-literature as a religious message from a disciple to his preceptor (Indudūta of *विनयविजयगणि*, a Jain monk), a message for seeking patronage of a king (Cātaka-sandēśa), or a message expressing the sense of devotion to a deity (*मनोदूत* of *विष्णुदास*).

Kālidāsa's Meghadūta is important for the geographical informations contained in the work. It describes the various places between Rāma-giri and Alakā. The majority of the later Dūta-kāvyas have lost sight of this important feature of Meghadūta. But there are some which give geographical information, e.g. Indudūta describes Jain temples and sacred places on the way from Yodhapura to Surat.³

The metre usually employed in the Dūta-literature is Mandākrāntā, but there are a few exceptions. We have got Mālinī-metre in Candra-dūta of Jambūkani, Śārdūla-Vikrīḍita in Pikadūta, Śikharīṇī metre in Mano-dūta of Rāma-rāma, and Vasanta-tīlakā in Hrdaya-dūta. The number of verses varies between twenty-three (in Candra-dūta) and two hundred (about) in Jain Meghadūta of Merutuṅga.

There are some Dūta-kāvyas⁴ which can be regarded as the *समस्यापूर्ति*, of one or two lives of Meghadūta. This unique way

¹ Ind. Historical Quarterly (Vol. III, No. 2).

² As in *मनोदूत* of *विष्णुदास* (*शान्तरस*) in *मनोदूत* of *व्रजनाथ* (*करुणरस*) and in *भक्तदूत* (*भक्तिरस*) Ind. Hist. Quarterly (Vol. III, No. 2.)

³ *शुकसन्देश* of Lakshmidāsa given a detailed description of places between Rameśvaram and Gunapuram.

⁴ e.g. *पार्श्वभूदय* of *जिनसेन*, and *नेमिदूत* of *विक्रमकवि* and many others.

of incorporating a line or lines of all the verses of Meghadūta has immensely helped the preservation of the text and rejecting later interpolations¹

3. *Bhṛṅgadūtā*—a recently found *Dūta-kāvya*. There are already two works² belonging to the *Dūta*-literature, which have identical or similar names. One of these, भङ्गसन्देश or धनरसन्देश is composed by Vāsudeva, a court-poet of Ravi-Varmā, the ruler of Calicut. In this work, the speaker sends a message to his wife who has been separated from him by a वच. It contains 192 verses. There is another work named धनरदूत composed by Rudra Nyāya-Vācaspati. In this work, Rāma sends a message to Sītā in Lankā through a bee. The work, which we are going to describe,³ has for its theme a love-message sent by a Gopī to Śrī Kṛṣṇa through a bee.

The manuscript of the work is in private possession. The owner has kindly allowed the present writer to copy it and would be glad to allow its publication.

4. *Description of the MS.* The MS. is in a fairly good condition and tolerably well-written on thick paper. It is dated 1752 Vikrama Samvat=1696 A.D.

“सम्बत् १७५२ वर्षे फाल्गुण (?) न वदी (?) अष्टम्यां रविवासरे ॥ शु ॥

It contains 19 leaves or 37 written pages, there being 9 or 10 lines and 3 or 4 verses in each page. The MS. preserves the complete text except two stanzas (77, 78) which are omitted. It is difficult to account for this omission. After the 76th stanza, we get directly a stanza numbered 79th. Perhaps it is due to the scribe's mistake. The scribe of the work is one Rāmakṛṣṇa, resident of Sūkara-Ksetra.

अलेखि रामकृष्णेन सूकरक्षेत्रवासिना ।

पुस्तकं भङ्गदूतस्य धर्मकार्यसिद्धये ॥ (in the end).

He seems to have been an incompetent scribe. He makes no difference at places between ए and न, श and च, ज and च, व and ष. Shortening and lengthening of vowels against metre are also seen. Omission and substitution of letters have made it difficult to restore the original text in several cases. The verse (56) has been misnumbered as (65). Sometimes, consonants are reversed (e.g. पल्लवी for पटली).

¹ See the Introductions of Meghadūta as edited by Pathak and Hultsch.

² See p. 279 (Ind. Hist. Quarterly), Vol. III, No. 2.

³ This work has not been noticed by Mr. Chakravarti.

But in spite of these shortcomings, it should not be difficult for a competent editor to restore the original readings

5. *Author.* The colophon¹ given in the end of the MS. names the work as Bhramara-Sandēśa and regards it as composed by शतावधानकवि. But as this name appears to be more or less a title, given to the poet on account of his capacity of concentrating his mind on one hundred subjects at one time, we doubt whether this is the proper name of the poet. The last stanza (perhaps not by the poet, for it stands in marked contrast to the previous verses as regards its metre and poetic worth) of the work runs thus:—

श्रीकृष्णदेव(?)स्मरणाभिधानः

शतावधानः परमाभिधानम् ।

श्रीभङ्गदूतं त्रुतिसारभूतम्

वधादतिप्रेमकथानुभूतम् ॥

It seems that the name of the poet was श्रीकृष्णदेव,, though there is a difficulty in this conjecture, namely that we have to make a मध्यमपदलोपी समास here (श्रीकृष्णदेव इति स्मरण(योग्यम्) अभिधानं यस्य सः) But there are two considerations which may justify this unusual compounding. In the first place, the versifier here is producing an effect of यमक (see धान and जन brought thrice in the first and second half of the verse respectively. Secondly, the name of the poet being identical with that of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the hero of the book, the poet is necessarily reminded of his Lord's name and indulges in praising his name (स्मरणयोग्यम्).

Similarly the name of the works as given in the colophon differs from that given in the last stanza. The colophon² names it as धमरसन्देश; the last stanza³ names it as भङ्गदूत. The real name appears to be भङ्गदूत, as is clear from the stanza, naming the scribe of the MS., quoted above. Thus we see that the colophon is misleading as regards the name of the work and the author.

6. *Date of the Work.* Nothing definite can be said at present about the period when this author कृष्णदेव flourished. We have so many authors bearing the similar or identical names, that it is difficult to say anything definite. The matter is engaging the attention of the writer and an approximate date may be given at a later time. Suffice it to say, at present, that he cannot be later than

¹ इति शतावधान-कविकल्पित

धमरसं(?)सं)देशं(?)सं)माप्तम् ।

² See above.

³ Quoted above.

1696 A.D., the date of the MS. The fact that the MS. was written in Sūkara-ksetra, and that various details are given about ब्रजभूमि indicates that the author may have lived, at least for some time, in the Western U.P.

. 7. *The work proper.* The work contains 126 verses in Mandākrāntā metre. Unlike Meghadūta there are no पूर्वभाग and उत्तरभाग divisions in the work. All the verses go to form one unit—the work itself. The last stanza¹ is in Upajāti metre and states the names of the author and the work.

8. *Subject-matter.* A Gopī in artificial anger (प्राप्तमानान्तराया) has quarrelled with Śrī Kṛṣṇa and spends a restless night. The following morning, she sees, near by, a bee humming merrily on the opening lotus flowers. With big tears in her sleep-idle eyes, she breathes a heavy sigh and asks the bee to take her message to her lover Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The way shown to the messenger is not exactly one which the messenger must follow to reach his destination. What our author aims at is to mention and describe the various scenes of ब्रजभूमि which are of great interest to the Gopī and other devotees of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The bee is asked to go first to the house of Nanda (यादि नन्दस्य गेहम्). The garden, the Mālati-bower, scents of amorous spouts (कामक्रीडापरिमल), the arch—all these are admirably described. Then comes the Royal avenue (राजवैथी), where beautiful damsels are seen hurrying to their lovers' places and heart-attracting ball-games (कन्दुकक्रीडाः) are being played. Reaching Gokul through a spacious gate, the messenger is to see the image of Gaṇeśa in the court-yard, and the worship of Rohiṇī. He is advised to enjoy the playing on musical instruments and the amorous dance in honour of the deity. Thence he goes to the way leading to the Yamunā river and listens to the witty and confidential talks of the ladies who have gone there to fetch water. He is to keep himself aloof from these temptations and proceed on his undertaken errand. Now comes the temple of वाग्देवता (the goddess of speech) by whose grace even the animals can compose excellent poetic lines.² This is followed by a very beautiful description of Lord Śiva's temple (कैलाशधाम).

¹ Quoted above.

² अल्पेनैव स्फुरितमतयो यत्प्रसादेन कुर्युः ।

तिर्यङ्क्षोऽपि ललितममृतस्यन्दिनीः स्फुल्लिरेखाः ॥

Turning to the north, the messenger comes to the scene of कालियदमन, whence Śrī Kṛṣṇa danced upon the hood of the great black snake. Then comes a long and vivid description of Vṛndāvana. Now, various guesses are made as to what Śrī Kṛṣṇa may be doing at the time when the messenger happens to see him. The messenger may find him playing with Gopa-boys, or returning with cows from grazing fields, or caressing the young calves on their back or lying on green turf and playing upon the flute, under the cool shade of a Rauhina tree, or busy in various amorous spouts with the Gopīs. The messenger is asked to approach Śrī Kṛṣṇa humbly and deliver the message, wherein the Gopī refers to his past favours on her and of the present misfortune. She speaks in excited tone of the high fervour of her lover, makes her physical and spiritual surrender to Śrī Kṛṣṇa. In the last stanza, her sincere devotion bears fruit—the ever-kind and joyful Mukunda appears on the scene and grants her desire (साक्षाद्भूय स्वयमभिमनप्रापणायानुनिन्दे (मेने)).

Its relation with Meghadūta. As has already pointed out at the outset, Meghadūta is the model on which the Dūta-kāvya are based. Bhṛṅgadūta is no exception to this; rather it is a closer imitation of Meghadūta. It is greatly influenced by Meghadūta as regards language, metre, style, arrangement, and thought. As is clear from the perusal of the subject-matter, the plot essentially follows the same line.

In the 1st verse of Meghadūta, we have

कश्चित्.....यत्तच्छब्दे.....वसतिं.....।

In the 1st verse of Bhṛṅgadūta, we have

....काचिद्गोपी.....कथमपि निशां कल्पकल्पां निनाय।

In the 2nd verse of Meghadūta, we have

....स.....मेघम्.....ददर्श।

In the 2nd verse of Bhṛṅgadūta, we have

....मधुकर्मसौ कश्चिदारादपश्यत्।

In the 3rd verse of Meghadūta, we have

....चन्तर्वाण्यश्चिरम्.....दधौ।

In the 3rd verse of Bhṛṅgadūta, we have

....दैनया वीक्ष्य दृष्ट्वा, खेदादेनां कथमपि नतभ्रूलता निःश्वसन्ती।

The last verse of Meghadūta¹ has got a similar echo in the following stanza (125):—

प्रियमनचित्प्रार्थनावर्तिनो मे।

एतत्कला मधुकरभवानीक्षितं मे दयावान्
 दृन्दे दृन्दावनसुमनसां नित्यमानन्दमेतु ।
 प्रायामोदप्रसरसुभगामच्युतस्यानुवेलं
 वल्लङ्घनी रणितमुखरां वैजयन्तीमुपास्ताम् ॥

These few instances, quoted by way of *स्वालीपुलाकन्याय*, should suffice to show the close similarity.

There are two important features in which *Bhṛṅgadūta* stands in marked contrast with *Meghadūta*. In *Bhṛṅgadūta*, the interest of the poet lies in describing the various scenes of *व्रजभूमिः*. The separation of the Gopī from her lover is not caused by any external agency, as is found in the curse of Kuvera in *Meghadūta*. Naturally there is no need of mentioning and describing other cities, rivers and mountains, as the Gopī and Śrī Kṛṣṇa are in the same place—the *Vrajabhūmi*. Hence no geographical description is given here.

The second important feature of *Bhṛṅgadūta* is that the conception of love depicted here is not purely human but divine. Śrī Kṛṣṇa is not regarded as a human figure. In various places, frequent references are made to his divine aspect. In the very first line of the book he is called *पूर्णानन्दपरमपुरुष*. In the 6th verse, he is said to be *वृत्तिमधुपुरासृग्यपादारविन्द*. He is referred to as *ब्रह्मादीनामपि दिविषदां दुर्लभ*, *फलमविकलं पुण्यकल्पद्रुमस्य* (94) as *निर्वाणहेतु* (120). He is said to be *सिद्धहेमाञ्जन* for *संसारक्लमविवृति*. In the 89th verse, the messenger is warned that he should not regard those damsels playing with Śrī Kṛṣṇa as ordinary human beings. They are said to have descended on the earth to serve Lord Viṣṇu in the form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

So here we have got what is called *पतिपत्नीभाव* of *भक्तिमार्ग* (Conjugal-love-aspect of the Path of Devotion). In the Indian thought of the Mediæval period, there were three main currents of *भक्तिमार्ग* (Path of Devotion), *मित्रभाव* (companion-aspect) as in the works of *Sūradāsa*, *दासभाव* (servant-aspect) as in the works *Tulasidāsa*, and *पतिपत्नीभाव* (conjugal-love-aspect) as in the works of *Mirābāi*. It is the last path of serving God that finds expression in the utterances of the Gopī. She says in verse 122 that she has no faith in the dry doctrines of *Veśānta* and final absorption in the absolute; what she desires most fondly is that she should come in personal contact with her Master and serve Him with speech, mind, and body.

The philosophy of love as revealed in the work is not, therefore, the विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार, but it is the craving for the realisations of *Divine Loves*.

Literary estimate. There is no doubt that the author shows masterly strokes in the field of poetic composition. Here and there we have got really fine phrases revealing the poetic talents of the author. But the conclusion is irresistible that the work betrays an inferior workmanship. There are adjectives having no significance and used only for filling the verse. Words are used in an unnatural sense and do not admit of simple interpretation.

We will illustrate these shortcomings from the first ten verses of the work.

- (i) पूर्णानन्दे परमपुरुषे पुण्डरीकायताक्षे
सर्वैः पुण्यैरुपचितदृढप्रेमसिद्धाखिलार्था ।
काचिद्गोपी प्रणयकलङ्कप्राप्तमानान्तराया
प्रौढज्योत्स्नां कथमपि निशां कल्पकल्पां निनाय ।

The adjective in the second line has no significance here and shows the poets' utter disregard for परिकरालंकार.

- (ii) प्रातः प्रोद्यद्दिनकरकरत्याजितास्याजमुद्रा-
मध्यासीन सरसविमिनौ सिन्धुधाराः सृजन्तौ ।
वामा मीनक्षपणपटुना मञ्जुगुञ्जारवेण
प्रत्याश्वासं मधुकरमसौ कश्चिदारादपश्यत् ॥

This beautiful verse loses its charm when we have to regard प्रत्याश्वासम् either as प्रत्याश्रयस्त्व or प्रत्याश्वासयितारम् (पचाद्यच्). In the first case, there is a grammatical difficulty, in the second the sense is not happy.

- (iii) निद्राभंगादलसमथना दीनया वीक्ष्य दृष्ट्वा
खेदादेन कथमपि नतभ्रूलता निःश्वसन्ती ।
सद्यः स्मैरं निजमुखमुधासेवके वासुदेवे
भावं प्राप्ता पुलककलिकाराजिराजकपोला ॥

- (iv) मुक्ता मुक्ताफलसमरचीन् सुन्दरीवाष्पविन्दून्
कृत्वा कण्ठं कथमपि मिलत्यञ्चमं कोकिलेव ।
सन्देह्यन्ती सपदि हरये स्तां दशां प्रेयसे तां
मन्दं मन्दं मधुकरमसौ प्राञ्जलिसं जगाद ॥

भावं प्राप्ता is a rare use of the word in the sense it is used here. कृत्वा कण्ठं is not a happy use, it shows poverty of expression.

- (v) अस्मादस्मादनसविधाद्याहि नन्दस्य गेह
प्रत्यासन्नोपवनपवनानीतमाकन्दगन्धं ।
गायन्तीनां कुवलयदृशं कृष्णमाकर्णयन्ती
यत्रोद्गीतं निवसति सखी नित्यमोदा यशोदा ॥

Besides the difficulty of taking कृष्णम् in the sense कृष्णचरितम् and dragging उद्गीतम् the object of आकर्णयन्ती from the fourth पाद, the word सखी used as an epithet of यशोदा (Mother of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the lover of गोपौ) is simply revolting. In the 15th verse,¹ however, the poet uses देवी as an epithet of यशोदा.

अलं परदोषोद्भावनेन. As we have already said, the work is not devoid of poetic excellence. We shall bring this paper to a close by quoting a few good verses from the book.

- (viii) सत्रीकान्तः किमपि कुपितः सापराधे जनेऽस्मिन्
मत्सन्देशान्मधुप भवता माधवोऽद्य प्रसाद्यः ।
तद्यायास्त्वं दयित सुमनोदृन्दृन्दावनानं
यस्मिन् गोपैर्विहरति सम वल्लभो वल्लवीनाम् ॥
- (120) लज्जा लूना कुलमगणितं लङ्घिता मानमुद्रा
भग्न शीलं भय(?)मपहृतं धिक्कृतो धर्मसेतुः ।
यद्यदुदृष्टं प्रियमिति मया तत्तदस्याजि सर्वं
त्वामेवैकं शरणमधुना यामि निर्वाणहेतुम् ॥

These may be regarded as good instances of प्रसादगुण. Below, I am quoting below beautiful stanzas as they reveal the poets' power of simple description.

- (15) सायं सायं सद्यः सद्यश्चरैः सौरभेयौसमूहान्
अन्वायानं सुतमतिमुदा यत्र देवी यशोदा ।
रक्षादीपावलिबलिकरा रक्षिताशेषलोकं
प्रत्युद्यति प्रहृतहृदया प्रसुताभ्यां सुनाभ्याम् ॥
- (23) सिन्दूराद्रं शिरसि दधती शेखरं मौक्तिकानां
सन्धारामादुपनतनिव ज्योतिषां चक्रवालम् ।
वन्द्यानित्या व्रजयुवतिभिर्वैजयन्तीं दधाना
बन्धूकानां यदजिरगता भाति हेरम्बमूर्तिः ॥
- (31) सेकस्त्रिगुणं चिकुरनिकरं संयताग्रं दधानो
सुतं पञ्चान्नृगमदरसामोदिकाश्रीरलेपः ।
हस्तन्यस्तैः कनककलशैरजपत्रातपत्रैः
कालिन्देयं नयति सलिलं यत्र कन्यानिकायः ॥

The following are the two verses indicating the flight of the poetic imagination :—

(19) हैमान्कुम्भानुरसिजभरैर्दर्पणालिं कपोलै-
 र्भङ्गान्पुष्पप्रकरमुखरान्यादभूषानिनादैः ।
 तन्त्रीनादान्मृदुभिरुदितैः कुङ्कुमान्यङ्गकान्त्या
 कर्पूरं च स्मितरचनया यत्र नार्यो हसन्ति ॥

(51) आनन्देन द्रुत इव हरेरङ्गलावण्यपूरः
 कृष्णस्पर्शान्नव इव भुवो रोमराजौविलासः ।
 दानस्यन्दोदय इव कलिन्दा(?)द्रिदन्तावलस्य
 खोतोभारः सुभगसलिलः शोभते साधु यस्याः ॥

(यसुनायाः)

Section of Philology.

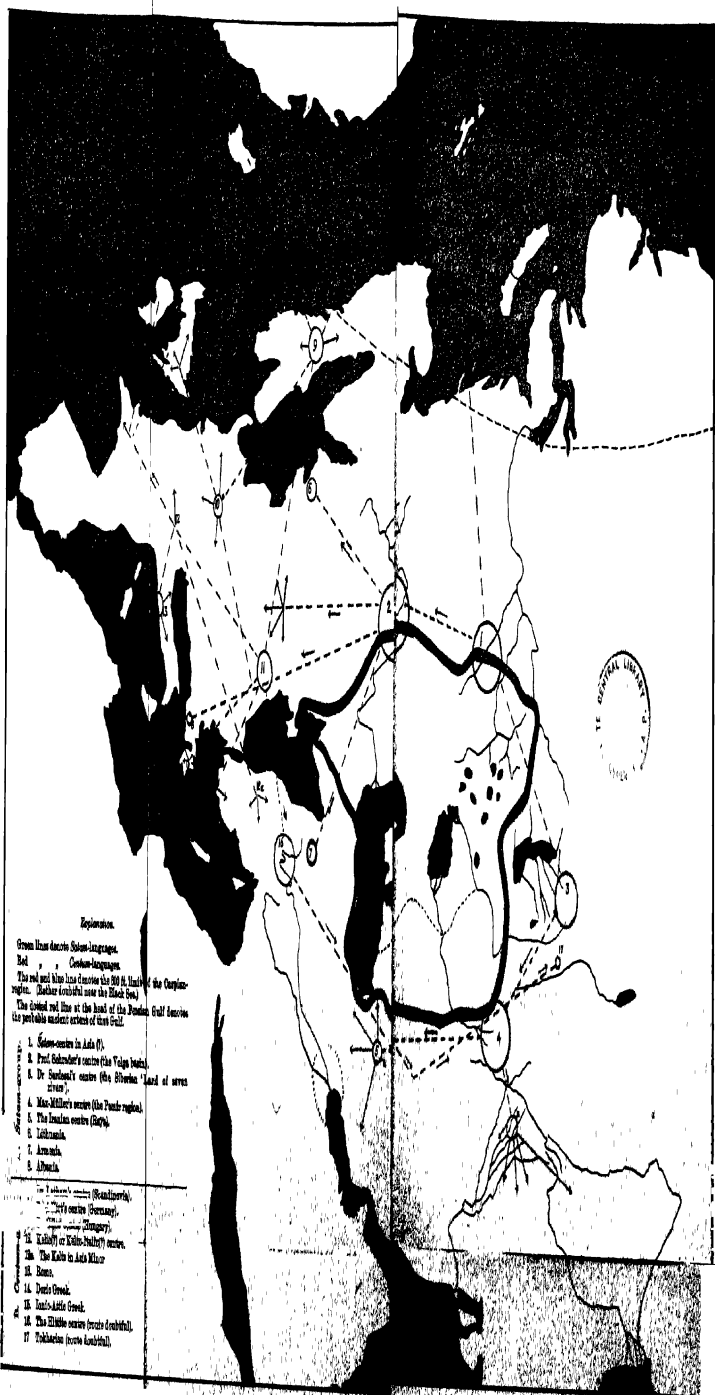
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THE INDO-EUROPEAN HOMELAND : A RESTATEMENT OF THE QUESTION.

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One of the most fascinating branches of the science of Linguistics is that known as *Urgeschichte* of Linguistic Palæontology. It deals with the prehistoric antiquities and culture of the people who had been the speakers of the family of the languages being investigated. And one of the questions that comes up in this connection is that of the original home from which these language streams have first started. For the Indo-European languages this problem is of very special interest to us.

During my student days I was very much struck by the great variety of opinions about this point held by scholars of very great reputation, and I could not quite see my way through all these mutually contradictory theories. It may be just as well to give a short summary of the various views held and then I would proceed to explain how these varied opinions arose.

I believe it was Max Müller who first gave serious attention to this question, and he propounded what is known as the 'Central-Asian Homeland' theory. It held ground for some years in Europe, and for a good deal longer in India.¹ Then Dr. Latham of King's College, Cambridge, came out with the idea that the Homeland was to be sought somewhere in Scandinavia. Other theories followed proposing the south-eastern shores of the Baltic,² various parts of Germany and other European lands. Among these latter the theory most widely accepted at present is that proposed by Prof. Dr. O. Schrader of the University of Breslau, who in his famous book *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* has declared the lower course of the river Volga as the most likely homeland. And quite recently

¹ This is partly due to the reason that we in India, as Asiatics, would like to have the ancient home nearer our part of the world. Europeans on the other hand, since the time of Latham, have been almost solidly for a European home.

² The reason for this was that Lithuanian, the I.-E. language spoken in that part, shows the most primitive type of structure among the modern I.-E. languages.

Dr. Peter Giles, the Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge,¹ had proposed to locate this homeland somewhere in Hungary, within the circle of the Carpathians. In India, too, scholars have been busy with this question. Sardesai has in a very interesting paper tried to put the home of the I-E people near the Lake Balkash, where there is even to this day a region known as 'the Land of the Seven Rivers'.² The recent discoveries of Vedic deities in the Hittite inscriptions has led some to put the original cradle of the I-E somewhere in upper Mesopotamia. And, last but not the least, Tilak³ in his *Arctic Home in the Vedas* has very ably put forward the case for the circumpolar regions.

No wonder an ordinary person would be confused at all this multiplicity of theories. When I was studying Prof. Schrader's book for my Cambridge Examination I seemed to get the impression that the whole argument of the Professor was *a priori*, that, in fact, he had made up his mind that it was to be the valley of the Volga and that he had afterwards marshalled all his arguments to prove it. So strong was this impression in my mind that when I learnt shortly afterwards that he was the Professor of Slavic Languages at his University, it became a certainty. When, therefore, I had the honour of meeting him, I could not help rather bluntly asking him if that were not the fact. To my great satisfaction he admitted it. A bit later I learnt that Dr. Latham had been teaching Scandinavian languages at Cambridge. So, after carefully looking over the various theories advanced, and at the linguistic angle from which the question had been approached by the author, I have come to the deliberate conclusion that there is a direct connection between these two factors. The various writers have placed the homeland of the I-E. at the junction of the languages on which they have principally relied during their investigations.

¹ Dr. Peter Giles was my own Teacher at Cambridge. He has propounded this theory in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I.

² *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 93-96.

³ It seems a pity that Tilak's scholarship has never received its due at the hands of European scholars, except Max Muller. His political activities certainly were responsible for this. His *Arctic Home in the Vedas* was first published in 1903 and the scientific arguments he relied on (Croll's theory of the Ice-Age) has now been definitely disproved. But his main thesis is that the last Ice-Age was within human memory and this is now regarded as a proved fact by science.

I feel also that in all these investigations sufficient attention has not been paid to the mutual connections between the various languages of the I.-E. family. Too much attention is paid to names of plants and animals, and to various words of material culture, and practically none at all to the grammatical relationships between the languages themselves. These last are very valuable in showing which languages of the I.-E. family have been long in contact with one another. The first great division of this family is into the *satam* and the *centum* groups. This is a very significant point, as this division corresponds, of course roughly, to the geographical division of Asiatic and European.

Another point which is almost always ignored in these investigations is that about the local distribution of land and water in any particular locality at the period which we are discussing. This period should carry us back quite 10,000 years if not more, and though the continents and the oceans were then very much as they are now, still in any particular locality the chief features of the landscape were substantially different. Of course theoretically all workers admit the importance of this point, but in actual practice it is mostly forgotten.

Closely associated with this local difference is the change of climate. The climate of those ancient days was very appreciably different in particular localities from what it is now. But still we find scholars arguing as if there was no difference and that consequently the population of a locality had always been as sparse as it is now.

While considering the various theories advanced for the 'ancient home' (the *Urheimat*) I have come deliberately to the conclusion that they are all correct in one respect, viz. that the locality pointed out was indeed for some considerable time a centre of the I.-E. peoples.¹ In other words, these various localities pointed out were rather sub-centres or halting places of various branches during their migrations,² while the *Urheimat* was quite different.

¹ I attach no ethnological significance to this phrase. I mean merely the people (of any race whatsoever) who speak one of the I.-E. languages.

² Tilak has suggested that the lands enumerated in the first chapter of the *Vendutā* might actually indicate in their order the actual route of the Iranian migration from the original Polar home to their final settlement in Western Iran at Ragha (Rāo).

All traditions of the I.-E. peoples point unequivocally to the North as the direction in which the 'original homeland' lay. The descriptions of long dark winters, of ice and snow also tell the same story. But nowhere is this tradition of the Northern home so clearly expressed as in the Iranian scriptures. The *Vendīdād*¹ especially is quite rich in these references. We will recapitulate the more important of these.

1. In the first chapter of the *Vendīdād* in answer to Zarathushtra's questions Ahuramazda enumerates the lands he has created and says:

'I, Ahuramazda, among the good lands and countries, did create first of all the land of Airyana-vaēja (the Cradle-land² of the Āryas) on the banks of the Vehdāti. Against it Angro Mainyu,³ who is mere Death, created the great Serpent and cold.' (*Ven.* i. 1-3.)

In this we are plainly told that Angro Mainyu created great cold for the destruction of the cradle-land of the Aryans. There is also the great Serpent (*ažiš-*Skt. अश्विः) also mentioned. This is the Serpent Vṛtra, slain by Indra, who keeps the rivers from flowing until Indra slays him and releases the waters from his frozen grip.⁴

2. Then the following passages in the fifth chapter of the *Vendīdād* are worth considering:

'O Creator of the corporeal world, Holy Ahuramazda, when summer is ended and winter has come and if a Mazda-worshipper dies, what should be done?

'.....Then did Ahuramazda reply: (After digging a receptacle of the size of a man's body in the floor of a special room near the house)⁵ the dead body should be preserved therein....until such time as the birds begin to fly and the trees begin to sprout, until such time as the hidden waters begin to flow and the earth is dried up by the winds.' (*Ven.* v. 10, 12.)

In order to understand the implications of the above quotation it is necessary to bear in mind that for the exposure of dead bodies

¹ The *Vendīdād* in its extant version is certainly a post-Christian composition. But the traditions it embodies and has preserved are as ancient as the Aryan peoples themselves.

² *vaēja* literally means 'seed', Skt. बीज.

³ The Spirit of evil.

⁴ *Rv.* i, 32, 1-2, also 12.

⁵ The instructions for constructing this receptacle are contained in the paragraph omitted here and indicated by the dots.

to the sun it is required that the sun should be visible well above the horizon. And in the Polar regions the sun is below the horizon for weeks at a time. And the description 'until the birds begin to fly', etc. has been clearly understood by an ancient commentator to mean the return of the Spring. In parts of modern Persia the winters are indeed severe, and a blizzard of exceptional severity may hold up a funeral for two or three days, but never for weeks at a time as has been contemplated in the passages quoted.

3. The destruction of Airyana Vaēja by ice and snow has been very clearly described in the second chapter of the *Vendīdād*. The passages are so clear and their meaning so undisputed that it seems a wonder why the obvious conclusion about a Polar Home has been overlooked. The only explanation seems to be the ineradicable preconception that the polar regions have always been uninhabitable and that Airyana Vaēja could not be anything other than modern Iran. In this second chapter, the Legend of Yima, the son of Vivanghvat (Yama Vaivasvata) is given. He is reputed to have ruled for long ages in great splendour and magnificence. So prosperous were his people, and so greatly did they multiply that three times they had to seek other homes and to migrate. And every time they migrated *southwards*. From the North Polar regions all directions are necessarily south. Then when 800 years of Yima's reign had passed Ahuramazda invited him and his counsellors to a conference on the banks of the Vehdāti, and addressed him thus:

'O Yima, thou fair son of Vivanghvat, upon this wicked corporeal world will descend winters, and through shall come fierce deadly cold. Upon this wicked material world shall come winters and through these shall fall first of all deep snow extending from the high mountain tops to the depths of the waters.¹

'And all the three kinds of animals here, O Yima, shall disappear, those which live in the most terrific wildernesses, and those which live on the tops of mountains, and those which live (domesticated) in the river valleys (even though protected) in well-built stalls.

'Before the cold there is (at present) in this land the production of food, and there is water in plenty for its irrigation after the melting of the (winter's) snow. But (later on), O Yima, the land here shall

¹ The translation is here somewhat disputed. The word used here is *urednyu* [gen. sg. of *aredvi* (the waters).] Apparently the deep sea is meant. See my *Selections from Avesta and Old Persian*, p. I, 1, 232.

appear uninhabitable for all corporeal life, even here where the foot-prints of lowing cattle are (at present) to be seen.' (Ven. ii, 22-24.)

This is indeed a forceful and a graphic description of the Ice Age overwhelming the ancient land of the Āryas.

4. There is still another passage in the same chapter whose meaning is absolutely undisputed, and which can only apply to the Polar regions. And yet no scholar, except Tilak, has drawn the obvious conclusion. We cannot quote a better instance of how preconceived notions influence the judgments of even able and critical scholars.

After uttering the warning Ahuramazda goes on to instruct Yima about the construction of an underground enclosure (*vara*) for the preservation of the best and the choicest plants, animals, and human beings Zarathushtra, who has been listening to this narration of Yima's story, naturally asks how this *vara* was lighted up. So Ahuramazda replies :

'These lights were both natural and artificial: once only in the year the stars and the moon and the sun are seen to set and to rise; and *they thought what is a year to be a day.*' (Ven. ii. 40.)

What could be more direct than this that the ancient land of Airyana Vaēja was situated in a region where a year appeared as a day? A year of us mortals is also a day of the Hindu gods and they live on Mount Meru which Tilak in his book on *the Arctic Home in the Vedas* identified with the North Polar regions.

5. In the centre of Airyana Vaēja, at the centre of this earth, was situated the Mount Hara Bareza. Similarly in the Hindu tradition the Mount Meru is at the centre of the earth. The great Dastur Nairyosang Dhaval¹ translated many portions of Avesta and Pahlavi texts into Sanskrit. All proper names he has uniformly *transcribed* in Devanagari script, e.g. Ahuramazda has become *होर्मिन्द*, Vohu-Mano *वहुमान* and so on. But only in one case, that of Hara Bareza, he *translates* the name as *मेरु*. Nairyosang was deeply versed in the ancient Aryan tradition and so it is but natural that he fully appreciated the identity of these two names.

Thus we see fairly clearly that while all languages of the I.-E. family embody traditions of a northern home the Iranian tradition specifically mentions the North Polar region as the original homeland

¹ Generally believed to have flourished about A.D. 1200.

and describes it in some detail. That the Indian tradition also supports this view has been amply demonstrated by Tilak and I need not here recapitulate his arguments.

An objection may be raised at this stage and we may be asked why the names of the cities, rivers, and mountains mentioned in this ancient tradition are found in Modern Iran. Here we have to deal with a fundamental emotion of the human being, the love of the homeland. Englishmen have colonised all over the world and wherever they have gone they have carried with them the beloved names of the Mother country, London and Thames, York and Cambridge, Oxford and Windsor, and many others. If, say, several thousand years hence England disappears and these English place-names survive only in New Zealand, would any one be justified in saying that New Zealand was the original home of the English people. These well-loved names do contrive to survive for incredibly long ages.

We must also bear in mind that though during the Ice Age the main continents and oceans of the world were much the same as at present, still there were very considerable differences in the topography of any particular region. The region of Central Asia was very different in those days. Judging by what is known of the steadily falling level of the Caspian Sea within historical times, it would not be very wrong to say that at the period we are considering a vast sea occupied much of the area of the Central Asian steppes of to-day. Naturally the climate and consequently the fauna and flora would have been also very different from now.¹

Thus it will be seen that I regard Tilak's hypothesis to be the most likely, viz. that the I.-E. homeland was in the North Polar regions. The various centres indicated by the various scholars were as a matter of fact *sub-centres* making the various halts during the wanderings of the various branches on their way to their homes in historical times. The first division of the I.-E. languages into the *śatam-* and the *centum-*groups marks the two lines of migrations one towards Asia and the other towards Europe. The former, I believe, was first stopped from further progress southwards by the great sea in Central Asia and slowly one branch moved off westwards up to the banks of the Volga, which forms the sub-centre mentioned by Schrader. The subsequent migrations² and those of the *centum-*

¹ See Ellsworth Huntington's fascinating book, *The Pulse of Asia*.

² See note 2, p. 637, *Supra*.

group are indicated on the map attached and can be followed there much better than through pages of print.

There is another point I wish to emphasise in this connection. European scholars seem to regard the I.-E. people as almost identical with the primitive savage tribes of Europe who have left behind the pile-dwellings and the kitchen-middens and other relics of a very primitive culture. I think the view is unjust. Even from the material side, i.e. by considering only the 'culture words' common to the I.-E. languages, we find that these people were distinctly a superior and more advanced people. I have a feeling that the I.-E. people replaced these primitive savage tribes of Europe. But a far more valuable evidence of their culture is afforded by a consideration of the grammar of the parent I.-E. language. The wealth of forms, the subtle distinctions made in the various *vikarāṇas* of verbs,¹ the very numerous prepositions which all existed *before* the separation of the branches clearly indicate a very high intellectual development. Add to this the fact that they certainly had the numerals up to 100 and probably up to 1,000, that they had developed the decimal system of numeration and we can be quite sure that they were far removed intellectually than the primitive savages who wandered over Europe in the prehistoric ages.

¹ Thumb in his *Handbuch des Sanskrit* discusses this point. Not less than 32 different *vikarāṇas* have been enumerated for the parent language.

THE TERTIARY STAGE OF INDO-ARYAN.

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§ 1. It has been found convenient, taking into consideration its general trend of development, to divide the history of Indo-Aryan into three Stages: *Old*, *Middle*, and *New*; or, *Primary*, *Secondary*, and *Tertiary*, following Grierson in the LSI. and elsewhere (where he employs the terms 'Primary Prakrits, Secondary Prakrits, and Tertiary Prakrits,' emphasising upon the colloquial character of the speech as distinguished from the literary forms of it like Vedic and Sanskrit). In a loose way we can speak of these three Stages, employing broad Indian terms, as *Sanskrit* (or *Vedic*, *Vaidik*), *Prakrit*, and *Bhāṣā*. The whole history of Indo-Aryan for some 2,500 years commencing roughly from 1500 B.C. and continuing down to the present day can be best surveyed as a chronological sequence only by a proper appreciation of the principles underlying this three-fold division.

§ 2. Grierson has briefly indicated (in the LSI., Vol. I, Part 1, 1927, p. 122), the characteristics of these three stages. As he says, there is no difficulty in recognising the main distinctive peculiarities of each group or stage. The situation I have sought to describe in some detail in my ODBL., pp. 16–20. Taking phonetic alteration as the fundamental thing in spoken language, we may note briefly that the Secondary or MIA. stage started with the assimilation of the consonant combinations of the Primary or OIA. stage; that the MIA. stage was further characterised at a later period in its history by the dropping of the stops and the weakening of the aspirates to *h* (except in the case of the cerebrals, and, in some dialects, of the palatals), and further by a modification of the intervocal -*m*- to -*ṃ* (and of -*l*-, -*n*- to -*ḷ*-, -*ṇ*-); and that the Tertiary or NIA. stage came in with the simplification of the assimilated double or long consonants of MIA. to single or short consonants. This treatment of the double consonants of MIA. may be taken to be the crucial thing in considering the development of NIA. Viewed from this standpoint, we might say that certain forms of NIA., or rather, certain modern

Indo-Aryan speeches are still in the MIA. stage—e.g. Panjabi and Lahndi, which still keep the double consonants, whereas all other NIA. speeches merit the title of NIA. better, in having made a departure from MIA. in this respect.

§ 3. It has to be recognised that the development of the Aryan speech in India has not been uniform everywhere. The Aryan speech, for instance, did not enter into the Secondary or Middle stage of its history at one time all over the Aryan pale in Northern India. Evidence of the Aśoka inscriptions of the 3rd century B.C., our oldest contemporary documents in any Indo-Aryan speech, would go to show that even at that late period in the early history of IA., the speech of the North-West as at Shahbazgarhi and Manshra (with forms like *dhrama*=*dharma*, *asti*, *nasti*=*nāsti*, *sresta*=*śreṣṭha*, *sahasrani*=*sahasrāṇi*, *supathra*=*sūpārtha*-, *dhruvaṃ*, *pranatrayo*=*prāna-trayaḥ*, *savatra*=*sarvatra*, *putra*, *yatra*, *dharmānuśasti*=*dharmānuśasti*, *suśrusā*=*śuśrūsā*, *bramana*, *śramana*, etc.) and the South-Western or Gīrnar dialect (which shows a partial agreement with the former in retaining a number of earlier consonant combinations intact), had not yet wholly conformed to the MIA. standard with all its implications in phonetics; while the speech of the East (which seems to have been imposed upon the Midland, for a time at least, as the language of the court) was frankly and fully in the MIA. stage. Greek transcriptions of Indian names, heard apparently in the North-West in the 3rd century B.C., would confirm the same view, at least as regards the North-Western speech: e.g. forms like *Prasiov*, *Oksūdrakai*, *Sandrakuptos*, *Palibothra* (= **Pāl̥[ə]lī-putra*), *Amītrokhaḍēs*, *Brakhmanes*, etc. seem actually to have been heard by the first Greeks who wrote them down, and it is hardly likely they got any but the actual spoken forms. It seems exceedingly probable that the MIA. stage was arrived at in the Ganges valley—probably in the central and eastern parts of it,—earlier than it had manifested itself in the Panjab. I have given some of my arguments in the ODBL. (pp. 43–48), and it is not necessary to repeat them here. The exact time when this stage clearly manifested itself in Indo-Aryan—that is, in some local form of it—is not clearly known. The Prakritisms in the R̥gveda would at least indicate that the MIA. stage was at least manifesting itself in dialectal Indo-Aryan when the Veda was first written down. Now, it seems unlikely that the R̥g-Veda corpus was complete before

1000 B.C. (cf. Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri, 'The Antiquity of the Rigveda' in the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1924, pp. 73-74). The compilation into a Veda-book occurred some time later—in the 10th or 9th century B.C., and it is unthinkable that the compilation of the hymns in even one *corpus* was possible without some system of writing, howsoever crude and merely mnemonic it might be. Judging from the yet unstereotyped and faulty and hesitating orthography of the Aśoka inscriptions, the introduction of writing among the speakers of Indo-Aryan could not have been very much anterior to the 3rd or 4th century B.C. (It does not matter whether the introduction was the result of an adaptation of a foreign alphabet, or whether it was the employment of an earlier, pre-Aryan system of writing for Aryan, or whether again it was an invention of a wise man among Aryan speakers themselves.) The first writing down of the Vedic hymns in a Veda-book occurred some time between composition of the latest hymns (about 1000 B.C.) and a few centuries before the oldest Brāhmi inscriptions: it could very well have occurred nearer 1000 B.C. than 500 B.C. The Prakritisms could either have been present in the time of these latest hymns, or they crept in later, before or about the time of writing down the hymns. In any case, we would not be justified in taking the appearances of the MIA. characteristics in any IA. dialect prior to 1000 B.C. The beginnings of the Secondary stage could therefore be very well taken back to the commencement of the 1st millennium B.C. or even to the close of the 2nd millennium. It is quite conceivable that starting in the Eastern part of the Hindustan plains, the MIA. or Secondary character gradually spread into the North-West, so that by the time of Aśoka even the Panjab dialects had at least partially entered into the MIA. Stage. At the time of Pāninī who might very well have been a contemporary of the Buddha the North-Western dialects were sufficiently close to the Primary or Old Indo-Aryan stage as to enable a high or literary form of them to be designated as *Laṅkā* or 'current' or 'popular' speech by that great grammarian.

§ 4. We need not go into details of the evolution of Middle or Secondary Indo-Aryan. Suffice it to say that epigraphical evidence as well as the evidence of the early Prakrit grammar and literature would indicate that the second great phonetic change in the Secondary stage—the loss of the intervocal stops and the

weakening of the intervocal aspirates to *h*—did not in the same way take place all over the I.A. area at the same time. Thus at the time of Vararuci (4th-5th century A.C. ?) it seems that in the south the Mahārāṣṭrī dialect had already lost the intervocal stops, but in the north and the east Śaurasenī and Māgadhi had them, evidently in an intermediate spirant stage, and this certainly was the case with the dialect of the N.W. as in Dutreuil de Rheims fragments of the Prakrit Dharmapada from Central Asia dating from the second half of the 3rd century A.C. The Third Period in MIA. came in—the Apabhramśa Period—when the final vowels were weakened and intervocal *-m-* became *-ṃ-*. Here again the progress has not been uniform. The weakening of *-o* to *-u* is noticed in the N.W. dialects as early as the 3rd century A.C., at a time when most I.A. dialects had retained unaltered the final vowels, as arrived at in the early Secondary stage. The general confusion brought about by various causes (e.g. the constant use of archaic forms of speech for literary purposes, which makes it exceedingly hazardous to rely on a text or an epigraphical document as a faithful representation of a contemporary dialect) has made it well-nigh impossible to determine the lines of isogloss—i.e. to find out boundaries of definite linguistic characteristics—for ancient India of any time. In the case of the Apabhramśa or Late Secondary stage, actual indications as regards the development of the special characteristics are even more meagre than in the case of the Prakrit, or Middle Secondary stage. I have tentatively suggested that the second MIA. stage was entered into by all I.A. between 200–600 A.C., and that the third MIA., or Apabhramśa stage, characterised I.A. generally after 600 A.C., although it has to be admitted that this stage was making itself manifest in some MIA. dialects earlier than 600 A.C.

§ 5. We now come to that point which I want to be discussed—when did the NIA or Tertiary characteristics first manifest themselves? The surest evidence is of course from the oldest specimens of the various NIA. languages and dialects, in which the NIA. characteristics are already fully established. These characteristics on the phonetic side include primarily the simplification of the double stops, although some dialects of the N.W. (Western and Eastern Panjab) do not share in this and form in this way a class apart, on the morphological side it includes the introduction of new affixes and of postpositions in the declension of the noun, and of a new

conjugational system, besides a number of linguistic devices like the compound verb and the echo word, which perhaps were quite common or at least latent in the latter part of the Secondary stage. One might say that in the matter of these devices there was an assertion of the non-Aryan speech-feeling (*Sprachgefühl*) which was suppressed or stifled in the literary languages growing under the shadow of Sanskrit.

The earliest direct evidence (well-attested in both date and in faithful transmission) from the vernacular side is unfortunately very late, too late to be of use to us for giving us any indication as to when the Tertiary stage was first entered in CIA., in particular locality. There are some few fortunate languages and dialects like Marathi of which the oldest specimens in connected sentences go back to some epigraphical documents of the 12th century, and there are others like Panjabi and Gurkhali whose oldest remains belong only to the 16th and 18th centuries. The oldest MSS. of works in a Western Hindi or Eastern Hindi dialect are not older than the 16th century. For Bengali, we have documents which undoubtedly go back to times before 1200 A.C., but they are preserved in late and corrupt MSS., and it is in connection with their date of composition and genuineness in retaining intact the language of their authors that the question of the development of the Tertiary stage may receive some light. In the absence of satisfactory *connected pieces of composition*, we have to fall back upon individual *words* for the period of A.C. 600 or 500-1200, which witnessed the rise of NIA. A great deal of Apabhraṃśa literature was produced all over Northern India during this period and later (a good *aperçu* of which we find in the Introduction to the edition of the *Bhaviṣya-gītā-kahā* by C. D. Dalal and P. D. Gune, Baroda, 1923, pp. 36-47). Literary languages are consciously archaistic—so that although the NIA. stage was arrived at in the spoken language during this period, the bulk of literature did not care to record the change, using by preference the olden forms. But in epigraphic and other contemporary records we frequently find unexpected forms indicating a later stage of development, and these, where they are genuinely indicative of the actual pronunciation, act as flashes of light in the midst of the surrounding darkness.

§ 6. In the earlier inscriptions, both Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī, there is no doubt that a rigid system of orthography was not yet in vogue.

The indication of some conjunct consonant sounds was faulty (e.g. *rp* and *pr* written in the same way, also *yv* and *vy*, as in Brāhmī). The double consonants were indicated only by single letters, and sometimes we find a lengthening of a preceding *ā* vowel; e.g. *vāsa* also *rāsa*, for *vassa*. Now, *vassa* represents the Secondary stage of the Primary *varṣā*, and any occurrence of *vāsa*, as typical Tertiary form, in such an early document as Aśokan inscriptions would render the case suspicious. As a matter of fact, it is quite clear that the long vowel mark in words like *vāsa*, *sūpāthāya*, *rāño*, *pāḍa*, *cikicchā*, *bāmhaṇa*, *āñāpayisati*, *mahāmātā*, *aparāta*, etc. which we find mostly at Girnar, really indicate a long or double consonant after the vowel concerned, or a nasal pronunciation of the vowel, as subsequent history of MIA. and NIA. as well as a stray epigraphical evidence (e.g. the Greek transcription PANNIO stand for *rañño*, in the coins of Castana, for instance, in Gujarat and Malwa; the earlier form of the word was surely *rāñño*, although Aśokan Brāhmī writes *rāño*) would testify; so that the above words were in all certainty actually pronounced as *vassa*, *sūpāthāya*, *rāñño*, *pāṇḍa*, *cikicchā*, *bāmhaṇa*, *āñāpayissati*, *mahāmātta*, *aparānta*, etc. Here an early faulty or hesitating system of writing must not throw us off the track. This obvious vagary of Brāhmī orthography should caution us against taking orthographic indications of contemporary documents at their face value, without examining them more closely.

§ 7. The establishment of the Tertiary stage is believed generally to have been accomplished by 1000 A.C., which date is a convenient border-line between the Secondary and the Tertiary or between the Middle Indo-Aryan and the New Indo-Aryan stages (cf. LSI., I, Part I, p. 125). It had appeared to me that, at least as far as Bengali and the Eastern speeches were concerned, this date was fairly correct; and the earliest compositions that by their special characters deserve to be called Bengali—the forty-seven Caryā poems as published by MM. Dr. Haraprasad Śāstri—I tentatively placed between the middle of the tenth and the end of the eleventh centuries: 950–1200 A.C. (cf. ODBL., pp. 110–123). The date of Gorakṣanātha as a great linking figure in the group of writers of the Caryās: the date as deduced, primarily from the evidence of the early Marāṭhī *Jñānēśvarī*, was one of the pivots in this datation of the Old Bengali Caryā poems (pp. 118–122, *op. cit.*).

My friend Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah of Dacca University

published from Paris, in 1928, his 'Chants Mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha—Les Dohākoṣa (en Apabhraṃśa, avec les Versions tibétaines) et Les Caryā (en vieux-Bengali), avec Introduction, Vocabulaires et notes,' which is one of the most noteworthy scholarly works on late MIA. and early NIA. published within recent years. In this work Dr. Shahidullah re-edits the Apabhraṃśa and Old Bengali writings of the two Siddhas, Kāṇha and Saraha as first brought out by MM. Dr. H. P. Śāstrī. The comparison with the Tibetan version as in the Bstan Hgyur has enabled Dr. Shahidullah to suggest some better readings for the Apabhraṃśa *dohās*: for the 16 'caryās' (12 by Kāṇha, and 4 by Saraha) he has re-edited, he did not have the checking help of any Tibetan or other version, but he has nevertheless suggested some very plausible corrections. Now, Kāṇha and Saraha as authors of these Apabhraṃśa as well as Old Bengali verses are taken by Dr. Shahidullah respectively to the beginning of the 8th century and of the 11th century (700 A.C. and 1000 A.C.). I have nothing to say about the date of Saraha. About Kāṇha, a number of synchronisms on the basis of Lama Tāranātha's date of 657 A.C. as the time of Matsyēndranātha's arrival in Nepal and of Bhartṛhari's death year as given by I-tsing as 651 A.C. lead Dr. Shahidullah to propose 700 A.C. as the age of his *floruit*. It is to be carefully enquired into how far the gossiping account of Tāranātha about the advent of Matsyēndranātha into Nepal and the non-Bengali tradition making Gopīcandra (who was a contemporary of Kāṇha and a disciple of Gorakṣanātha) a nephew of Bhartṛhari can be taken as sober history. In any case, if Kāṇha the author of the 12 Caryās really flourished about 700 A.C., then that will have a great importance in settling our scheme of chronology with reference to the development of the Tertiary stage of Indo-Aryan. For the 12 Caryā poems are already, in the form we find them, in the Tertiary stage—both as regards the simplification of the double consonants and the development of the new declinational and conjugational devices. So that, assuming Kāṇha's age to have been 700 A.C., we shall have to admit, (i) either the Tertiary stage had been fully established before 700 A.C., or (ii) the texts themselves are late, they have either been fathered on Kāṇha (and his contemporaries), or they are later alterations of earlier texts which were probably composed in a vernacular or literary speech of the (late) Secondary (MIA.) stage.

If we have other independent evidence to show that the Tertiary stage had made itself evident about 700 A.C., in a matter which is most easily discernible in isolated words (if we cannot have specimens of continuous composition, then we shall be forced to admit that the Tertiary stage was achieved before 700 A.C. Of such independent evidence the most important is that furnished by the spellings of local and other names in the Sanskrit grants issued by the reigning princes and other rulers in Bengal down to 1200 A.C. I had made lists of place-names from such inscriptions in my ODBL. (pp. 179-188). From a study of these, we find that, except in one inscription from distant Eastern Bengal, there is nothing in these names in inscriptions before the 10th century which would go to suggest that they belong to the Tertiary rather than the Secondary stage in their phonetics. Forms like *Sāta-kopā* (= 'Seven Springs'), *Bhāṭapādā* (= *Bhāṭapātaka*, 'village of Brāhmins'), and *Haḍi-gāṅga* (= *Haḍḍika-gāṅgā*), as in the Sylhet-Bhatera grant of Govinda, probably 10th century, are conclusive that we have here the Tertiary stage: as also *Budhi-pokhiri* (= *Vrddha-puṣkara*, 'Old Lotus-pond') and *Ghāṭa* in the Kamauli Grant of Vaidyadeva of Assam, latter part of the 11th century. In later inscriptions as well as in these we have also deliberate reversion to the MIA. stage in writing similar names. But one or two expressions are conclusive: the NIA. or Tertiary stage was establishing itself—perhaps it was already established—in Assam and north-eastern Bengal at least—in the 10th century. Earlier, we find this stage only in two words in a grant of the late 7th century from Tippera (grant of Lokanātha): *Kanūmotikā* Hill, where probably *kanā* < *kaṇṇa* < *kaṇṇa* = 'edge' and *moṭikā* = N. Beng. *morā* 'twisted'; and *pathara* < *paṭṭhara* = *prastara*. In the first case, however, the explanation may be doubtful. The spelling gives -n-, but Second MIA. -ṇṇ- should give dental -n- in NIA. In the second case, we should have had *pāṭhara*, rather than *pāthara*, if the word is to be properly NIA. The evidence from these two forms only is rather meagre. But perhaps we would not be very wrong in assuming that the Tertiary stage was in its inceptive stage, so far as Bengali was concerned, in the 7th century—and perhaps it was manifested first in the easternmost parts of the province; which would be quite in the nature of things, considering that the dialects which are current there have now, as we shall see later, advanced one step further beyond the Tertiary stage.

The evidence is very slender, it must be confessed; too slender to build anything positive upon. But it would not warrant the assumption that there was anything like the finished Tertiary stage as early as 700 A.C. The other alternative proposed before for the age of the Caryās ascribed to Kāṇha (viz. 950-1200) seems more plausible.

§ 8. We have another and rather unexpected source of information in this matter, and this should be scrutinised. Sanskrit was studied by the Buddhists of Central Asia and China during the 1st millennium A.C., by Sogdians, Khotanese, Kuchean, Uigur Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese; and as aids to the acquirement of Sanskrit, in addition to bilingual texts (as in Kuchean), there were at least *two* short Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries dating from the 7th-8th centuries which have been found. These dictionaries were evidently much studied in China and Japan and Japanese editions were published in the 17th century. They give the Sanskrit words in 7th century North-Indian characters, with the sound transcribed in Chinese characters followed by the Chinese equivalent. These have recently been edited and published by my friend and colleague Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (*Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, Vol. I, Paris, 1929). The first one—the *Fan Yü Ts'ien Tso Wen* by I-tsing is slightly earlier than the second (the *Fan Yü Tsa Ming*), which, dating from the 8th century, was compiled by Li Yen, a Kuchean. In these works, especially in the latter, we have a good many corrupt and Prakritic forms rather than Sanskrit. The phonology of these Prakritic forms amply demonstrates that the Sanskrit words were modified by a N.-W. dialect. Now these N.-W. dialects were originally written in the Kharosthī character, which avoided double consonants and long vowels. When the North-Western speeches adopted by the 7th century the *siddha-mātrkā* alphabet which is found in these dictionaries and which is developed out of the Brāhmī, it is just likely that the original style of orthography was continued. So that they could write, as in Li-Yen's dictionary, *vr-ka* for *vrkka*, *maśa*=*maśsa* for *śmaśrū*, *degħa*=*diggha* for *dirgha*, *uca* for *ucca*, *vaṭula* for *vaṭṭula*=*vartula*, *adapi*=*adyāpī*, *kvaṇa*=*kavaṇṇa*=**kavaṇḍa* for *kavaṇḍa*=*kuparda*, *tanṇura* for *tanṇūra*=*tanḍūla* *latuka* for *laṭuka*=*laṭṭuka*=*laddūka*, *muga* for *mugga*=*mudga*, *śaṇa*=*śaṇṇa*=*śaṇḍa*, *bhatāra*=*bhattāra*=*bhartā*, etc., etc. These and similar words have *ā*+one consonant, which is quite in accordance with Kharosthī orthography :

whereas the Tertiary stage would demand \bar{a} + one consonant, but in this matter it must be remembered the dialects of the N.-W. (Lahndī) are even now in the Secondary stage. In one instance, in the earlier Dictionary by I-tsing we have the curious spelling *bhaḥ-ta*: this obviously represents a pronunciation *bhatta*, although the Chinese equivalent gives *fu to*, earlier **phuk-ta* or **bhuk-ta*, which makes the matter more complicated, suggesting that they wrote *bhaḥ-ta* and pronounced the word as *bhakta*. In I-tsing's Dictionary we do not find any sure instance from which something like the Tertiary stage (double consonants simplified to a single one, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel) can be postulated. In Li Yen's Dictionary however, we note four forms—*āṭa* = 'flour' (*āṭa* in I-tsing), *āgira* = *aṅgāra*, *kāṇu* = **kaṇna* = *kāṇḍa* and *gāra* = *garhā*—where we have the Tertiary stage or modern Vernacular represented. This is after 700 A.C. The occurrence of these forms in the N.-W. dialect area would be in strange contrast to the general phonetic character of the local dialects, and we have to explain them either as faulty spellings or as forms from the plains of India (Śaurasenī and Māgadhi areas), borrowed by or influencing the N.-W. dialects. The second alternative would be less likely, and more probably here we have the \bar{a} through loose or careless writing

In any case, it would seem that the Tertiary character in the matter of simplification of double consonants + compensatory length did not make itself noticeable before 700 A.C., and the few instances noted would not seem to be enough. An Old Bengali literature, with the Tertiary character fully developed—phonological and morphological—would be too early for 700 A.C., even if Kāṇha actually flourished at that time.

§ 9. The age of the establishment of the Tertiary character in NIA. would therefore seem to be what is generally accepted—1000 A.C., but this character was probably developing during the previous three centuries. And taking the few cases of apparently NIA. formation in the inscriptions from East Bengal (Tipperah and Sylhet, where they occur for the first time), in connection with the phonological development of South-Eastern Bengali, specially in Chittagong, it would not perhaps be too hazardous to suggest that the Tertiary character in the matter of the consonants started to manifest itself earlier in East Bengal than in West Bengal. Development in the matter of the consonants seems to be quicker or more progressive in

East Bengali than in West Bengali. The common New Indo-Aryan sound system has suffered a very great change in East Bengali: the most noteworthy being the change of the palatal affricates *c ch j jh* to dental ones (*ts, s, dz, dz'*): the alteration of the aspiration *h* to the glottal stop (,) and of the voiced aspirates to stops with accompanying glottal closure (*g', ḡ [dz'], ḡ', d', b'*), the change of *ś* to *h*, and the widespread voicing of unvoiced consonants (especially *k > g, t > ḡ, t > d*), and further, widespread spirantisation of original (i.e. Common NIA.) as well as derived interior *-g-* (to *-γ-*). The voicing of unvoiced consonants as part of this phonetic change suggests the development of some of the Prakrit dialects of the second stage from Prakrit of the first stage. The dialect of Chittagong has advanced still further—it eludes single intervocal stops, and nasalises single intervocal *-m-*. The elision of intervocal stop is just what characterised first of all Mahārāstri, and then all Apabhraṃśa dialects, and the second characterised all Apabhraṃśa. This trait of Chittagongese has been noted by all those who have published their observations on this dialect of Bengali. Thus *cākar > ḡāor; bāpu > bāu; rākken > rāhen > rāen > rān; āmod > āōd, chāti > ṣādī* (*Chakma*), *choṭuā > soḍuā, jakhan > ḡahan, upāsa (< upavāsa) > uās, ḡākryā > ḡāi, lāgi > lāi*, etc. etc.

§ 10. From the above we may state the position briefly as this:

The Secondary stage manifested itself in IA. first in the East, the earliest indications of which may go back to c. 1000 B.C.

The Tertiary stage, so far as the Eastern Dialects of IA. are concerned, might have appeared in East Bengal dialects in the 8th century A.C., but it appears from epigraphical evidence to have been established only during the 10th-11th centuries.

So far as the East Bengali dialects are concerned, with the voicing, spirantisation, and elision of internal consonants—often the result of the modification of MIA. and OIA. (Secondary and Primary) double consonants and consonant groups—IA. may be said to have entered a new stage, the Fourth or Quaternary stage, which is not yet manifest in the other forms of NIA. This, however, has not been a free and unchecked growth—it is only in the incipient stage, the influence of the literary language and of the standard colloquial from Calcutta acting as a check preventing natural development.

But a change like *asme > amhe > āmi > āi, tat kṣaṇam > takkhaṇam > takhan > ta(h)an*, and *lagna > lagga > lāg, lāgi > lāi*, does indicate that the Tertiary stage is being left behind in the advance of IA., in some dialectal areas at least.

A STUDY OF TELUGU ROOTS.

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1. In my lectures which I delivered under the auspices of the Madras University in 1929, I hazarded the suggestion that the Dravidian languages were only a variety of the Prakrits and adduced many points of resemblance in vocabulary and structure between them and the Prakrits. I contended on the basis of many facts which I put forth in those lectures that neither the Scythian theory of Caldwell nor the isolation theory now in the field, much less any extra-Aryan affinity of the Dravidian languages that is sometimes suggested can be maintained with any degree of probability and that scholars had so far directed their vision beyond the borders of India while a close affinity is clearly perceptible nearer home. These lectures I printed under the name of '*An Introduction to Dravidian Philology*' and the book received varying degrees of appreciation. The one outstanding criticism of the book was that it was more in the nature of a speculation and required much greater evidence to carry conviction. Of course, when I published the book, I was deeply conscious of the insufficiency of the data supplied therein, but the limitations under which those lectures were delivered would not allow me to do more than what was presented in them. I take this opportunity to begin to supply the details which workers in Dravidian Philology would like to know

2. I begin with a study of the Telugu Roots. I take up Telugu not only because it is my mother-tongue, but also because it is spoken by the greatest number among the Dravidian peoples and affinities with the Prakrits can be established with the least difficulty in that language. If Prakrit affinities could be satisfactorily established with the Telugu roots, it will become easy to establish the Prakritic nature of the other Dravidian languages also by simply finding out cognate forms in them.

3. Telugu roots, like Prakrit roots, and like the roots in any other modern Aryan languages, are generally classified under three heads,--tatsama, talbhava, and dēśya. There is not much difficulty

with regard to the first two classes for they could be easily derived either from Samskrit or Prakrit. The 'tatsamas' are either 'Samskrita-samas' or 'Prākṛita-samas' and are formed by the addition of suffixes which have come to be attached to them in the different languages. The 'tadbhavas' are modified forms of Samskrita or Prākṛita originals and have, along with the 'tatsama' and 'dēśya' words, almost the same suffixes. Following Beames, I would regard the 'Prākṛita-samas, Samskritabhavas and Prākṛitabhavas' as late 'tadbhavas'. 'Tatsamas' or 'tadbhavas', however, are of no use to the solution of the Dravidian problem, for they prove nothing beyond the fact of borrowing. It is only their suffixes that will interest us and as these are found in the 'Dēśyas' also, it will be sufficient to discuss them under that head.

4. 'Dēśyas' are regarded as a class by themselves, and the name is given to such words and forms which could not be traced to any Samskrita or Prākṛita originals. Some have considered them to be extra-Aryan. This has been the opinion about the Prākṛit dēśyas and those in the Neo-Indo-Aryan vernaculars also. But with the advance of philological research, more and more of these are being brought within the sphere of the Aryan. The opinion that these are extra-Aryan or even Dravidian is gradually giving place to the view that they are early 'tadbhavas' and that they can be proved to be so by the application of the phonological laws of change. I beg to suggest that, if this is so with regard to the acknowledged Aryan languages, the same may, on investigation, hold good in the case of Telugu and the rest of the Dravidian languages also, if by the application of the same phonological laws, the so-called 'dēśyas' in the Dravidian languages could be proved to be only early 'tadbhavas' disguised beyond recognition by the extreme changes that have occurred among them. At least, it will not be just to set aside the unanimous opinion of the native grammarians without directing our investigation into the correctness or otherwise of the position taken up by them.

5. For the Telugu roots, I rely in this paper on the Telugu Dictionary 'Śabdaratnākaramu' by Sītārāmāchāryulu. This is the biggest Telugu dictionary and generally acknowledged as an authority on the Telugu language. I classify the Telugu roots found in this dictionary according to their endings. Sītārāmāchāryulu is a bigoted Samskritist and will not allow any word to be derived from a

non-Samskritic original where even the semblance of a Samskrit affinity could be suggested. So, when he says a root is 'dêśya', it may be taken as beyond dispute that he could not trace it to a Samskrit or Prākṛit original. I take, therefore, only such Telugu roots as he has indicated to be 'dêśyas' and proceed to investigate them.

6. Telugu roots may be classified for the sake of convenience, according to their endings, as under. The number, given by the side of each root, indicates the number of Telugu roots with that ending found in the above dictionary.

- ñku ఁకు (20), ñku ంకు (10), ku కు (62), kku క్కు (34);
 ñgu ఁగు (5), ñgu ంగు (15), gu గు (58), ggu గ్గు (15);
 ñtsu ఁచు (35), ñtsu ంచు (488), tsu చు (211), tstsu చ్చు (22);
 ñdzu ఁజు (7), ñdzu ంజు (5), dzu జు (0), dzdzu జ్జు (2);
 ñtu ఁటు (9), ñtu ంటు (5), tu టు (11), ttu ట్టు (21);
 ñḍu ఁడు (9), ṇḍu ండు (11), ḍu డు (34), ḍḍu డ్డు (21), nu ను (1);
 ñtu ఁతు (1), ntu ంతు (0), tu తు (1), ttu త్తు (9);
 ñdu ఁదు (8), ndu ందు (12), du దు (3), ddu ద్దు (4); nu ను (17),
 nnu న్ను (4);
 ñpu ఁపు (3), mpu ంపు (11), pu పు (65), ppu ప్పు (12);
 ñbu ఁబు (0), mbu ంబు (1), bu బు (0), bbu బ్బు (9); mu ము (32),
 mmu మ్ము (17);
 yu యు (133), yyu య్దు (11), ru రు (73), Ru రు (29), RRu ర్దు (3);
 lu లు (119), llu ల్లు (118), ḷ ḷ (1), ḷḷu ḷḷ (8); vu వు (50), vvu వ్వు (11);
 su సు (1).

The same arranged according to their descending order of frequency is:—

- ñtsu ంచు (488), tsu చు (211), yu యు (133), lu లు (119), llu ల్లు (118), ñgu ఁగు (75), ru రు (73), pu పు (65), ku కు (62), vu వు (50), ñtsu ఁచు (35), kku క్కు, ḍu డు (34), mu ము (32), Ru రు (29), tstsu చ్చు (22), ttu ట్టు (21), ñku ఁకు (20), nu ను, mmu మ్ము (17), ñgu ంగు, ggu గ్గు, (15), ndu ందు, ppu ప్పు (12), ṇḍu ండు, mpu ంపు, yyu య్దు, vvu వ్వు (11),

ñku ంకు (10), ñtu ంటు, ñdu ండు, ttu త్తు, bbu బ్బు (9), ñdu ండు, ñpu ంపు, llu ల్లు (8), ñdzu ంజు (7), ñdzu ంజు (5), ddu డ్డు, nnu న్ను (4), du డు, R Ru ఱు (3), dzdzu ఱ్జు (2), nu ను, ñtu ంటు, tu తు, mbu మ్బు, su సు (1), dzu జు, ntu ంకు, ñbu ంబు, bu బు (0).

7. The total number of 'désya' roots recorded in the dictionary is thus 1,698. But all these cannot be called basic roots as they include a large number of dialectic variations and forms disguised by the operation of phonological change.

Thus—

Vowels :—

(a) Initial. a—u : adaru—удару, etc.,

i—e : peRuku—piku, etc.,

i—u : tilakiñtsu—tulakiñtsu, etc.,

e—ê : esaru—êsaru, etc.

(b) Medial : a—u : adaru—адuru, etc.,

i—iy : bigiñtsu—bigiyiñtsu, etc.

(c) Lengthening of initial vowel : oñtsu—ôñtsu, etc.

(d) Lengthening of medial vowel : âratiñtsu—ârâtiñtsu, etc.

(e) Loss of medial vowel : peRuku—perku ; igurutsu—igurtsu.

(f) Interposition of vowel between the elements of a conjunct consonant :—krêdiñtsu—kêrañtsu, etc.

Consonants :—

Initial :—

(a) Insertion—añtsu—pañtsu ; attu—hattu, etc.

(b) tsa—dza—ga : tsiRu—dziRu—giRu, etc.,

dza—da : dzañiyu—dañiyu, etc.,

da—Ra : pañu—paRatsu, etc.,

ta—da : tanuku—danuku, etc.,

da—da : dakku—ḍakku, etc.,

pa—ma : peRuku—meRuku, etc.,

pa—va : velupaliñtsu—veluvaRiñtsu, etc.,

pa—ha : pettsu—hettsu, etc.,

kka—ga : mikkilu—migulu, etc.

Medial :—

(a) Shortening of medial consonant : ettsarlñtsu—etsariñtsu, etc.

(b) Insertion of a medial consonant : ummaliñtsu—ummaliñtsu, etc.

(c) Softening of medial surds :—atuku—aduku, etc.

(d) Changes in medial consonants :—

- ka—ma potakariñtsu—potamariñtsu, etc.,
 ga—va : igrinñtsu—ivirinñtsu, etc.,
 da—na : puḍuku—punuku, etc.,
 ḍa—ra mummaḍiñtsu—mummariñtsu, etc.,
 ta—ba galatariñtsu—galabariñtsu, etc.,
 ḍa—na : vedaku—venaku, etc.,
 na—ra tsinugu—tsirugu, etc.,
 na—la : tsinuku—tsiluku, etc.,
 ba—ma : gubuku—gumuku, etc.,
 bba—mma : ibbaḍiñtsu—immaḍiñtsu, etc.,
 ra—la : uppariñtsu—uppaḥñtsu, etc.,
 Ra—ra : eRagu—eragu, etc.,
 Ra—la : giRuku—giluku, etc.,
 la—ḍa—la : velugu—beḍaku—beluku, etc.,
 sa—ta : pōsariñtsu—pōtariñtsu, etc.,
 la—ra : rangaliñtsu—raṅgariñtsu, etc.

Final consonants :—

(a) Changes :—

- ku—gu : tolaku—tolagu, etc.,
 kka—gga : mrakku—mraggu, etc.,
 ga—ya : tselagu—tselayu, etc.,
 gu—vu : esagu—esavu, etc.,
 tsanu—tsu kaḍatsanu—kaḍatsu, etc.,
 tsu—ñtsu : velârutsu—velâriñtsu, etc.,
 ñtsu—llu : târasiñtsu—târasillu, etc.,
 ppa—vva : oppu—ovvu, etc.,
 ra—la : viduru—vidulu, etc.,
 vu—gu . avu—agu, etc.,
 vva—mma : ovvu—ommu, etc.,
 sa—da : sarasu—saradu, etc.

Loss of medial consonant and compensatory lengthening :
 tanuku—tâku.

Nasalization : pikku—piṅgu, etc.

Partial denasalization and lengthening of previous vowel :

Metathesis : koṅgu—gôñku, etc.

Assimilation : inmaḍiñtsu—immaḍiñtsu ; maRalu—maḷlu ,
 veḍalu—veḷlu, etc.

Each of the above examples illustrates the operation of a phonetic law by means of which variant forms of a particular root are obtained. Other phonetic laws also have their play so that there is an inordinate swelling of the number of the basic forms of Telugu verbs. Strictly speaking, therefore, there cannot exist more than, say, 300 to 400 'dêśya' roots which have to be accounted for on the supposition that they are derived from the Prākṛit languages.

8. I shall proceed to examine the origin of the endings of the above verbal bases. The examples given under each head will be only such bases as are definitely regarded as 'dêśyas' by the native grammarians and lexicographers.

Note: In the examples given below, the forms within brackets are the suggested Skt. roots.

(1) kũ.

The 'ku' is from Skt. *kṛi and the fifth class suffix 'nu', i.e. 'kṛiṇu', which may become either 'kanu' or 'konu' in Prk. That it is so, can be known from the fact that forms with the so-called auxiliary verbs 'kanu' and 'konu' have forms in 'ku' also as variants, e.g. ũku, ũñkonu; tâku; tâkonu, etc. The nasalization of the ending is due to its association with (a) a nasal, (b) a nasal plus consonant, or (c) a consonant like t, th, d, dh, l, r, etc., which have a tendency to be turned into nasals.

Examples. .

(a) Nasal and kri :—ĩñku(yam).

(b) Nasal and consonant plus kri :—gĩñku(krint); pĩñku (bhind).

(c) Consonant having a tendency to nasalization plus kri :—kelañku(kṛiś), *torañku, tolañku, tonañku(stri); toḍañku, tolañku, tonañku(truṭ); sãñku(sãdh).

Root and fifth class suffix plus kri :—dũñku(dhũnu).

Past pass. participle plus kri :—beḍañku, beḷañku, vaḍañku, vaḷañku(bhĩta).

Prefix plus *kri :—ũñku(ud).

Adverb plus 'kri :—tsĩñku(sit); ḍoñku(thũt).

(2) ñku.

(a) Nasal plus kri :—ĩñku(yam).

(b) Nasal and consonant plus 'kri :—nañku(nyañch).

(c) Prefix plus 'kri':—uñku(ud).

(d) Consonant with nasalizing tendency plus 'kri':—duñku, doñku(adhas).

(e) Skt. root and passive suffix 'ya' and kri.—ḍinku(dīya), boñku(brūya).

(f) Gutturalization of the ñch ending of a Skt. root:—koñku, (kuñch or kruñch).

(3) ku.

(a) Root and class suffix plus 'kri':—iRuku(rīś); uduku(ush); uRuku(ruh); tsituku, tsiduku, tsivuku(chid); tanuku, danuku (tan or tap); tasuku(tush); vadaku(vart); vetaku, vedaku, venaku (vish), doraku(dhri); naduku(naṭ); naRaku(naś or nash); nōku (nud); paluku(brū or vod); pituku, piduku(vīdh, vēdh); pisuku(pish); puḍuku, punuku(put); besuku(bhraś); bratuku, braduku(vīdh, vardh); minuku(mīñj); etc.

(b) Prefix and root plus 'kri':—utuku, uduku(uddhāṇ); ubuku (utplu); oluku(utsthā), beluku, melaku(vilas); etc.

(c) Prefix plus kri:—aduku, atuku, aduku(adhi).

(d) Past passive participle plus 'kri':—kuluku(kus), tsinuku, tsiluku(ehlinna); toḍuku(dhrita); toluku, tonuku, toṇuku(dhūta).

(e) Denominative:—lasuku(laya).

(4) kku.

(a) Prefix plus 'kri':—ukku(ud).

(b) Root plus 'kri':—ekku(ēdh); krukku(kruñch); tsekku (chaksh); tsokku(sukh); tikku(tij); tokku, trokku(tuj or tuḍ); dakku(taj); nakku(nak); nokku(nud); pokku(plush); bokku(bhuksh); makku(mlā); mukku (mush); vikku (vij); srukku (śush); etc.

(c) Denominative:—vakku(bhraś).

(5) gū.

(a) Root and class suffix plus 'kri':—aḍagū, anagū, āgū(aḍ); alagū(alas); vīgū, īgū(vīdh); eragū, eRagū(ēsh); esagū, esavu (ish); ēgū(i); karagū(ghri); kalagū(klīś); kâgū, krâgū(kâś), kâñgu, gôñku(krint); goḍaṅgu, gonaṅgu(gunj); tselagu(chal); tsâñgu(sâdh); tunuṅgu(trut); tûñgu(tul); toruṅgu, toRaṅgu, toḍaṅgu(strī); peruṅgu, pergu(vīdh); posañgu(push); maḍaṅgu, manaṅgu, maḍuṅgu, maḍgu(mrid); masañgu(mask); saraṅgu, suruṅgu(sri); etc.

Root and fifth class suffix plus 'kri':—tôngu, dôngu, dôngu (dhunu).

(b) Prefix plus root plus 'kri':—ûngu(udvij); odungu(uddhri); osangu(upâs); nîngu(nivrit); pasangu(prasar); bedangu, velangu (vilas).

(c) Past passive participle plus 'kri':—kaḍaṅgu, kaṇaṅgu (krita), tsinuṅgu, tsiruṅgu(chhinna); toḍaṅgu(dhṛita); tolaṅgu (ṭṛita); penaṅgu(pinaddha); moRaṅgu, moRuṅgu, mrôṅgu(mukhara), etc.

(d) Root plus 'kri':—dâṅgu(dhâ); mâṅgu, mrâṅgu(mlâ), mûṅgu(mush); mrêṅgu, mēṅgu(mṛij); rêṅgu(riḥ); vîṅgu(vij); vêṅgu, vrêṅgu(vyadh); sâṅgu(sâdh); etc.

(e) Denominative:—mesaṅgu(âmish); etc.

(f) Adjective plus 'kri':—lôṅgu(tuchha) cp. H. luchhâ.

The nasalization in the above examples may have been due to (i) to the natural tendency to nasalize, (ii) to the presence of a nasal in the original root, or (iii) to the addition of the nu, nâ or n class suffix.

(6) ṅgu.

(a) Root plus 'kri':—kruṅgu(kruñch); ḍaṅgu, ḍaṅgu(ḍamś); ḍoṅgu, doṅgu(dhâ); ḍoṅgu(tul); truṅgu(truñṭ), naṅgu(nas cp. nâsikâ); poṅgu(plut); brungu(brû); mraṅgu(mṛid); etc.

(b) Prefix and root plus kri:—uppoṅgu(utplut); etc.

(c) Denominative:—mriṅgu(âmish), etc.

(d) Adjective plus 'kri':—loṅgu(tuchha) cp. H. luchhâ); etc.

(7) gu.

(a) Root plus 'kri':—arugu(ri); odugu(vyadh); kasagu(karsh or gharsh); goRugu(kshur); tserugu(śûrp); tsâgu(sâdh); dzaragu, soragu(sri); digu, digu(ḍi); trâgu(trish); tirugu(sri); peRugu (vṛidh); malugu, mâlugu(mlâ); aRugu(kshay); alugu(rush); ilugu (riś); iṅgu(ij); ilugu(lî); medugu(mṛid); etc.

(b) Root itself used as base:—agu(bhû); tagu(sthag); etc.

(c) Root and passive participle 'ya' plus kri:—bijugu(brû).

(d) Past passive participle plus 'kri':—kaḍugu(kshâlita); kalugu(kṛita); tselagu, tselgu, selagu(*chhitta); talgu(dhûta); toḍugu(dhṛita); nuḍugu, noḍugu(nuta); poḍugu(vṛiddha); poḍugu (pushṭha); etc.

(e) Prefix and root plus 'kṛi':—oragu, oRagu(udvart); visugu (vyas); vêgu(vilas): etc.

(f) Prefix plus past passive participle:—uḍugu(apa- or upa-hata): nilugu, nîlugu(nirvṛita); etc.

(g) Adverb plus 'kṛi':—viḍugu, viRugu(prithak); etc.

(8) ggu.

(a) Root plus 'kṛi'.—iggu(ij); gaggu(gad); daggu, daggu (dah); diggu, diggu (ḍi); nuggu(nud); maggu, mraggu(mlâ); etc.

(b) Prefix and root plus 'kṛi':—niggu, neggu(nirvah).

(9) ñtsu.

(a) Roots ending in s, ś, sh, ch, ksh, etc.:—alañtsu(alas); uñtsu(ujjh); kalañtsu(kalush); krâñtsu(karś); nâñtsu(naś); pûñtsu (prich); rēñtsu(rich); lāñtsu(lash); vrēñtsu(vraśch); etc.

(b) fourth class suffix or passive participle 'ya' with t, th, r, etc.:—êñtsu(êshy); tsâñtsu(sâdhy); nōñtsu(*nuty): melañtsu(mil), vêtñtsu(vyadhy).

(c) Root plus *ach- to be:—aḍañtsu, aṇañtsu, âñtsu(aḍ); karañtsu(ghṛi); ḍañtsu, dâñtsu(dhâ); tâñtsu(taḍ); tûñtsu(tul); maḍañtsu, maḍuñtsu, manuñtsu, malañtsu(mṛid); etc.

(d) Root plus 'ishy' (isy) where 'i' is incremental and 'shy' or 'sy' is futural.

(e) Prefix and root plus *ach:—tōñts(uday); etc.

(f) Past passive participle plus 'y':—tolañtsu(dhûta or dhavali-ta); nalañtsu (nata); etc.

(g) Adjective plus 'ya':—lōñtsu(tuccha); etc.

(10) ñtsu.

The nasalization is entirely peculiar to Telugu. Kanarese equivalents of these roots end in 'su'.

(a) Root plus 'ishy':—îṣaḍiñtsu(îrshy); kuñtu(kruñch).

(b) Prefix plus root:—añtsu(âjñâ); etc. etc.

(c) Prefix and root plus 'ishy':—atstsaliñtsu(âcchal); âraṭiñtsu (âraṭ); uñkiñtsu(ut-kṛi); uttariñtsu(ut-kṛi or ut-tṛi); uppatiñtsu (ut-pat); uppariñtsu, uppaliñtsu(ut-plu); ûkiñtsu(ut-sâh); ûṭiñtsu (ut-sthâ); etc.

(d) Prefix and past passive participle plus 'ishy'.—avaghañiñtsu (avakṛita or avaghrishṭa); âvuliñtsu(avakṛita), onariñtsu(upapanna).

(e) Past passive participle plus 'ishy'.—aṇtiñtsu(añkta); aggalñtsu(arghita, arhita, or amhita); uddiñtsu(yukta); etc.

(f) Denominative:—igiriñtsu, iviriñtsu, chigiriñtsu, chiviriñtsu (śikhara); ivataliñtsu, ivatâliñtsu(hima kṛita).

(g) Reduplication of root plus 'ishy'.—aṭamañiñtsu(at); etc.

(h) Avyaya and past passive participle plus 'ishy':—aḍakiñtsu, anakiñtsu(adhas-kṛita); alamañiñtsu(alam-aṭ); alavariñtsu(alam-pat); igiliñtsu, iviliñtsu(ihî-kṛita); etc.

(i) Nasalization of root in ś, s, sh, or ksh:—uñtsu(vas); etc

(11) tsu.

(a) Root plus 'ishy':—aḍarutsu(dhrish); aRatsu, ârtsu(ras); alarutsu(lash); etc.

(b) Root plus 'ya', the passive or fourth class suffix:—êtsu (vṛidh); kaRatsu(karsh); kâtsu(kâś); kâlutsu(klam); kudutsu (skud); kolutsu(kûl); etc.

(c) Prefix and root plus 'ishy':—alavaRutsu(adhi-pat); ulutsu (ul-lû); elarutsu(vilas); êdutsu(vi-lap); êmaRatsu(vi-smṛi); olutsu (ava-lû); ôrutsu(ava-dhṛi); etc.

(d) Nasalized root:—unutsu(vas); etc.

(e) Past passive participle plus 'ishy':—agalutsu(khâta or ghâta); adalu(ru)tsu(dârita); kaḍatsu, kadalutsu(gata); keralutsu (kṛita); gelutsu(jita); chimuḍutsu(*cehindita); chîlutsu(*cehitta); etc.

(f) Denominative:—igurutsu, igrutsu, chigurutsu(śikhara); etc.

(g) Adjective plus 'ishy':—ḍulutsu(śidhila); etc.

(12) tsts.

(a) Root plus 'ya':—ettsu, hettsu(vṛidh); gittsu, gruttsu, grottsu(grish or kṛish); tsottsu(syû); tettsu(dhṛish, trish); nottsu(nud); rettsu(rich); vrattsu(vraj); vittsu(vich); etc.

(b) Root plus 'ishy':—nattsu(narm)

(c) Prefix plus root:—uttsu(ut-chyu); etc.

(13) ñju-dñzu.

(a) Root plus 'ya':—gôñju(ghush); pôñju, prôñju(puñj); râñju (rañj); rôñju(rush); etc.

(14) *ñdzu*.

(a) Nasalized root :—*guñdzu*(*kṛish*) ; etc.

(b) Root :—*poñdzu*(*puñj*) ; etc.

(15) *dzdzu*.

(a) Root plus 'ya' :—*radzdzu*(*ras*) ; etc.

(16) *ñtu*.

(a) Prefix plus root :—*ûtu*(*ud-vart* or *ut-sthâ*).

(b) Past passive participle :—*âtu*(*âtta*, *âpta*) ; *gîtu*(*kshipta*) ; *dûtu*(*dhûta*) ; *dôtu*(*datta*) ; *poraṭu*(*pṛikṭa*) , etc.

(c) *Krêtu*(cp. *krênkâra*) ; *dâtu*(cp. *dhâtî*) ; etc.

(17) *ntu*.

(a) Past passive participle of root with a nasal :—*anṭu*(*aṅkṭa*) ; *kunṭu*(*kuñchita*, *khañjita* or *kunṭhita*) ; *ganṭu*(**ghnanta*) ; etc.

(18) *ṭu*.

(a) Root :—*tsâṭu*(*sâṭ*).

(b) Root plus *aṭ *tegaṭu*(*trich* and *aṭ*).

(c) Past passive participle :—*kumuṭu*(*kunṭhita*) ; *taRaṭu*(*tash-ṭa*)*diṭu*(*dhṛishṭa*) ; etc.

(19) *ṭṭu*.

(a) Past Passive participle :—*uṭṭu*(*udvartita*) ; *netṭu*(*nirvṛitta*) ; *oṭṭu*(*varṭita*) ; *kottu*(*kuṭṭita*) ; *giṭṭu*(*klishṭa*, *kṛishṭa*, *ghṛishṭa*) ; *tatṭu*(*tâḍita*) ; *patṭu*(*varṭita*, *patita*) ; *peṭṭu*(*vṛitta*) ; *maṭṭu*, *meṭṭu*(*mar-dita*) ; *kaṭṭu*(*kṛishṭa*, *karshita*) ; *kiṭṭu*(*karshita*) ; *kutṭu*(*kṛishṭa*, *kuttha*, *karshita*) ; *peṭṭu* (*prahata*).

(b) Denominative :—*putṭu*(cp. *puttra*) ; *mottu*(*mushtita*).

(20) *ñḍu*.

Past passive participle.—*tsûñḍu*(**sushṭa*) ; *têñḍu*(*tishṭita*) ; *tônḍu*(*dhṛishṭa*) ; *pêñḍu*(*pinaddha*) ; *mânḍu*(**mlshṭa*) ; *lônḍu*(*lûta*) ; etc.

(21) *ṇḍu*.

(a) Past passive participle :—*uṇḍu*(*ushita* or **ushṭa*) , *tsuṇḍu*(**sushṭa*) ; *paṇḍu*(*phalita*) ; *maṇḍu*(*mlashṭa*) ; *vaṇḍu*(**pakṭa*) ; *tsenḍu*(*khaṇḍita* or *echindita*) ; *taṇḍu*(*daṇḍita*) ; *piṇḍu*(*piṣṭa*) ; etc.

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle :—*paraṇḍu*(*paryushita*).

(22) ḍu.

(a) Root :—âḍu(at), pâḍu(path); pûḍu(pûr); paḍu(pat).

(b) Root plus past passive participle :—begaḍu, beggaḍu(bhij-kṛita).

(c) Past passive participle :—iḍu, imuḍu(hita, *hinta); ôḍu (avahata); chimuḍu(cchindita); cheḍu*(*cchitta); toḍu(dhṛita); vâḍu(*mlâta); viḍu(*bhitta).

(d) Prefix plus past passive participle :—ûḍu(ut-patita, ut-pâdita or ut-pâtita); niguḍu, nivuḍu(nir-hâpita, nîvṛita, nirvṛita, nirvṛitta); negaḍu, nevaḍu(nyakkṛita, nishkṛita or nirvartita); pogaḍu, povaḍu (praśasta, prastuta); etc.

(e) Prefix and root plus *at :—ûRaḍu(ucchvas, *at). Or from 'uch-chvasita'.

(f) Denominative :—kûḍu(cp. kûṭa).

(g) Avyaya plus root :—tegaḍu, tevaḍu(dhikkṛita).

(23) ḍḍu.

(a) Past passive participle :—aḍḍu(*aḍ).

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle :—oḍḍu(upahita).

(24) ṇu.

Denominative :—tenamanu(śayana).

(25) ñtu.

Past passive participle :—pâtu(pâtita).

(26) tu.

Past passive participle :—tsâtu(sajjita).

(27) ttu.

(a) Past passive participle :—attu, hattu(bhakta); ettu(ita); nattu(*nad, cp. nadana, mumuring); mettu(mṛidita); mottu(mushti-ta); ruttu(ruddha); etc.

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle :—ottu(upahata, uddhata or udvartita); etc.

(28) ñḍu.

(a) Root plus class suffix 'a' :—alañḍu(ârdr); tsañḍu(sâdh); mōñḍu(mṛid); etc.

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle :—ûñḍu(uddhmâta).

(c) Avyaya plus past passive participle :—chiñdu(sitkṛita or sīṅghānita).

(29) ndu.

(a) Root :—kandu(krand), chindu(echind); pondu(spand or pad).

(b) Prefix plus root :—ondu(upapad); etc.

(c) Past passive participle :—kundu(*krusita), kondu(*kṛitta); mrandu(mrakshita or *mrasta).

(30) ddu.

Past passive participle :—addu(ardita or ārdrita); biddu(*bhidd); diddu(dhṛita); ruddu(ruddha); etc.

(31) nu.

(a) Roots ending in n, n or l :—anu(an, an); kanu(aksan); tsanu(chal); tinu(trin); nānu(snā).

(b) Root plus class suffix nu or nā :—konu(kriṇu); dunu(dhunu); etc.

(c) Denominative : ānu(ādhāna), īnu(ījana), pūnu(vahana); pēnu (vayana).

(32) nnu.

(a) Root plus 5th class suffix :—dunnu(dhunu).

(b) Past passive participle :—pannu(panna, *pad or pat).

(c) Denominative :—ennu(hēlana); tannu(tādana); etc.

(33) ñpu.

(a) Root plus 'âp' which is wrongly considered to be the passive particle instead of the 'ya' the proper passive particle because it is generally found conjoined with it.

tsâñpu(sādh), malañpu(mṛid); rēñpu(rih).

(b) Prefix plus root :—âñpu(apahri); ûñpu(upahri), etc.

(c) Noun plus 'âp' :—tsêñpu(sīdhu); etc.

(34) mpu.

(a) Prefix plus root :—nimpu(nirâp); pampu(prâp); etc.

(b) Root plus âp.—chimpu(echidâp); tsampu, sampu(śavâp); ñimpu(ñi, âp); tempu, trempu(truṭâp); dampu(damśâp); pempu (vṛidh âp); etc

(c) Prefix and root plus âp :—ampu(âjñâp); etc

(35) pu.

(a) Root plus 'âp':—aRapu(aś); kaRapu(krish); tsadupu, chidupu, cheRapu(cchid); tsalupu, salupu, salupu(chal); dzarapu(sar); tarapu(tri); tiRupu(trish); naḍapu, naḍupu(nat); nânupu(snâ); nilupu(nisht or tisht); paRapu(pat); paRupu(phal); malapu, medupu(mrid); mâpu(mlaś); menupu(manth), gilupu, giRupu(kship).

(b) Root and class suffix plus 'âp':—kalapu(cp. kalayati); tsonupu(sri) etc.

(c) Nasalized root:—tanupu (trimp).

(d) Prefix plus root:—ôpu(avâp).

(e) Prefix and root plus 'âp':—anupu(âjñâp); nerapu, neRapu(nirvart); pâpu(apâs); etc.

(f) Past passive participle plus 'âp':—kaḍapu(ghnata or kshata) keḍapu(klishṭa); kolupu(kṛita); dulupu, dolupu(dhûta); nuRupu, nulupu(nud); penupu(pinaddha).

(g) Prefix and past passive participle plus 'âp':—uḍupu, ulupu(upahata).

(36) ppu.

(a) Root plus 'âp':—uppu(ush); kappu(chad); guppu(kship); tappu(tar); trippu(stri); deppu(diś); roppu, Ruppu(rud or rush).

(b) Prefix plus root:—oppu(avâp); vippu(vyas); etc.

(37) mbu.

Prefix and root plus 'âp':—pambu(pravṛitta).

(38) bbu.

(a) Root:—gebbu(grah); dabbu, dabbu(ḍah, cp. dahara and Oriya ḍakkucchi, he is calling); drobbu(ḍrimbh).

(b) Prefix plus root:—prabbu(pravah), pravṛit, pravṛidh or pravād.

(39) mu.

(a) Roots in n, mp, mbh, or m:—ômu(van); tunumu, tuRumu(trimph); chiRumu(jṛimbh); adumu(dam); kadumu(kram).

(b) Prefix plus root in m:—aRumu, alamu(âkram); usumu(ud-yam); orumu(upakram); pulumu(pralump).

(c) Past passive participle:—gadumu(gaditam); tsadumu, tsaRumu, chidumu, cheRumu(chittam); tuRumu(trutitam); nômu-(nutam or *nuttam); etc.

(d) Denominative :—nulumu(unmûlana); poḍamu(sphutam); etc.

(40) mmu.

(a) Root in m.—krammu(kram); nammu(narm).

(b) Past passive participle —tummu(kshutam).

(c) Denominative.—chimmu, jimmu(syandanam, sêchanam); pammu(pravartanam); prammu(parivêshanam); etc.

(41) yu.

(a) Roots in ś, sh, s, ch, j, ksh.—amayū(maksh); arayu(raksh, laksh); alayu(alas), aviya(vraśch); iḍ(R)iyu(rīś, rish); elayu(lash), êyu(ish); kala(i)yu(kṛish, karsh); kiniyu(klīś or from khinna); kuḍiyu(kuts); kūyu(kûj); kedayu(klīś, kṛīś), kṛikkīRiyu(kṛis kṛīś); krôyu(kruñch); giyu(kṛish); tēyu(tīj, tish): ḍ(d)ûyu(ḍush); dor(R)ayu(dṛīś); pariya(pṛish, pṛish); pâyū(bhaj, pâṃs, apâs); por(R)ayu(prush); polayu(plush), pôyu(prôksh, prôsh); malâyū(mlaś); mur(R)iyu(mṛīś); R(r)êyu(rich, rij); rôyu(rush, ruś); lâyu(lash, las); vrêyu(vraśch); solayu(su-alas); etc.

(b) Prefix plus root :—ârayu(âîaksh, âraksh); uR(r)iyu(udrich); uliyu(udras); oḍiyu(avadhṛish); olayu(ullas); neR(r)ayu(nirvīś); bigiyu(vikṛish, vikṛīś); beḍiyu(viḍṛīś); bel(r)ayu(virach); meRayu(vilas); valayu(avalash); viriyu(virich); velayu(vilas).

(c) Prefix and root plus 'ya':—penayu(pi or apinahya).

(d) Root plus 'ish':—eg(v)ayu(êdh); kadiyu(skad); kaniyu(klam); kamiyu(kram or klam); kaviyu(kram); guniyu(kvaṇ); tsadiyu, chidiyu(cehid); chenayu(svid); chelayu(chal); chelayu dzadiyu(chal, ślath, śrath, śabd); nôyu(nud); paḍayu(pad, pat); maḍiyu(mṛi); mudiyu(vṛidh); valiyyu(vyariś).

(e) Avyaya plus root :—eḍayu(prithakkṛi).

(f) Avyaya plus root :—solayu(su-alas).

(g) Prothetic 'y':—oḍiyu(uḍḍi); mâyu(mlai, mlâ); miḍiyu, viḍiyu(viḍi); oliyu(ullû); etc.

(h) Root plus passive 'ya':—kôyu(kṛity); krâyū(griyy); môyu, (vahy).

(i) Noun and root 'sya' futural :—taḍayu(taṭasthâ); morayu, mrôyu(mukha ras).

(j) Past passive participle plus 'ishy':—vaḍiyu(udita).

(k) Denominative :—taniyu(tṛishṇâ); puliyu(pûti), mugiyu-monayu (mukha).

(l) Adjective plus 'ish':—*teliyu*(dhavala).

(m) *buliyu*, cp. H. *bûlâ*.

(42) *yyu*.

(a) Root plus 'ya':—*krayyu*(*kriś*); *groyyu*(*kriś*, *kruñch*); *ḍayyu*, *dayyu*(*dhrish*); *duyyu*, *ḍuyyu*(*dush*); *treyyu*(*traksh*); *bruyyu*(*bhraś*); etc.

(43) *ru*.

(a) Root in *ch*, *ś*, *sh*, *s*, *r*, etc.:—*amaru*(*mraś*, *mrash*); *âru*(*âs*, *aṭ*); *kasaru*(*karsh*, *gharsh*); *kêru*(*grî*); *kôru*(*karsh*); *tsûru*(*śush*); *talaru*, *târu*(*strî*); *târû*, *tûru*(*trî*); *timuru*, *tivuru*(*tvar*); *pêru*(*prî*); *pêru* (Prāk. *puar*); *vâru*(*vraśch*), etc.

(b) Reduplication of root:—*aḍ*(*d*)*aru*, *aduru*(*at at*); etc.

(c) Root plus 'kri':—*eguru*(*êdh kri*).

(d) Root plus 'ish':—*eduru*(*rudh*); *kamaru*(*klam*); *chiduru*, *chîRu* *gîRu*(*chid*); *toḍaru*(*tuḍ*); *padaru*(*vad*); *paduru*(*pat*); *viduru*, *bedaru*, *pîru*(*bhid*); *maduru*(*maḍ*); *muduru*(*vṛidh*); *musaru*, *mûru*(*mush*); etc.

(e) Root plus 'at':—*esaru*, *êsarû*(*êsh*); *koṣaru*(*kuñch*); *krumm-aru*(*kram*); *tsamaru*(*śam*); *pokâru*(*bhaj*); *musaru*(*mush*); *vanduru*(*vyadh*); *vadaru*, *vanaru*(*vad*); etc.

(f) Prefix plus root.—*udaru*(*ud aṭ*); *nimû*(*vu*)*ru*(*nirmṛis*).

(g) Prefix and root plus 'ish':—*pâru*(*pravṛit*); *vêsa*(*sâ*) *ru*(*vyas*); etc.

(h) Prefix plus past passive participle plus 'aṭ':—*onarû*, *ponarû*, *monarû*(*upapanna*); etc.

(i) Past passive participle:—*chedaru*(*cehidra*); etc.

(j) Past passive participle plus 'ish':—*eḍaru*(*viddha*).

(k) Past passive participle plus 'aṭ':—*kaduru*, *kodarû*(*khadita* or *kṛita*); *kuduru*, *kûru*(*kṛita*).

(l) Denominative:—*ḍâkuru*(*dakshina kri*); *tsamarû*(cp. *chapêta*).

(44) *Ru*.

(a) Root in *ś*, *sh*, *s*, *ṛi*, etc.:—*aRu*, *âRu*(*arś*); *êmaRu*(*vismṛi*); *kâRu*(*kash*); *dûRu*(*dush*); *mâRu*(*māś*).

(b) Reduplicated root:—*îḍêRu*(*ish ish*); *daddaRu*(*tvar tvar*).

(c) Root plus 'ish':—*echchiRu*(*vṛidh*); *krammaRu*(*kram*); *givûRu*, *gîRu*, *chîRu*, *jîRu*(*cehid*); *dzâRu*(*sṛi*, *sṛav*, *ślath*); *tâRu*, *têRu*(*trî*).

(d) Prefix plus root:—*pâRu*(*prasṛi*).

(e) Prefix plus root plus 'ish':—*pâRu*(*pravah*).

(45) RRu.

(a) Root —dzuRRu(jush), kuRRu(kûj).

(46) lu.

(a) Past passive participle:—agalu, agulu, aulu(khâta, ghâta); adalu, aḍalu (cp. H. ḍar); isaḍilu(sithilita); echchirilu(*vardhyita); eḍalu*(bhitta); êlu(êdhita); oralu, Rôlu(rudita); kadalu, kudulu (skhalita, skadita, skudita); kanalu, kanârulu (cp. Skt. kanala, shining); kamalu, kâlu, kumulu, kumârulu(klamita); kudikilu(skudita); kuppattilu(gûrvita); kummarilu(kumphita); kusulu, kûlu(kuñchita); keralu(kôjita, krudhdha), krâlu(krânta); kruṅgilu (kruñchita); krôlu(grihita, kṛishṭa); chundilu(cehindita); chikilu(chakita); chitilu, chitlu, dilu, ḍilu, saḍalu(sithila); chilu(*chitta); tsat(d)ikilu(sadita); tsâlu(sâdhita); tagulu, tavulu, taulu(sthagita); tar(R)alu, tarlu, ter(R)alu(tarita); tûlu(dhûta); toḍikilu(truṭkṛita); toṭrilu(tôtrita); doṅgilu(taskarita); nogulu(nud kṛita); pagulu(bhakta); pigulu, pilu, pekalu, pegalu, pêlu(*bhikta, or bhid kṛita); podalu(vardhita); poralu, porlu(pravartita); pogulu, povulu(plush kṛita), prêlu(*brûta); baḍalu, vaḍalu, vadalu, vadulu, vidalu(bâdhita); mâlu, mrâlu (mlâta); mûṅgilu(mukharita); mu(mru)chchilu (mushita); ragulu(rañjita); Rôlu(râsita); vaRalu(vartita); vasulu(apasarita); vâlu, vrâlu (avapâta); vilu(vihita); vidulu, veḍalu, velalu(vikṛita); velikilu (bahishkṛita); vêlu, vrêlu(vidhṛita, vivṛita); sôlu(śramita).

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle:—âgubbatilu(âgûrvita).

(47) llu.

(a) Past passive participle:—allu(vallita); uḍikillu(ushñikṛita); egasillu(êshkṛita); kaṇṭagillu(kanṭkṛita); kattarillu, tattarillu(tvartita); krammarillu(kramishita); gilulu(kshata, kshipta); gûnugillu(khujita, kuñchita); chippillu(kshipta); chemmagillu(tim kṛita); tsallu, chellu(taladillu, châlita); tsâgillu(sâdh kṛita); tsoppillu, dzobbillu (kshubhita); thavaṇillu(sthânita); ḍullu, ḍollu(sithilita); târasillu (dharshita); tuppattillu(tarpita), toṭrillu(truṭita), têlagillu(dhṛita kṛita, tarita kṛita); daṇḍasillu(daṇḍita); daddaRillu, daddirlu(trasta); durapillu(*dûshâpita); dusikillu(dushkṛita); dûpillu, dûpatillu (tṛishâpita); nitrillu(nishṭhita); pikkaṭillu(prithakkṛita, vardhita); chippillu(cehidâpita); pellagillu(prithakkṛita); baṇḍigillu(bandikṛita); bânagillu(balâtṛita); biṭ agillu(prithakkṛita); beṇḍagillu (*bhind kṛita); beggillu, beggaḍillu(bharjita); bollu(*brûta); bôragillu (cp. H. bôltâ); mandaṭillu(mandita); mampillu(madâpita);

mêtillu(mahita); moratillu(mukharita), Rantillu, rollu(ratita); loggaḍillu(rugna, *rôgita); sannagillu(slakṣṇikṛita), sompillu (cp. sundara), hechchillu, hechchirillu(vardhita); etc.

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle :—âvatillu(âpatita); ûRadillu(ucchasita); ûsarillu(utsarita); eḍagillu(vidhrita); êmaRillu (vismarita); oḍḍagillu, ottagillu, ottillu(upahata), ollagillu(upahṛita); ôṭillu, ôhatillu(avahrita), ôḍḍigillu, ôragillu(avahṛita); depparillu (*âpadita for âpanna); paridhavillu(paristhâta); pallatillu(paryasta); pâṃyagillu(apâsta); etc.

(48) lu

Past passive participle :—tâlu(sthâta, dhṛita).

(49) llu.

Past passive participle :—kullu, krullu(karṣita); trellu(trutita); trullu(dṛipta); vellu(vidhṛita); saḷlu(ślathita).

(50) vu.

(a) Softening of final ŋgu and gu (of Tel. rts. see (6) and (7) above):—aRuvu(ris); aluvu(rush); uḍuvu(avahṛi); ûvu(udvij); esavu(êsh), oduvu(vardh); osavu(upâs); ôvu(udâhṛi); cheruvu-(chaksh); chelavu(cchid); tsaduvu(śabd); taḍavu(taḍ); talavu(tri); tavu(sthag); toḍuvu(dhṛita); trâvu(trish); ta(travvu)(taksh, traksh); etc.

(b) Root :—avu(bhû, Prak. hô, ô, a u).

(51) vvu.

(a) ovvu(udâhṛi); kavvu (cp. kavala, a morsel); kivvu(kliś); chivvu(cchidâp); travvu, trevvu(traksh).

(52) su.

There are no roots in Telugu ending in 'su', but one such 'sarasu' has been recorded. This may after all be a Hindûsthâni verb and perhaps is to be connected with Skt. sarasa or sadṛiṣa.

9. It will be seen from the detailed examination made above of Telugu verbal bases that every one of the endings can be accounted for on a Prâkṛitic basis. Students of Prâkṛit literature and grammar can easily see that each of the changes indicated above is such as can be shown to follow the laws of change operating in the Prâkṛit. The examples given can in many cases be paralleled from one or other of the Prâkṛits but the predominant feature will be found to accord with the Apabhramśa form of the Prâkṛit in so far as every one of the forms in Telugu ends in 'u'. This is

prominent in Sindhi and some other modern Aryan languages. The course and development of Telugu, as, in fact, of any language whatsoever, is very composite and complex, and requires great patience and perseverance to unravel all the ramifications of the various Prākṛitic elements that have contributed to the structure of the language. Some attempt had been made by Telugu grammarians to indicate the Prākṛitic origin of a few words in Telugu. Their investigation was limited only to the affinities of these words among the six main Prākṛits generally dealt with in Prākṛit grammars which were written at a time when all touch with the living Prākṛits was lost. Even now, our sources for the study of the Prākṛits are mostly of the same character, but we are in a better position now because the principles of modern philology will help us a great deal in proceeding much further than the ancient grammarians could have gone.

10. The examples given above may not in all cases be correct, but they should be taken only as indications of the way in which to pursue the investigation in the matter. It is in the very nature of things impossible to find the exact Prākṛit equivalents of Telugu basic forms because Telugu is a living language and embraces all the aspects of human life, while such extant Prākṛit literature as we possess is concerned mostly with a particular phase of it. Much of the vocabulary, therefore, of the Prākṛits is hidden from us and it may be suggested that the original living Prākṛit words and forms still parade before us in a much disguised form. It would be the task of modern philology to find them out. It will not do to turn our faces from this problem but a serious attempt has to be made to see if it is possible to bring the Dravidian languages in line with the other modern Aryan languages of India. There will be time enough to resort to extra-Indian affinities if this hypothesis falls to the ground. My purpose in presenting this paper before the scholars assembled here is certainly not to claim finality to my views, but only to draw pointed attention to a point of view which has either been completely neglected or treated with scant courtesy since the time of Caldwell. The humble effort made in this paper will have been amply rewarded if others also take up the problem and work in the same direction, so that it will become possible to exchange views, which is, after all, the purpose of this Conference.

THE WHISPERED VOWELS IN INDO-ARYAN.

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1. The single final vowels of Sanskrit and Prakrits have left no trace in Modern Indo-Aryan except in Kāśmīrī, Sindhī, Maithilī, Awadhī, and Singhalese¹ where they are found as very short vowels indicated in transcription by being written above the line, e.g. :

Skt. *aksi*, Pkt. *akkhī*, Pj. *akkh*, H. Gj. M. Bg. *ākḥ* Sgh. *āsa* ; while K. *achī*, S. *akhī*, Mth. Aw. *ākhī*, Skt. *rātri*, Pkt. *rattī*, H. Gj. M. Bg. Np. *rāt*, Gy. *rat*, Sgh. *ra* ; while K. *rāthī*, S. Mth. Aw. *rāṭ* ; Skt. *phalaṃ*, Ap. *phalu*, H. *phal*, Gj. M. *phaḥ* while S. Aw. Mth. *phar*^u, Skt. *duḡdham*, Ap. *duddhu*, Pj. *duddh*, H. Gj. M. *dūdh* while S. *ḍudh*^u, Aw. Mth. *dūdḥ*^u, Sgh. *dud*^u.

2. It appears that as is the case in Modern Indo-Aryan, in anterior stages also of Indo-Aryan final vowels were shorter in quantity than the corresponding vowels in initial and medial positions. They would thus have a little different development from that of vowels in other positions and would gradually disappear. Thus -ī would become -i, -i̇, i̇ and then disappear, -ō becomes -o or -u, then -u̇, u̇ and zero. Final -u is found in the inscriptions and texts of Marāṭhī up to the 16th century.² Similarly they are found in the old records of other languages.³ It is certain, therefore, that the languages which preserve them are more conservative in this respect than the others. Even in the same language some dialects (e.g. the Western dialects of Awadhī) may preserve them longer than the others (e.g. the Eastern dialects of Awadhī). This particular feature, therefore, cannot be taken as a factor in determining the grouping of languages.

¹ Vide Bloch : *Langue Marathe*, p. 54 (who quotes Geiger for Singhalese), Chatterji : *Origin and Development of Bengali*, p. 150 (who quotes Grierson for Kāśmīrī, Maithilī, and Sindhī), and Baburam Saksana : *J.A.S.B.*, 1922, p. 305, for Awadhī.

² Vide Bloch : *Langue Marathe*, p. 54, where he cites *sāvatu sāmantaḥ* from a text of the 16th century.

³ Vide Chatterji, *ibid.*, p. 150 : 'Five hundred years ago final vowels were pronounced in Bengali.'

In *Padmāvata* and *Rāmācharitamānasa*, texts of old Awadhi of the 16th century, we find final -i and -u as regular full vowels as is proved by their forming a syllable for the sake of metre. In *Indrāvati*, a text later than *Padmāvata* by 200 years, however, we find *rāti* and *mūrati* of *Padmāvata* transcribed as *rāta* and *mūrata*. Has final -i changed into -a? I maintain that here there is a case of the loss of -i. What appears as -a is nothing, our orthography does not make any distinction between a final consonant on one hand and a final consonant plus -a on the other. Similarly wherever we find final -a in place of -i or -u we have reason to presume that -a there represents merely the explosion of the previous consonant.

3. What are these very short vowels of Modern Indo-Aryan? I think that wherever they exist to-day they have no vocalisation, they exist only in whisper. This is true with regard to Awadhi.

I had an opportunity of making an investigation into these vowels at the Phonetics Laboratory, University College, London. The results show that in my dialect of Awadhi (as far as my speech is concerned and it is the speech of a resident of Lakhimpur, normally) final i, u, e, ə coming after consonants have no individuality of their own, as the apparatus does not record anything for them. They seem to have merged into the explosion of the consonant preceding them. When we look at the inscriptions of *jāt*, *jiat*, *ūt*, and *kuch* we vainly look for waves at the end of these words in order to locate the vowel. Is it entirely absent from these words? No. We have a distinct acoustic impression. Besides there is the consciousness of the speaker. The vowel, therefore, exists only in whisper.

4. A vowel is a sound in which the vocal cords are closely put together and have an amount of stretch which makes the breath vibrate and produce a musical note. In the resonance chamber the tongue does not come into contact with the palate and thus a more or less free passage is left for the air to pass unobstructed. The quality of the vowels is distinguished on account of the position of the tongue. In mere aspiration the vocal cords are wide apart and the loose position of the tongue leaves an entirely free passage for the air. Whisper differs from either of these. In it the vocal cords are closely put together but a small triangular space is left at their base for the passage of air. There is no stretch of the cords and hence there is no vibration or musical note. The

resonance chamber assumes the various positions for pronouncing the full sounds of normal speech but as the passage of breath is restricted and the vocal cords are not functioning, full sounds are not heard. Still as the resonance chamber is making the same efforts and as some air is passing through, sounds are heard and distinguished in whisper.

A regular vowel has two characteristics, viz. (1) in pronouncing it a free passage is left in the buccal cavity for the passing out of air, and (2) the vocal cords are in vibration. In the case of a whispered vowel, however, the second characteristic is absent. For the speech in whisper it does serve the whole function of a vowel.

5. As stated above (sec. 3) in Awadhi *i*, *u*, *e*, and *ə* come after consonants. The resonance chamber does not make any difference in position for pronouncing *ə* and exploding a consonant. The tongue is in a lax central position in both the cases. The acoustic effect also is the same. Hence it is not possible to say definitely whether *ə* exists in Awadhi. As shown above, the apparatus is not a help. The inscriptions which were taken, sometimes show two or three vowel waves and sometimes nothing. I should, therefore, say that there are only three whispered vowels in Awadhi: *i*, *e*, and *u*. These in Awadhi occur at the end of a word and do not make a syllable, unlike Japanese¹ where they occur medially and do make a syllable. They are found after consonants only and never after a vowel. They have a stronger individuality after a voiced consonant than after a breathed one. A whispered vowel gives place to an ordinary full vowel when it is followed by a voiced consonant of a place of articulation different from that of the consonant which precedes it, e.g. *maṛi gā* becomes *maṛi gā*; and when the elision of a medial vowel makes the consonant preceding the whispered vowel a conjunct one, e.g. *māraṭi* becomes *mārti*.

6. The ephemeral existence of the whispered vowel is further marked by the modifications it undergoes in *sandhi* position. When it stands between two consonants having the same place of articulation, it is elided, e.g. :

bhāḡḡ gawā > *bhāḡḡawā*, *sāḡḡ khāisṛ* > *sāḡḡkhāisṛ*, *khaṭiya keḡ kirwā* > *khaṭiyakkirwā*, *tīnṛ dāi* > *tīndāi*, *bhāṭṛ nāi hai* > *bhānnāi hai*, *kāhe se sānī* > *kāhe ssānī*.

¹ Vide Edwardes: *Phonétique Japonaise*, § 25.

If a whispered vowel is followed by h- and h- by a vowel different from the whispered vowel in quality, i̇ or ė is replaced by y and u̇ by w and this y or w comes after h-, e.g.:

jāti̇ hai > jāthyai, rāja kē hāthī > rājakkhyāthī, sācū hisabū > sāchwīsābū.

7. The existence of these final very short vowels as vowels in whisper only in Awadhi raises a strong presumption that where they exist in other Indo-Aryan they are merely whispered vowels. They may be existing in some dialects of such languages as deny their existence. For instance, Dr. T. N. Dave, a resident of Kathiawar, who was working with me at the University College, London, told me that they existed in his dialect of Gujarātī. This proves the necessity of closer examination of the Indo-Aryan languages, particularly of the dialects, with the facilities afforded by Experimental Phonetics.

A PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION FROM TODA.

PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI,

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§ 1. Toda is an interesting Dravidian language belonging to the Southern group of Dravidian. It is fast approaching extinction, only so few as 663 persons in and around Ootacamund having returned this language as their mother-tongue in the Census of 1921. The Toda people (with the exception of the very small children and babies) are all bilingual or polyglot, speaking in addition Badaga and Tamil, and their number is decreasing. There has been a little study of their language (e.g. by G. U. Pope in a brief outline of grammar in W. E. Marshall's 'A Phrenologist among the Todas', London, 1873, and by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers in his well-known work on the Todas, London, 1906; and Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's very interesting article on the Tamil affinities of Toda and on Toda migrations appeared in the *Madras New India* for June 9 and 12, 1925—to which my attention was kindly drawn by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala). Unfortunately this interesting little speech, preserving, it seems, some very old forms, and claimed to be very closely related to both Kannada and Tamil, has not been dealt with in the LSI, which quotes only G. U. Pope's views on the language published in 1873 and quoted by Caldwell in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*. No Toda text is given in that work.

§ 2. Last year (Autumn of 1929) in the course of a little tour in Southern India I visited Ootacamund and stayed there for a few days, and with the help of some local friends I was enabled to take down in phonetic transcription a few short texts in Toda. The *Story of the North Wind and the Sun* was translated into Toda with the help of some Todas by Mr. Premananda Sath Bharathi, a Tamil gentleman working as a Hindu missionary among the Todas, and the story as well as a short conversation (also done into Toda by the same gentleman with the help of his Toda friends) was repeated to me by a Toda man, after whose pronunciation I took down the transcription. I worked without any theory or any notions of orthography for the language, as I had never before read any Toda

grammar or text and had no knowledge about its sounds. Before I actually went to a Toda *mund* or group of huts and heard the language, a Tamil servant had told me that the Toda talk sounded like *ɪzbiz-ɪzbiz*, and certainly the *s* and *z* sounds do appear to be prominent, when the language is compared with Tamil, for instance. Later on I could consult two Toda texts in the Roman character, one a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son and the other a Toda song, from the volume of Texts of Passages in the Vernaculars of the Madras Presidency taken down in gramophone records for the LSI. and published in 1927 by the Government of Madras. But I have not allowed my texts to be influenced in any way by these Roman transcriptions. The texts that I took down are given below, in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association.

Toda appears to be exceedingly elusive in its sounds. The following points noted below appeared to me to be remarkable. One sitting of about three hours was all that I could manage, and I could speak with the Toda person, whose pronunciation I sought to record, only through Mr Bharathi. Closer and repeated observation and some acquaintance with the language can only give better results. My subject (as is usual in such circumstances) seemed always to be only too willing to agree with me when I repeated some sounds or words after him, to make sure I was taking down correctly.

Vowels. [ɑ:] is a back sound, almost indistinguishable from [ɔ:]. I have taken it down as [ɑ:], but at places [ɔ:] or [ɒ] in my transcription may perhaps for the sake of uniformity be rendered by [ɑ:], taking the very low-back value of this sound.

[ʊ] does not seem to be as spread out as in Tamil: probably it is best written [u] in all cases.

[i] is a proper high sound in strong syllables only. Finally it seems to be brought down to [ɛ].

[ɛ] in weak syllables seems to become reduced to [ə]. In some verb forms, my subject seemed to pronounce the same word at times with [ɛ] and again with [ə].

Contiguity of a nasal nasalises a vowel.

Off-glide [ə] and sometimes [ʊ] or [u] are heard in slow and deliberate speech: in quick speech they do not occur.

It seems that the language unvoices at least one vowel, [ɛ̥], and that in connection with [ɣ]. Thus, a form like [kɣɛ̥tɛ̥tɛ̥vɪtɔi] = *open-*

ing and *taking away* sounded at first like [krstɛtɕi], and then again like [krɛttɛtɕi]. and the Toda speaker assented to my [kɛrsɛnɛ], [kɛrɔ̃ni] and [krene] as well as [krɛ̃ne] being each correct—I have consequently tentatively put it down as [krɛ̃ nɛ]. Similarly, a place name which is written usually as *Kekkermand* I was inclined to take down at first as [kɛ̃kɛrmɔ̃dɔ̃r], but probably it is [krɛ̃kɛrmɔ̃tɔ̃r], as I have taken down. It seems this unvoiced [ɛ̃] occurs in initial syllables with a [k] sound, and with the [k] there is in addition an unvoiced [ɾ] sound. What I have put down as [erɔ̃tɔ̃i] *said* has been given the Gramophone Record Text in Romanisation as *edshi*: probably it is [ɛ̃ɾtɔ̃i]. It may be that it is originally an unvoiced vocalic [ɾ]. But I confess this has been a puzzle which I have not been able to solve: and the only excuse I have is that my subject could not be questioned more closely, and he was too pliant to insist upon a correct rendering of his sounds by myself. At times the [ɛ̃] appeared to me to be rather close and I had to hesitate whether to write [ɛ̃] or [ɛ].

As regards **consonants**: final [kh] occurred at times to be interchanged with the velar spirants [x, g]: thus [kudpokh]=*while disputing* was also pronounced as [kudpox^h] and as [kudpog^h]. Possibly the actual sound is an affricate—[kx], which can be voiced intervocally. The word [odigeuitɔ̃i]=*stopped* was also given as [oɖiɰuitɔ̃i].

The sound of [θ] is similarly probably an affricate [tθ], both interdental, resulting from a strongly aspirated [th].

Intervocal [ɭ] in quick speech may become [ɖ]; intervocal or final [ɖ] remains [ɖ], does not alter to [ɾ] as in other Indian languages; and [tɾɾ] can be clearly made out only intervocally: else it becomes almost indistinguishable from [tt] ([tɾɾ] is the long affricate sound of an alveolar [t]+a spirant [ɾ], which is found in Tamil, and occurs also in English as in *trial, tribe*, etc.).

[c] and [ɟ] are found, the [c] often was mistaken for [tʃ]. [ɟ] and [dʒ] seem to be interchangeable.

[j] is rarely an on-glide: we have [erɔ̃] *buffalo*, not [jerɔ̃], but I heard [jettɔ̃dɔ̃:lɛd] *who-is-great*.

A palatal vowel slightly palatalises following [rs] and [ʃ]: [pirsum] is rather like [pir_sʃũm̃], and the [ʃ] in [kuɖviʃpimɛ̃] is almost like the *ich-laute* of German. [rs] can become voiced to [rz]; and it would seem the [s] in the language is rather like [s_j].

I. The Story of the North Wind and the Sun.

pirsum ođdud ka : ttrūm o : r jettuđa : leđ
Sun-and North Wind-and who who-is-great

kudvijpimē . kutci. kudpokh o : duttr^a kubli
began quarrelling disputed. While-disputing man-one blanket

po : ts(ə)tjw (po : tsei) olar potei. aθ po : t^(u)vei kubli
wrapped-in road came. He wrapped blanket

kṛṣṭtetvitei jettuđa : lođi. ka : ttr uppum ettuvitei.
open-and-taking away that-is-a-big-man. Wind much blew.

uppum ka . ttr tukerzuitei, po : t(ə) kulji
much wind blew very hard, big-cloth (=wrapper)

tett(ə) po : tsəspinjē. ka : ttr ođigəvitei, uppum pirs itt(ə)vitei.
began-to-tighten. Wind stopped, much Sun shone.

kubli po : thkṛṣṇe : tḥṣtuurspinjē. ka : ttr pirs
blanket cover-could-not took-off. Wind to-the-Sun

erstoi (ṣṛ(s)tce), 'ni : do : n ettuđa : lođvi.'
said, 'thou alone art great.'

II. A Conversation.

1. ni : a : rjəθi ?—o : n o : lođəvəne.

Who are you ? I am a (Toda) man.

2. ninn(ə) i : ver(w) ?—en pē : r (=enbē : r) kal.

Your what name ? My name (is) Kal.

3. ni : ε : l uldi uldji ?—o : n kṛṣṭermotttr ulđvine :

You where are (live?) I at-Kekkerimand am.

4. o : l thaj mokh ettudə ?—o : n arjəne, patthnur uđi.

Men women how many ? I know-not, ten-hundred are.

5. ni : innigelts kṛṣṭce (krstjje) ?—erw uđi, parj

You what-work do ? buffaloes are, milk

kard(ə)ppemi.

we milk.

6. nin s(w)o : mi i : ver(w) ?—emmen o : dvoi s^(w)o : mi

Your God what-name ? We all-creating God

koj mogəspemi.

hand fold (=worship).

7. ni: in (ɛn) thettrɔji?—emmen arski thettrɛmi, parɕ
 You what eat? We rice we-eat, milk

moj utpɛmi, puɛθ muttɛi mi:n tʰinnɛmi, thettr tɔgɔjɛ.
 butter-milk drink, meat eggs fish don't eat, eat cannot.

8. ɔ:l kɛðɔvi jɛgɛsci?— eru pɔtɕiɛ, ki:p
 Man if-dead what do? Buffalo seize, catch

vurɕpɛmi, kjɔttr kuɖvurɕpɛmi t(h)ittik(ɔ)
 and-we-pull-down (=kill), dead-body we-take into-the-fire

ɛttʰvurɕpɛmi, kuɖikkɛɖɛmi (kuɖikkə iɖɛmi).

burn, in-the-grave we-don't-put.

Mar(ə)v(ə)nɔl

On the śrāddha-day (after 3 months)

kɛɖk

eru
 the funeral ceremony buffalo

pɔɕpɛmi.

we catch.

A PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION FROM MEWĀRĪ OF UDAIPUR.

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In October 1930 while on a trip to Udaipur I was enabled through the courtesy of my host Mr. Harnath Sinh Mehta to obtain a phonetic transcription from Mewārī. The text is a translation of the *Story of the North Wind and the Sun*, and the translation was made in consultation with some of the employees of Mr. Mehta who are literate but not too much at home in Hindī. Hindī as the literary language is profoundly modifying the dialects of Rājasthān, and the younger generation (at least among the upper classes) are not always sure of their hold on the dialect. The dialect is the usual Mārwarī or Eastern form of Rājasthani.

The vowel system is simple enough, and does not call for much observation: only we have [æ] for final [e], and [ɛ] for earlier [ai]. The use of the glottal stop [ʔ] for the pan-Indian [ɦ], and the shifting of the interior glottal stop from [ɦ] as well as of the glottal stop accompaniment of the interior voiced implosives [g' ʒ' d' d' b'] which are the substitutes in this dialect for the voiced aspirates, to the head of the word, are noteworthy features. This sort of treatment of the aspirates in NIA. has been discussed by me in a separate paper: *The Recursives in Indo-Aryan* in the 'Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India', Lahore, 1931.

[ɕ] and [ʒ] are the usual palatal affricates. Other remarkable things are the use of [ɦ] for initial [s], the slightly palatalised pronunciation of [s] as [s_j], and the alteration of interior [l] to [r], as in [ɕalva]. The stress seems to be as in Hindustāni.

utri: vajro ɔ:r ɦuraʒ (ɦuruʒ) ʌni va't par ʒ'ʌgaɾ r'ʌja ʔa: ,
ke apā doja'mēsū kun ʒorvan ʔe', ʌtraimæ e'k ɡaram paccʃheveɾo
ʔorjo thako e'k gela'tru a'j nikljo. ʌna' doja'mæ je te' ʔui: , ke ʒo
p'eli vaɳi gela'truro paccʃheveɾo uta'ruai legjo, v'oi vatto ʒorvan
ɦamʒjo ʒavegā . to vajro ʒorsū ɕarva (ɕalva) lago. ʒjō ʒjō
vajro ʒorsū ɕarva lago, tjō tjō vaɳi gela'tro paccʃheveɾanæ
kaθho lape'tto ɡajo . a'kħirmæ vajro apani' kosjɛ; ɕho:r didi .
ʒʌdiɦuruʒ te:ʒisū nikljo, to ʒ'ʌtsū v'ʌni (vaɳi) gela'tru paccʃheveɾo
uta'r l'ido . vaɳi va'tsū vajranæ ma'ɳno paɾjo ke doja'mæ ɦuruʒro
ɕo:r vatto ʔe.

THE DIALECTS OF THE KHAŚĀLĪ GROUP.

(Summary)

DR. SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

The dialects of the Khaśālī group, discovered by the present writer in the summer of 1930, are spoken in a valley near the Chenab in the Udhampur District of Jammu Province, and about 20 to 30 miles from Bhadarwah. Hitherto it has been supposed that 'Bhadarwāhī or Kashmīrī' is the dialect of this valley, which I may call the Raggi valley, although it is officially known as Marmat-Galliān and Rudhār.

Five main dialects and two sub-dialects are spoken in this valley :

(1) Khaśālī, (2) Rudhārī (including High Rudhārī, Low Rudhārī, and Nālā Rudhārī, (3) Marmatī, (4) Sundhlāsī, (5) Śeūtī.

The number of speakers is more than two thousand, about 1,500 being the speakers of Khaśālī.

Phonetically, Rudhārī preserves a vocalic system anterior to that of Bhadarwāhī. The dialects of the Khaś. group have no mixed vowels as Bhadarwāhī has, but each dialect seems to preserve the relics of an independent Vowel-system. The most interesting of these is Śeūtī, which has a striking tendency for the contraction and *Schwundstufe* of vowels. Thus the Śeūtī phrase for 'the nurses came' is *dāi ī*, while for the singular 'the nurse came', it has, like many other dialects, *dāi āi*.

Grammatically, the Dative case postposition in these dialects is *nī*, while in Bhadarwāhī it is *jo*. The dialects have a particular case which may be called the 'Prepositional Dative', which affects the 'aspects of the verb' and its use is thus somewhat parallel to the Slavonic Verb.

All these dialects, except Rudhārī, have the neuter gender, though in varied degree. There is a distinction of gender even in Personal Pronouns.

Rudhārī, in some respects, is the most complicated of these dialects, for it is a caste-language, and men living in the same street have sometimes different grammatical forms. Rudhārī has entirely discarded the plural number in the oblique cases of nouns.

These dialects have a peculiar Pluperfect form *atthī*, which, however, is indeclinable, and can be used only for the second or the third person.

The subjunctive and the conditional have also several varieties. Some are declined in the 'probable' sense, and others in the 'perhaps' sense.

These dialects, along with Bhadarwāhi, have evolved a passive voice which may be called the 'Absolute Passive'. It cannot be used with the Agent Case. The action in this Passive is spontaneous or involuntary, not under the control of any agent.

The vocabularies of these dialects have a special bearing on the history of Sanskrit and on general Linguistics. Thus some of them preserve the following words :—

samā—year

paśnu—to stand the sight of

dhavṛnu—to run

'urnu—a lamb

SOME PECULIARITIES OF SORATHI DIALECT.

D. R. MANKAD.

I.

Gujarāṭi language is spoken to-day in many distinct dialects,¹ out of which the provincial dialect spoken by the people occupying the province called Sorath is, for many reasons, greatly interesting to a philologist. The pure Sorathī dialectal variations, which may be noticed to-day, are mostly to be found in the spoken language of Kāthīs, Āhers or Āyars, Chāraṇas, Mers, and other tribes. There is also a considerably extensive literature expressed in this mixed dialect and preserved as folk-lore, which is lately being published by Mr. J. K. Meghani.² That these people have, often, preserved forms and words almost in their Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa stage, can be ascertained even by a cursory knowledge of the dialect. A detailed study of this dialect shows that it is considerably influenced by Sindhi, Kachhi, Mārawāḍi, and slightly by Hindi.³

¹ See specimens given by Sir George Grierson in *LSI.*, Vol. IX, Part II.

² Specially his *Rasadhārās*, *Bahāravatiās*, *Raḍhiāli Rāt*, and *Rtugīto* which last presents some very interesting philological (chiefly phonetic) variations.

³ Duhās like:—

पाणी मीडे पाक

मेळ माडजे मनने

तुं तो जी नीयार

तुं केडे पाणीथी नीपञ्चो (Kāthiāwāḍi Duhā by Raichura,
p. 57)

and

उत्तर शेडयुं कट्टियुं

डुंगर डमरिया

हैडो तलफे मच्छ जीं

साजण संभरियाँ (Sorathī B, i, appendix)

may be taken as complete remnants of Kachhi dialect, though the instrumental थौ in the first duho is purely Gujarāṭi. But, even otherwise many terminations directly imported from Kachhi (which is nothing else but a dialect of Sindhi) are found interspersed all throughout the literature. Gen. जीं, change of neuter into masculine gender, etc., are some instances in point. Mārawāḍi influence is more marked in marriage songs, which forms a special collection in Meghani's

This complex nature of this half-developed dialect necessitates a brief inquiry into the antecedents of the people whose vehicle of expression it has been for a long time.

First, then, to consider about *Kāṭhis*, Campbell states that they came to Kāthāwād (cir 1400 A.D.) from Sind through Cutch. He also narrates that the Kāṭhis themselves preserve a tradition showing their origin from the blow of stick by Karna, at the time of Virāta's Gograhana, in Mbh. story. Some acc. to Campbell, may be connected with Kathmandu, the Capital of Nepal.

Captain Wilberforce-Bell, too, says⁴ 'They are generally supposed to have migrated from Sind to Kachh where they settled at Pāvā and afterwards in Sorath at Thān.' He also notices the legendary origin in the Mbh. incident.

It is patent at this stage to point out that Mbh. knows no such incident and that the legend owes its origin probably to the common instinct on the part of the most of the present tribes of connecting themselves with some illustrious ancient ancestors.

It seems that at the time of Alexander's invasion, a people named by the Greeks as Kathaioi dwelt on the Indus banks, whom the Cambridge History of India⁵ takes to be Kshatriyas, pointing out at the same time that the general designation of the warrior caste seems to be applied, in this case to a particular people.

Dr. Macdonell,⁶ speaking about the Kathas of the famous Kāthaka Śākha, states that they are now mostly seen in Kashmere, but in the time of Greeks they were in the Punjab and Kashmere. But he has cited no authority for this statement. Probably he also had the above Kshatriya-Kathaioi theory in view. This error of the identification between Kshatriya and Kathaioi was probably due to McCrindle, who equated⁷ the Kathaioi with Kshatriyas. That this was erroneous was pointed out by Prof. S. Majumdar Shastri in his notes on the text of McCrindle, thus⁸: 'The Kathioi were the

chundaḍi. Gen. कृ, change of क to कृ are comparatively frequent. Hindi influence is not so marked. Gen. कृ is of course seen, but otherwise it is very rare.

⁴ *The History of Kathiawad*, pp. 87-88.

⁵ Vol. I, p. 349.

⁶ *His. of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 175.

⁷ McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*. Ed. by S. Majumdar Shastri, pp. 157-58.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

Kaṇṭhas (Panini II, 4, 20) or Krathas (*Mahābhārata* VIII, 85, 16). To take it as Kshatriyas as has been done by Dr. McCrindle and in Camb. H.I. (Vol. I) is not very satisfactory. For the word Kshatriya does not refer to any particular nation or tribe, but is the common name for all the warrior tribes or castes.'

But in his discussion about the Kathaioi, McCrindle regarded them as givers of the names⁹ 'Kathis, Kathi, Kathias, Katris, Khattris, Khetars, Kettaour, Kattais, Kattaks, and others. One of these tribes, the Kathis, issuing from the lower parts of the Punjab, established themselves in Saurashtra and gave the name of Kathiawad to the great peninsula of Gujarat.'¹⁰

The above discussion brings out two possible alternatives for the origin of the Kāthis:—Kathaioi, if we believe in McCrindle and Kaṇṭhas or Krathas according to Dr. S. Majumdar Shastri. Their origin from the Kaṇṭhas would seem to be borne out by the still existing name Kaṇṭhāl, given to the shore of the Ran of Cutch.¹¹ Ptolemy also knew a gulf named Kaṇṭhi and McCrindle identified¹² it with the present 'Gulf of Kachh'. But for the very reason that the shore was known as Kaṇṭhi to Ptolemy, the name Kaṇṭhāl or Kaṇṭhi was not given by the Kāthis, thus leaving us nowhere.

But there is still another line of argument, which probably leads us nearer the origin of the Kāthis. McCrindle in the long list of the tribes whose names he believed to have been derived from or akin to Kathaioi, enumerates Kattaks. If there be any connection between Kathaioi, Kattaks, and our Kāthis, the matter, I think, can still be pushed earlier. In the Vedic times there was a Kāthaka Śākhā, which gives us a Saṃhitā and an Upaniṣad; and it seems to be probable, at least philologically, that our Kāthis were perhaps connected with these Kaṭhas. That the Kaṭhas occupied the Punjab once, according to Macdonell lends further support to the identification, as Kāthis also are said to have migrated from almost the same districts.

But for our purpose of philological investigations, it is quite sufficient that the Kāthis came into Kāthiāwād, from Sind *via* Cutch.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

¹⁰ McCrindle has blundered here. It is Kāthiāwād that is Peninsula and not Gujarāt.

¹¹ It is, however, possible that the word Kaṇṭhāl is to be derived from Kaṇṭha or Kāṇṭhā=shore.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

Āyars, or *Āhirs*, another tribe, whose dialect we are going to investigate, are a wandering pastoral people, mostly moving from one place to another for pastures new, for their cattle. They are said to have formed marital connections with Rajput tribes like Solankis, Vālās, and Paramārs.¹³ Captain Wilberforce-Bell points out:¹⁴ 'Ptolemy, the Greek, mentions them as Ahiriya', which seems to be incorrect as there is no mention of the Ahiriya in Ptolemy. But he, like Campbell, notices that the Āhirs formerly lived on the banks of the Indus and in all probability migrated to Saurashtra with the influx of the Mahomedans in Sind from Persia.¹⁵ While W. Crooke,¹⁶ finds their connection with Abars, a scythic tribe as affirmed by some, less plausible. Their matrimonial relations with the Rajputs indicate that they were once a ruling and fighting race. In Mahābhārata there is ample evidence to this effect.¹⁷ Nakula in his Digvijaya had to defeat Ābhiras, settled on the banks of the Indus (Sindhukūlasamāśritā). They are said to have been reduced to the present servile condition as a result of the extirpation of all the Kshatriyas by Paraśurāma,¹⁸ prior to which legendary incident they were Kshatriyas. That they were connected with Aioi mentioned by Ptolemy may be likely¹⁹; but though the connection of serpent-worship with Aioi seems to be quite possible, same cannot be positively affirmed of the Āhirs who were originally called Ābhiras which form of the word is a philological handicap for connecting them with Ahis, who are certainly to be seen in Ṛgveda.

Even these Āyars are said to have come to Sorath from Sind, via Cutch.

Chāraṇas, another tribe using Sorathi, are known to have been intimately connected²⁰ with both the Kāthīs and Āyars and thus must have come to Kāthiāwād with them.

For *Mers*, a tribe also using this dialect I would simply refer to *Indian Antiquary*, June, 1922, where following Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji, they are identified with the Maitrakas, and Mihirs.* They also must have come through Sind.

¹³ *Gujarāt Sarvasaṃgraha*, p. 104.

¹⁴ op. cit., p. 53.

¹⁵ op. cit., p. 53.

¹⁶ E.R.E. i, 232 cp. however Enthoven: *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*: Āhirs.

¹⁷ Mbh., II, 35, 9-10; III, 192, 33-35.

¹⁸ Mbh., XIV, 30, 14-16.

¹⁹ cp., *Ptolemy's Ancient India*, Ed. by Majumdar, p. 350.

²⁰ cp., *Gujarāt Sarvasaṃgraha*, p. 105.

* cf. Varāh Mihir.

The influence of Sindhi and Cutchī that we shall find in the investigation of this dialect will thus be historically explained.

II

UTSARGAS.

(1) *Remote Demonstrative Pronoun* इ.

Sorāṭhī dialect is conspicuous by the total absence of both the remote demonstrative pronouns ए and ऐ, which are so widely used everywhere else in Gujarāṭī language. In their place the use of इ in the Nominative as well as in the oblique cases is seen throughout Sorathi literature.²¹ This extensive use of the pronoun has, it seems, influenced other pronouns also. के and जे of Gujarāṭī proper are often used in Sorathi as की and जी, but mostly in oblique cases only. Sir George Grierson shows²² the use of इ in Zālāvādi and Paṭṭaṇī dialects. But in both these cases it appears in oblique cases. Thus this इ happens to be a peculiarity of Sorathi.

Beams has given a list of the two demonstrative pronouns in different languages that he has examined.²³ He gives for Sindhi, remote Demon. Pr. इ, ही and हे; but Dr. Trumpp believes²⁴ them to be ही, हे and हिउ which result into इ, ए and एउ respectively in Lāḍī dialect, by the elision of ह्. This इ of the Lāḍī seems to be identical with Sorathi इ. This would be further justified by our previous ethnological discussions which have shown that all those tribes were, at one or the other time, residing in Sind.

But whence this इ?

Guj. ए comes from एतद्. एतद् yields in Prākṛit एचम्. But एतद् also shows another form इणम् in Prākṛit. Prof. N. B. Divatia has incidentally shown²⁵ that this इणम् may be derived either from

²¹ See :

इ—Kāthiāwādi Duhā, by Raichura, pp. 39, 40, 92, 97, etc. Sorāṭhī Bahāravatiā by Meghani I, 10, 33, etc.

इणे—Sorāṭhī B. I, 91.

इयी—Kāṭhī, D., p. 18.

इनो—*Ibid.*, p. 61.

²² Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 419.

²³ Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, 1872-79, by John Beams, n, 317-18.

²⁴ Grammar of the Sindhi Language, by E. Trumpp, Leipzig, 1872, p. 198.

²⁵ Gujarāṭī language and literature, Vol. II, p. 28.

रतेन or from its gen. form. Moreover Siddhahema²⁶ considers इणस् as an accusative or nominative form. In षड्भाषा²⁷ it is taken²⁷ as a nom. form. But how can we account for this इ of इणस् in the forms of रतद् in Pr.? Beams writes²⁸ 'But it is perhaps useless to seek for the origin of the modern forms in any written work. They have their origin, in all probability, in a much lower stratum of popular speech.' But he does not investigate further. Many Prākṛit forms and phases, which are not explained by the extant Prākṛit Grammars, are often solved by a reference to the Vedic Grammar. It should be remembered that according to one view,²⁹ now being widely accepted, Prākṛits have existed side by side with the classical Sanskrit from the earliest times.

In Vedic language we find, together with रतद् and other pronouns, a pronominal form इस्, but it is not certain whether it is a remote or a near Dem. Pr. Sāyana explains³⁰ it by the accusative form of रदस्. But Macdonell³¹ translates it by 'Him' which shows that it may have been used as a Remote Demon. Pronoun also. This इस्, if taken as an accusative form, would directly yield इ as the original pronoun. That this इ or इस् should have any connection with रतद् does not seem probable, but confused memory of a forgotten age may have given rise to the optional form इणस् in the forms of रतद्.

The above discussion, thus, shows that the Vedic language evinces the existence of a pronoun इ which may be identified with Sorathi इ. Like the peak of a submerged mountain, this Sorathi इ even now reminds us of the Vedic age.

(2) *Nom. Plural term.* उ or उ,³²

EXAMPLES.

Guj. Proper.		Masculine.		Sorathi.	
Sing.	Plural.	Sing.	Plural.	Sing.	Plural.
पाषो	पाषा—ओ	पाषो	पाषा—ओ—उ	पाषो	पाषा—ओ—उ
हाय	हाय—यो	हाय	हाय—यो—य	हाय	हाय—यो—य
भायडो	भायडा—ओ	भायडो	भायडा—ओ—उ	भायडो	भायडा—ओ—उ

²⁶ VIII, 3, 79.

²⁷ षड्भाषा (Bombay San & Pr. series), p. 124.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

²⁹ An Int. to Comp. Philology, by Gune, p. 143.

³⁰ RV., VI, 53, 5-6.

³¹ Vedic Grammar for students, p. 220.

³² For its use see :

Sorathi B. i, 19, Kāthi, D., pp 6, 19, 26, 42; Radhiāh Rāti, 6, etc.
it is very diffuse.

N.B.—I have noted, in the case of Sorathi, the optional plural **ओ** endings, but they are heard in the speech of the educated only.

Feminine

Sing.	Plural. (Guj. Proper.)	Plural. (Sorathi.)
गाय	गाय—यो	गाय—यो—युं
चोपड़ी ³³	चोपड़ी—ओ	चोपड़ी—ओ—उं
गंगा	गंगा—ओ	गंगा—ओ—उं ³⁴

Neuter.

Sing.	Plural. (Guj. Proper.)	Plural. (Sorathi.)
बोकरां	बोकरां—ओ	बोकरां—ओ—उं
भाड़	भाड़—ड़ी	भाड़—ड़ी—ड़ ³⁵

Above illustrations will make it clear that whatever the gender and whatever the ending of a noun may be, in Sorathi it always takes in Nom. pl., along with other terminations, **उ** and **उं**, masculine showing **उ** and the other two genders **उं**.

In Prākṛit, Masculine nouns ending in **इ** and **उ**, and Feminine nouns ending in **आ**, **इ**, **ई**, **उ** and **ऊ** take in Nom. pl. along with other terminations **अउ** or **उ**.³⁶ In Apabhraṃśa the same has been retained. Moreover, in Apabhraṃśa, for Neuter nouns there is an exception. Those nouns that had a **क** at the end, took **उ** in Nom. and Acc. Sing.³⁷ It is a known fact that this addition of **क** was, once, a very extensive process.

Modern Aryan languages also show this **उ**. For nouns ending in **उ** there is a universal ter. **उ**. But in Sindhi, the use of this **उ** is very wide. In Feminine, Sindhi shows **उ** for **आ**, **अ**, **इ** and **ई** endings.³⁷ As Sindhi has lost Neuter, it will be seen that Neuter Apabhraṃśa terminations have influenced other genders.

³³ Beams does not recognise the existence of **ई** and **ऊ** endings for Guj. Nouns (p. 196-97); but long **ई** endings in Gujarātī are quite usual.

³⁴ e.g. एवो पचीस गंगाउ आवे तो य सारे छुं?

³⁵ Intr. to Prākṛit, by Woolner, pp. 31 ff.

³⁶ See Purātattva, a Guj. quarterly, Vol. I, Pt. Bechordas: on Apabhraṃśa.

³⁷ Beams, *Ibid.*, ii, 196-97. But Beams is not correct here. Nouns with **अ** and **उ** endings do not take any ter. which is accepted for Sindhi by Dr. Trumpp (see *Ibid.*, p. 106).

Beams observes for this ॐ or ॐ ; ³⁸ 'No satisfactory reason for this form has been shown. Even if we admit that the "O" of Pr. plurals has been changed to u, this does not account for the anuswara, which is too important a feature to have crept in by accident. It may have been extended to the nominative from the oblique cases of the Apabhramsa pl. (see *Lassen*, p. 464) as is often the case in other languages.' Yet I offer two alternative explanations for this phenomenon, of which the second seems to me to be even more plausible than the theory of the Apabhramśa oblique cases.

(1) As is shown above the use of the term ॐ in Prākritis and Apabhramśa was very wide. There comes in every language an age of unification, when in the absence of great Grammarians the language becomes the language of the people and minor rigid distinctions are forgotten. Something of the sort might have happened here also.

(2) We have also seen above that a ॐ was added to the noun-stems very extensively at one time or the other. Prof. N. B. Divatia recognises ³⁹ the force of this ॐ . We may, therefore, suppose that the process that was limited to Neuter in Apabhramśa was universalised and every noun, after the model of the Apabhramśa Neuter nouns with the optional ॐ endings, took ॐ or ॐ .

(3) Elision of ॐ .

The aspirate ॐ seen in words like ॐ , etc. has been considered as an after-effect of its shifting places in some of its antecedent forms. Though it is true that this ॐ -sound exists in some portions of Gujarāt, it is equally true that it is elided in Sorāṭhī and some other dialects. For this absence of ॐ -sound it is argued that men have acquired the habit of this false pronunciation, due to the faulty system of spelling adopted in the Government Vernacular Reading Series. But it is the experience of many that even illiterate people, quite uninfluenced by modern culture, have a tendency to elide this ॐ , at least in Sorāṭhī.

The reason for this elision of ॐ is phonetic, the tendency for aspiration, a well-known phenomenon in philology, being absent in this case. Marāṭhī elides in ॐ and preserves it in ॐ . Sindhi shows it in ॐ , ॐ , etc. and drops it in ॐ , ॐ , etc. In Hindi this aspiration is very wide. In Sorāṭhī itself Junāgaḍh people

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 209

³⁹ G L L., 1, 190-96.

would pronounce *सानो* as *सान्हो*, while people on Unā side would have *हनुं* for *उनु*. Thus the retention of *ह* is optional. It has been already seen that Sorāṭhī is very much allied to Kachhi, and Kachhis are almost notorious for this elision of *ह*. First person Singular *ऊँ* which preserves the aspiration in all the modern Aryan languages of India, has dropped it in Kachhi and Sindhi *आँ*. But amongst Kachhis the tendency for not aspirating is even more marked than amongst Sindhis. Plurals like *तह्णो*, *अह्णो* are conspicuous by their absence in Kachhi, as in Lāḍī. Again if you ask an average Kachhi to pronounce *कह्यु*, he will express it as *कियु* or *किउं* even *क्यु*. It will be seen that *कह्यु* by the elision of *ह* and by the process of Pratisamprasāraṇa will yield *किउं*. This tendency of avoiding aspiration is thus seen in Kachhi and Sorāṭhī alike.

(4) *Past Passive Participle termination णु.*

(Gujarāṭī proper.

Sorāṭhī.

बोलायुं

बोलाणुं

लखायुं

लखाणुं⁴⁰

The fact that these forms change according to the gender of the subject indicate their participial character.

Roots of all descriptions have this termination applied to them in Sorāṭhī. In Sindhi also it is applied to some P.P.Ps.⁴¹ But Dr. Trumpp simply calls them irregular, while Beams compares some of these with the corresponding irregular P.P.Ps. in Sanskrit.⁴² But even our Sanskrit grammarians, on account of the break in the Vedic traditions, have often explained forms, for which they could not account, as irregular.⁴³ To-day when the Vedic language itself is studied scientifically we must try to find out the causes of these apparent irregularities, in the Vedic language. Thus we find that in Vedic grammar along with *त* there was also a *न* as the termination of P.P.P. This *न* was applied to roots ending in long vowels, or in *च*, *दु* and *ज्*.⁴⁴ And keeping in view the fact that in Sindhi where it exhibits this termination, it is applied to

⁴⁰ For its actual use see Sorāṭhī B. i, 20; Kāṭhī. D., p. 11, etc.

⁴¹ Dr. Trumpp (*Ibid.*), pp. 272 ff.

⁴² *Ibid.*, iii, p. 139

⁴³ A similar case is seen in Prākṛit. Hemachandra, in his *Deśināmamālā*, has enumerated many words as *deśī*, which can be and are being traced to Sanskrit, to-day.

⁴⁴ See Vedic Gr., pp. 183-4.

roots having आ endings, it can be argued that this न which, in Sindhi, was as yet vague and uncertain, became universalised in Sorathi, passing as it did, through Kachhi.

This ण termination is not noted by any one. Even Sir Grierson has incidentally given one illustration which he has not discussed.⁴⁵

(5) *Absence of wide ए and आ.*

The wide sound of ए and आ heard in Gujarāṭi and Marawāḍi, distinguishes them from all other modern Aryan languages in India. The genesis of this wide ए and आ has been ably discussed by Prof. Divatia.⁴⁶ No one can deny its existence in Gujarāṭi, but speaking of Gujarāṭi language as a whole it should be stated that its use is partial, it being absent in some parts of Kāthiāwāḍ. This will be proved by the fact that the students in those parts, when commencing their English studies, are frequently unable to pronounce the wide sounds of that language. This is a difficulty experienced by all the teachers there. I have myself seen Hālārīs ridiculing the wide pronunciation of words like चौपड़ी by Bhāvanagari students studying at Rajkot and other places. Thus the absence of this wide sound, at least in Hālār and Sorath, is indisputable.

Prof. Divatia has traced the process of wide ए and आ thus: He derives बसे with wide ब in the following manner:—

उपविशति — उवविसद् — उवइसद् — वइसद् — वय्सद् — बसे

So also about आ.

कः पुनः — क उण — कवण — काण

In both these cases, according to him, the intermediate अइ and अउ are first changed to अय् and अव् by what he calls the प्रतिसंप्रसारण process, and then result into wide ए and आ. I am in full agreement with this derivation; yet I propose to examine the genesis of the short ए and ओ, heard in Sorathi. We have seen that the antecedent वइसद् has to pass through a form like वय्सद् in order to yield the wide sound of the resulting ए. So also कउण has to pass through the कवण stage. But if we suppose that in both these cases, वइसद् and कउण directly pass on to विसि and कुण stages, these latter forms would yield the short ए and ओ. We can derive both the wide and

⁴⁵ Op. cit., p. 427.

⁴⁶ See G.L.L., i, 125-56; also his paper 'Phonogenesis of the wide E and O in Gujarāṭi' read at the First Oriental Conference

the short sounds from the same process suggested by Divatia thus :

उपविशति - उवविसइ - उवइसइ

= वइसइ < वय्सइ = वैसे
विसि = वैसे

So also

कः पुनः - कउण < कवण = काण
कुण = कोण

It should be noted that the above process has the advantage of बौजलावव. But it may be objected that these transitional forms विसि and कुण, yielding short sound, are never used in literature. As a matter of fact they are seen⁴⁷ in some of the ancient Gujarāṭī works. In विमलप्रबन्ध the editor gives the following quotation in his preface:—

“चौरद्वय फाल्गुं दिशि, एकलु चडि तत्र विसि तु धन पामि उतावलु ए विचार”⁴⁸
विमलप्रबन्ध itself shows the form विसि used at two places.⁴⁹
कुण is actually used even now amongst Kāṭhis and Āyars.

It will, thus, be seen that the short sound for both these ए and औ heard in Sorāṭhī, is not a myth but an established fact which could be corroborated by strictly scientific philological investigations

(6) इ following a consonant is not changed to लघुप्रयत्न यकार.

In Gujarāṭī proper, in many places an इ following a consonant is often changed to a लघुप्रयत्न यकार, as:—

अक्खि = अक्खी = आंख्य⁵⁰

Similarly the य in words like गांय, रौय, जाय, लाय, बोय etc. is to be traced to an earlier इ. But in all these words Sorāṭhī, like Suratis invariably use आंख, गांय, रौय, जाय, लाय etc., thus showing their tendency to drop the final य् or strictly speaking to change the final इ to अ, for I do not believe that Sorāṭhī ever had this लघुप्रयत्न य् which was afterwards dropped yielding an अ ending. This tendency of changing शिव to शव has exposed Gujarāṭīs to the ridicule of others.⁵¹

⁴⁷ On the contrary the above transitional वय्सइ is found nowhere.

⁴⁸ See विमलप्रबन्ध Ed. by M. B. Vyas, Preface, p. 36.

⁴⁹ See op. cit., pp. 37 and 38.

⁵⁰ For other examples and full discussion see G.L.L., i, 224 f.

⁵¹ cp., तुलसी तलसी जाता मुकुन्दोपि सकन्दताम् । गुर्जराणां सुखं भट्टं शिवोपि शवतां गतः ॥

But Sorathi avoids this *य्* very scrupulously; not only it does not show *य्* in the above cases but even in those forms of the past tense like पाव्यु, वाव्यु which are evolved from earlier past participle forms, it very frequently shows forms like पावुं, वावुं etc. Mr. Meghani has, at one place, used the form गो for गयो.⁵²

But the absence of the knowledge of this tendency of avoiding *य्* has led to many textual misrepresentations. Sir George Grierson uses the spelling लाय, ञाय in the specimen of Hālārī.⁵³ Mr. Meghani, too, has the same tendency of showing this *य्*. The reason of this illusion is that in these parts, the actual pronunciation is something like लाइव, ञाइव, etc.⁵⁴ (This discussion is mainly true for Hālār, if not for Sorath.)

(7) *ए and उ of Absolutive.*

These are not much used, but in Sorathi Bahāravaṭiā they are used three or four times.

हाकि लां	i, 82
दोवे ले	i, 83
मेलु दो	i, 47, etc.

These examples are so very outstanding that they must be noted as a peculiarity of the Sorathi dialect.

Comparative study shows that Marāṭhi has ञ for the absolutive termination, and Sindhi has ए and ओ. Beams notices only ए for Sindhi but according to Trumpp, passive verbs in Sindhi⁵⁵ take 'O' for the absolutive.⁵⁶

⁵² Rasadhāra, i, p. 14.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

⁵⁴ See 'कोइ बीजुं हायें जे?'—Dādāji ni vāto, p. 65. जवे धुप लाय, दीप लाय—Kaṇkāvatī, p. 42 उय रला—Rasadhāra, iii, 67.

In actual practice, however, this *य्* is either totally absent showing an ending or as noted above the penultimate shows either a *य्* or an *इ*, as लाय, लाय्व or लाइव. This penultimate *इ* may result from the Pratisamprasāraṇa and metathesis of *य्*, but as I have already said, the Sorathi does not show this *य्* at all. Therefore, the presence of this penultimate *इ* should be explained by the process of metathesis of final *इ* seen in earlier forms. Pronunciations like लाइवो may be due to the first tendency. I note that Grierson has spelt मायौ as मायरो and माइरो in his specimen of Surāṭi.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, 232.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 281-83. Trumpp for Gujarāṭi Absolutive notices a form like सखिनि and quite erroneously and unscientifically derives it from इख, perhaps taking the final *इ* as the termination.

This *र* is derived by all from Prākṛit *रञ्ज*, but 'O' of Sindhi, noted by Trumpp has not been satisfactorily explained anywhere.

It will be remembered that in Prākṛit there was for the absolute *उञ्ज* along with *रञ्ज*⁵⁷ As *रञ्ज* by dropping the final *ञ* and by *गुण* yields *र*, so *उञ्ज* by the same process would yield Sindhi *ओ*, and by simply dropping *ञ*, would give Sorāṭhī *उ* Gune suggests⁵⁸ to derive the above *रञ्ज* from Skr. *र* or *त्य* and *उञ्ज* from Skr. *ज्ञा*, which seems plausible.

(8) *Nom. Plural* *आँ* ending.

गोध्रां मांस धखत	Kāthī, D., p. 5.
सायां मागु इतरो	„ p. 50. (It is voc. here.)
इवां नामां	Sorāṭhī, B. i, 91.

The above examples show its existence. This termination is also seen in Nom. Pl., in Sindhi and Panjābī feminine nouns of *आँ* ending.⁵⁹ Sorāṭhī uses it everywhere, irrespective of the gender of the noun. It is a bit difficult to explain this *आँ*. Prākṛit and Apa. had *आ*, for Nom. Pl in Masc. and Fem.⁶⁰ But the anuswāra seen in Sorāṭhī, Sindhi, and Panjābī is difficult to explain. Some people have a tendency to nasalize the finals of some words. This tendency may be said to be present here also, though I am not quite sure of that.

I would like to mention here a phenomenon, about the nature of which I am not clear. Some verses like the following are met with:—

- (1) *झान उगारी रण रहे ए रजपूतां रौत* Kathī, D., p. 3
- (2) *चंचळ अपचळ चमकवो अति आर घण रोष*
ए तुरंगं पांच गुण पांच तरीयां दोष „ p. 54.
also on p. 55 *तरीयां दोष* is used.
- (3) *गण माये गण करे द तो बहेवारां बट*
अवगण उपर गण करे एने सेज तळायां खट „ p. 67.
- (4) *तेर जिया चळ करलियो पचोयो केकाण*
पचोस वरसे आरांपरां पुढयां एख प्रमाण „ p. 85.
- (5) *भिर पडे धड लडे चुडे बखतरां कोर* „ p. 99.

⁵⁷ Gune: Op. cit., p. 249.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁵⁹ Beams: *Ibid.*, ii, 196.

⁶⁰ Gune: *Ibid.*, p. 206.

Out of these examples (1), (3), and (5) have this termination in the sense of genitive, while in (2) and (4) its case is doubtful to decide, it may be gen. or loc. Moreover the practice of dropping terminations is often seen amongst poets as a poetic license. Thus it may even be our Nom. Pl., though it seems less plausible, as even Nom. Pl. आं would be a termination and that fact would go against the abovementioned poetic license. I therefore think that the आं to be seen in the above stanzas may be a gen. or loc. ter.

Gen. आं may be traced to Sk. gen. pl. नाम्, and loc. आं may be evolved from नां itself an evolutive of Pr. न्मि.

(9) *Declension of Pronouns, Adjs., P.P.Ps., and Numerals.*

- (1) आ कवणीउं = आ कोनी ⁶¹
- (2) तारीयुं तो नो मळीयुं = तारी तो न मळी ⁶²
- (3) वातु वगताळीयुं = वातो वीगतवाळी ⁶³
- (4) चीजुं चखाडीयुं = चीजो चखाडी ⁶⁴
- (5) कडयुं मडयुं कळवा = कडो मंडो कळवा ⁶⁵
- (6) ए चारुंने ना चूके = ए चारने चूके ⁶⁶
- (7) उपरइलीयुं अजा वातुं एम ज वही = उपरइली वातो ⁶⁷

It will be clear from the above examples that pronouns [(1) and (2)], adjectives [(3) and (7)] P.P.P.s. [(2), (4), and (5)] and numerals [(7)] were declined even as their respective substantives were declined. In Sanskrit, Prākṛit, and Apā. Pronouns, adjs., participles, and numerals take the same gender, case, and number as their substantives. In Gujarātī proper these parts of speech are affected by the gender but generally not by the case of their substantives. It will be seen that the above examples remarkably agree with the practice in San. and Pr.

This tendency is marked in Sindhi also. Trumpp remarks ⁶⁸: 'The general rule that the adjective must agree with its substantive in gender, number, and case, holds good in Sindhi likewise.' Though I don't know whether same is the case with Pronouns and P.P.P.s. Yet it is no wonder that Sorāṭhī, which is so intimately

⁶¹ Sorāṭhī B. i, 83.

⁶² Sorāṭhī B. i, 83.

⁶³ Kāthī. D, p. 26.

⁶⁴ Kāthī. D., p. 68.

⁶⁵ Kāthī. D., p. 28.

⁶⁶ Kāthī. D., p. 40

⁶⁷ Kāthī. D., p. 83.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

connected with Sindhi and Kachhi, should intensify the processes seen there.

This inclination to intensify the inherited tendencies is probably due to careless and indifferent nature of the speakers. This indifference to accuracy has produced some remarkable forms, grammatically totally incorrect. There is a verse,

वातुं रेये वीर भल्ल तथौ भाणन्तु—(Kāthi. D., p. 75)

which shows an absurd phenomenon; for it is to be explained as a form of भाण with gen. नौ and nom. pl. उ, showing a confused and combined use of both these terminations. नेथौ seen in Sorāṭhī B. i, 27, is another example in point, though it only shows a double termination of the same case, due to pure confusion.

III.

CONCLUSION.

These are some of the peculiarities of Sorāṭhī language which are at once marked out. A wide range of investigation is still left to future workers. Sorāṭhī phonology, which presents many interesting features, is altogether ignored here. Many other aspects also are left out of consideration. Yet let us recount implications of the present survey.

At the outset we had called this a half-developed dialect, which is fully borne out by our discussions. We have found that many peculiarities seen in Sorāṭhī are to be traced to their ultimate Sindhi forms. Sindhi itself is in a process of evolution, for many of its present phonological, phonetic, and grammatical features manifest that it is still almost in Apabramśa stage. The same characteristic is evinced by Sorāṭhī which is, as we have seen, a dialect of the tribes that have evidently migrated to Sorāṭh from Sind and Cutch.

The tribes that speak Sorāṭhī have preserved and intensified and even unified many features seen in Sindhi and Kachhi as exceptions, even though many centuries have elapsed since their separation from the original stock. One of the reasons of the above phenomenon is illiteracy and concomitant general indifference to accuracy, which are always marked in wandering and unsettled tribes. Moreover want of culture would, at transitional periods, keep such tribes in the same state, effects of transition being seen only in levelling up difficulties and avoiding intricacies and irregularities of exceptions and variations.

We can see that even now this dialect preserves traces of its migratory movements. Language mirrors past history of its speakers very faithfully, if only we know how to interpret it.

Vedic ॠ like a peak of a submerged mountain still exists in Sorāṭhī. The universal absolutive termination ॠ even to-day preserves its Vedic origin. Agreement of pronouns, etc. in genders, number, and case with their substantives reminds us even now of Apabramśa days. The tendency of avoiding aspiration clearly shows the migratory movements of the speakers from Sind *via* Kachh. So does the short sound of ॠ and ॡ which is seen both in Sindhi and in Kachhi.

All these features show their past history as well as their two clear tendencies—one, of the general indifference to accuracy, and other, of unification and avoidance of variations.

LINGUISTIC NOTES.

SOME LINGUISTIC TECHNICAL TERMS, AND THEIR RENDERING INTO SANSKRIT (AND ARABIC).

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In setting about to write a text-book of Bengali grammar in Bengali, I was faced with a number of difficulties, one of which was the absence of suitable technical terms in Bengali (i.e. Sanskrit, for Bengali draws upon Sanskrit like most modern Indian languages for its learned words) for some linguistic phenomena which are of vital importance in the language but which unfortunately received no attention from grammarians of Bengali for the simple reason that these have not been studied by them. One has to find out suitable equivalents in Sanskrit, and failing to do so, one must coin them. Now, various kinds of vowel-change have been noticed by the old grammarians; but some have escaped them, either because Sanskrit did not have them, or because the comparative method was absent to set them forth in their true light. *Vowel-Harmony*, *Epenthesis*, *Umlaut*, and *Ablaut* are the four terms for which Sanskrit equivalents were necessary in writing a Bengali grammar in Bengali. For *Vowel-Harmony*, which I have sought to describe in detail in my ODBL. (pp. 395-402), I suggest *svara-saṅgati* as a close-enough translation. For *Epenthesis*, which means the anticipatory pronunciation of an -i- or -u- vowel before its turn comes while pronouncing the whole word, and is not a mere intrusive vowel, a mere *āgama* (it is a change not found in Sanskrit but is characteristic of Avestan, and is found in many forms of NIA.)—all that I could do was to go to the root of the word and build up an equivalent formation: *epi + en + thesis = api + ni + hiti*, *apinihiti* = 'putting inside and upon.' We have the use of *api* with roots in Skt., specially in Vedic: *apihita* occurs in the sense of 'placed into'; and *apinidhāna* is a technical term in the Prāṭisākhya, meaning the unexploded pronunciation of stops at the end of words and before another stop.

Umlaut, like *Epenthesis*, is exceedingly characteristic of modern Bengali. There is nothing like *Umlaut* in Skt., although the Pkts. show some umlauted forms. In the absence of a Skt. equivalent,

I have coined the form *abhi-śruti* as a near-enough equivalent (*Umlaut* <*umbi-χluðáz <*ṃbhi-klutós> *abhi-śrutáh*, but as *abhi-śrutí*—ordinarily in Skt. means ‘renowned’, I think we might use the noun form in *-ti*—*abhi-śruti*: cf *ya-śruti* as a term in Prakrit grammar).

Similarly, for *Ablaut*, I propose, as a term including our *guṇa*, *vṛddhi* as well as *samprasāraṇa*, the word *apa-śruti*. This is the equivalent of the prefixed particle as well as the root of the German word (*Ab-laut* <*afa-χluðáz <*apo-klutós> *apa-śrutáh*, for which *apa-śruti*—the noun in *-ti*—is suggested). The forms *apa-śruta*, *apa-śruti* are not given in the dictionaries but we can use them in a technical sense.

In taking classes in Persian Philology, while dealing with Persian and Arabic sounds, I found it helpful to employ, along with the English phonetic terms, those of Arabic (as in *Qirāʾat* and *Tajwīd*). But for one or two technical terms, necessary in describing some Indian sounds not noticed by the Arab grammarians, I have had similarly to make use of makeshift translations. Thus, for the aspirates of Hindustani—*ph*, *th*, *ṭh*, *kh*, and *bh*, *dh*, *ḍh*, *gh*: for the affricates and their aspirated forms—*c ch j jh* (=tʃ or cʃ, tʃh or cʃh, and ʃʃ or ɟʒ and ʒʒh or ɟʒh), and the cerebral or retroflex sounds. The affricates I propose to call *šadīda maʾ razwa*, or *mamsūs(a)* ‘touched, rubbed off,’ from Arabic *ʾmss.* = ‘to touch’ = Pers. *sābīda*, *malīda*. The idea of a tangent is found in this root. The aspirated stops and affricates, in the absence of a more suitable term, I propose calling *šadīda maʾ hā-al-ẓāhir* (or *hā-al-jadī*, or *hā-al-malfūẓī*) and *mamsūsa maʾ hā-al-ẓāhir*, etc. And for the retroflex sounds, *maʾ kūs(a)* = ‘turned up’ (from *ʾks*), would perhaps serve its purpose.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PALATAL SOUNDS IN SOME EASTERN SANSKRITIC VERNACULARS

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The original sounds of Sanskrit have undergone great changes in the Vernaculars of modern India and it is generally acknowledged that one of the chief factors responsible for these changes is the influence of non-Sanskritic languages, in the environment of which Sanskrit or the Vernaculars derived from it came to be spoken in different times in the different provinces. It is commonly known, for example, that the Dravidian languages exercised a cerebralising influence upon many of the Sanskritic Vernaculars which came into its contact and consequently many Sanskrit sounds (such as, ण, ढ, ञ, झ, etc.) have been cerebralised in Marathi, Oriya, and other Vernaculars. In this short paper we shall try to show that like the cerebral influence, there must have been a palatal influence also at work in the modification of the Sanskrit sounds at least in some of the eastern Vernaculars like Bihaṛī, Bengali, and Assamese. How far this contention is true can be judged from the evidences set forth below.

The most prominent fact that at once attracts the attention of even a casual observer is the complete palatalisation of the Sanskrit sibilants in modern Bengali pronunciation. The modern Bengali has made a hopeless mess of the three sibilants, the cerebral and the dental have alike been converted into the palatal, ञ (ś). How could such confusion become possible?

Looking into the history of this phonetic change, we find that at a certain stage in the development of the Prākṛtas, the cerebral sibilant, ṣ (ष) and the palatal sibilant, ś (श्) were merged into one identical dental, ṣ (ष). Under what dentalising influence the speakers of the Sanskritic languages acquired this curious habit might form another interesting subject for inquiry. From the evidence we get from Pali, we learn that this tendency was crystalised into a fixed law while the cerebral tendency was still in a

formative stage.¹ Pali words like सिद्धो, दसि, ईसं, सीलं (for Sans. शिष्यः, ऋषिः, ईषत्, शीलं) illustrate this fact

This change of ऋ and ॠ into स has been inherited and preserved till now by many of the western Vernaculars such as Hindi, Guzerati, Marathi, Nepali. (The dental pronunciation of the sibilants is found even in some parts of West Bengal and partly in Assamese also.) The following instances will make it clear.

Sans.	Hindi.	Nepali.	Marathi.	Guzerati.
दश	दस	दस	^२ दस	दस
विश(ति)	बौस	बिस	बौस	
महिष	भैस	भैसि	हैस	भैस
	etc.		etc.	

This dental change seems to mark the first period of *Lautverschiebung* or sound-shifting in the history of the Prākṛtas. The second stage is marked by the change of this स into ऋ in the Māgadhi Prākṛt, as indicated by Vararuci in the rule:—‘षसोः ऋः’

But to understand this second change clearly we have to remember two points: (1) First, the rule ‘षसोः ऋः’ does not historically mean that ‘ष’ changed into ऋ directly, but that ष which has already been converted into ‘स’, became subsequently ‘ऋ’. This is the only meaning that will, we believe, tally with the history of the change. For, otherwise we have to make the absurd and unwarranted supposition that ‘ष’ which was, as shown by Pali, already changed into ‘स’, was reconverted into ‘ष’, before changing to ‘ऋ’. (2) The second point, which is but a restatement of the first one in another form, is that this palatalisation of the sibilants in Māgadhi Prākṛt took place at a definitely subsequent stage in the development of this dialect. The arguments in favour of this supposition are: (a) First, the evidence of Pali, already quoted, which shows only the dentalisation of the sibilants. (b) Secondly, Eastern Hindi or Bihari, the descendant of Māgadhi has inherited only the dental sibilant (स), as noted also by Hoernle. This curious phenomenon points to the fact that the Māgadhi must have had the dental

¹ In Pali ण (ṇ) is an optional substitute for न (ṇ), though in the Prakṛtas it is the compulsory substitute of न (ṇ), vide Prakṛta-prakāśa (2, 42):—‘no ṇaḥ sarvatra’.

^२ दसरा, दसनचाना

sibilant also, though at an earlier stage, if it is to be considered to be the mother of modern Bihari. (c) Thirdly, what is still more astonishing to note is the fact that though modern Bengali almost faithfully represents the second sound-shifting, i.e. the palatalisation of the sibilants, and it is in this respect more akin to Māgadhi than Bihari itself, we still have in old Bengali evidence of the dentalisation of the sibilants. In old Bengali works like Śūnyapurāṇa, and even in Candīdāsa, we find the dental sibilant (च) taking the place of the palatal and the cerebral ones. This evidence cannot be lightly brushed aside by saying that such spellings were not perhaps correct phonetic representations of the real pronunciations. For, against such an objection the following important points may be urged :—(α) that unlike modern Bengali spelling, old Bengali spelling, as revealed in the manuscripts, was very phonetical, (β) that if the 'च' was really pronounced as 'ज', words like रक्ति would not have been written like चक्ति by any learned author, for such spelling would then neither represent the sound nor the sacred Sanskrit origin; (γ) that if the pronunciation was not really like 'च', but like 'ज', the words चट, शवक, etc. could not give rise to words like जे (or जय), जाव, etc.; (δ) and finally that unless 'च' was really pronounced as a dental, words like चाञ्छादिन, दञ्छा would never be written like चात् सादिन, दत् सा, as they have been in old Bengali works like Rasa-kadamba. There are sufficient grounds, therefore, for believing that even in Māgadhi or Eastern Vernaculars the sibilants were dentalised before palatalisation took place.

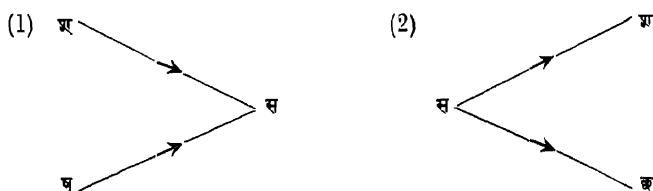
From these overwhelming evidences, we may reasonably conclude that there were two distinct periods of sound-shifting in Māgadhi. The first is represented by the wholesale dentalisation of the sibilants and this change was common to other Prākṛtas also. The second is represented by the palatalisation of the dentalised sibilants.

The first change was common to all Prākṛtas, while the second was confined to Māgadhi alone. This Māgadhi is to be conceived as the prototype of Bengali, as Bengali faithfully preserves the second change, while modern Bihari shows no trace of it.

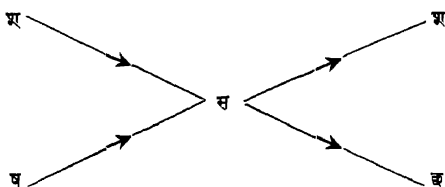
As already stated, the first change also influenced Bengali; and when the second change came on, the dentalised sibilants were palatalised again. This perhaps explains the existence of double

methods of spelling which we find in the old Bengali works like those of Candidāsa, where words like śakti are spelt both with s and ś. But before the second shifting of sound took place, the dental sibilants became in some cases confused with the palatal check 'क्ष'. In this way a whole range of Bengali words like आक्षे, क्षिल, क्षान्, क्षिप्ति, क्षेचा, क्षय् originated from Sanskrit or Prākṛta words spelt with 'स'. This change was shared in different degrees by Guzerāṭī, Nepālī, and other Vernaculars also. Guzerati क्षे, क्षो etc., Nepali क्षे, and Marthili क्षै and all their derivatives owe their origin to this source.

We can graphically represent the two stages of sound-shifting separately thus —



The two representations can be conveniently combined together into one as follows :—



It appears from the above that the dental sibilant was palatalised either into a sibilant or into a check.

But it was not the sibilants alone that came under the influence of palatalisation. Many other sounds, elementary and compound, gave way to this influence, and we can consider those cases below one by one.

Let us take up first the palatalisation of य into ज. It should be noted first that य which in Sanskrit had the value of $\text{य} + \text{ञ}$ was already partly a palatal in origin. But even up to the Pali stage, य remains almost unchanged (examples like गवञ्जो for गवयः are very rare). But later on, the initial 'य' is invariably changed to ज, as shown by Vararuci's sūtra—'आदे रीं जः'. All the modern Vernaculars of India (not excepting Mārathī) still retain this change, in

different degrees. But Bengali (and perhaps Assamese and Oriya also) has more readily succumbed to this palatal influence more than any other language. This is proved by the fact that the Bengali alphabet had to coin a new letter altogether, namely 'য' to represent the original sound of 'र'.

Even the sonant र (ऋ) was not free from this influence. For, while in Marathi, Guzerati, and Oriya र is pronounced like ru (रु), i.e. with a final labial vowel, Bengali and Assamese have changed it into ri, i.e. a sound ending with a palatal vowel. And in many cases the sonant being pronounced as 'ri', has finally dropped the 'r' sound altogether and has thus become 'i' (इ). In this way the Sanskrit words, रुष्टि, रुपति, रुष्टि, इष्टि, रुषाण, etc. have given rise to the Bengali words सिष्टि, निपति, विष्टि, दिष्टि, किषान, etc. It is to be noted, however, that in some cases (e.g. Sans.—रुद्ध=Beng. বুড়া) र has changed to रु, even in Bengali; but that is probably due to the disturbance created by an assimilating labial neighbour. That the palatal tendency was very strong in Bengali is proved by an instance like पिथिवी (which we have in Śūnya-purāṇa) where र is converted to 'i' in spite of the contiguous labial consonant, though in the Prākṛtas it is पृथिवी—(vide Prā. pra.).

We may consider next the palatalisation of some compound consonants. It will be noted that in these cases the presence of a palatal, semi-palatal, or a potential palatal sound in a compound acts as a sufficient stimulus for the palatalisation of the neighbouring sounds.

In Sanskrit, only a genuine palatal is found to assimilate preceding dentals; e.g. tat+jātiḥ=tajjātiḥ. But in the Prākṛtas, beginning from Pāli downwards, even a potential semi-palatal like 'य' is found to palatalise a preceding dental, invariably as indicated by Vararuci (Prā. pra., 3, 27-28). Thus tya=cca, dya=jja, thya=cca, dhya=jjha. The Bengali words नाच, चाज, मित्र, मान, etc. are derived in this way through the palatalisation of Sanskrit sounds. Corresponding palatal changes can be naturally found in other Vernaculars also, because these changes were common to all the Prakṛtas. But unlike other languages, Bengali extends this palatal influence even beyond the dentals. For even a sound like 'र' is subjected to this change when followed by 'य'. Thus Sans. बाह्य and बह्य give rise to Bengali বাহ্য and বহ্য respectively, and all Sanskrit words containing ह्य are pronounced by Bengalees as য় or

अ. It should be noted, however, that this tendency, though absent in Sanskrit and even in Pali, was in evidence to a certain extent in the Prākṛtas where we come across words like मज्झं for मज्झ.

We may consider next the palatalisation of the compound sound त्स into च्च. This change began as early as Pali. The following are some of the instances of this change:—

Sans.	Prākṛta	Mod. Vernaculars.
वत्सः	वच्छो	वच्चा (Hindi, Mar. and Beng.)
मत्स्यः	मच्छो	मच्छी (Hindi.) माच् (Beng.)
वत्सरः		वच्चर (Beng.)

Though this change is common to all vernaculars yet Bengali seems to be more prone to it. Consequently we notice the contrast that while Marathi does not palatalise this compound even in cases where such change is prescribed by the rules of Prākṛta grammar (e.g. Mar. मासृत्, मसृत्तौ for Prakṛ मच्छो), Bengali, on the other hand, palatalise the sounds even in the cases of उत्सुक and उत्सव where such change is forbidden by Prākṛta grammar.

In the above instances the change of त्स to च्च seems to be rather abrupt. It will ease the understanding of such a change, if we suppose that this change was not really direct, and that there was an intermediate change which alone could make this change possible. In other words, it will be reasonable to suppose that 'स' in the compound त्स became first of all confused with and was thereby converted to ष, instances of which have been already cited, and that afterwards this ष palatalised, through assimilation, the dental त.

The palatalisation of 'क्ष' into 'क्च', 'ज्झ' or ञ् is an astonishing phenomenon. It is well known that in Sanskrit the dental sibilant 'स' is cerebralised into 'ष' when it comes into contact with 'क्', e.g. वाक्षु, वक्ष्यति, द्रक्ष्यति, etc. But when later on the cerebral sibilant itself succumbed to the dental influence and the dental again was reduced to the palatal check (च्), the proud unyielding guttural also had to give way. Being followed by the palatal, 'क्' was assimilated to it. Thus क्ष first changed to क्च and क्च, in its turn, to 'क्च' and other cognate sounds. Almost all the vernaculars record these changes very faithfully.

In this respect Bengali behaves contrary to our expectations. For, though it has many words like *हार*, *कुरि*, *होट*, *माहि*, which are born of the palatal influence, its tendency at the present day is to favour the guttural substitute 'कख' or 'ख' for 'क' and the Bengalees cling to this habit even in the pronunciation of Sanskrit words. This rather unexpected phenomenon can be explained by supposing that the cerebral sibilant developed a guttural tendency, perhaps before its palatalisation. This tendency continues even up to the present day in Eastern India, especially in Bihar where the pronunciation of the cerebral sibilant (ष) is almost indistinguishable from ख. Hindi words like *भाखा* (=Sansk. भाषा) are derived from this source. That this tendency was as early as Pali is evident from words like *खणो* (=क्षणः), *पक्खो* (=पक्षः) which are found to alternate with *खणो*, *पक्खो*.

We purposely put off the consideration of the nasals—ण and न; for it requires special attention. In the case of the sibilants we have shown how the cerebral ('य') was first dentalised and then the dental was subsequently palatalised. It is natural to expect two similar sound-shiftings in the case of the nasals also. Though other Vernaculars seem to return unfavourable verdicts in this respect, Bengali, to a certain extent, seems to give an encouraging reply. For, dentalisation of the cerebral nasal has taken place in Bengali to an enormous degree and it is not too much to say that, except in some compounds with cerebrals, the cerebral pronunciation has been altogether lost. This is a striking fact, because *Prākṛta* grammar ordains just the opposite thing, namely, universal cerebralisation of all the dental nasals (except in *Paiśācī*) and because even at the present day and in the neighbouring province of Bihar the cerebral pronunciation of the cerebral nasal is so strong as to sound to a foreigner almost like ङ (ṅā). But the palatalisation of the dental is difficult to find out in modern Bengali. We have, however, in old Bengali a few instances of the palatal influence. In honorific verbal endings, we find the dental nasal 'न' (which originates from the Sanskrit plural ending) as being palatalised to ञ. *गेल्लान*, *हरल्लान*, etc. are very often met with in many old works. It should be noted in passing that the palatalisation of the dental and the cerebral nasals is in evidence even in Pali, when such nasals are followed by the semi-palatal semi-vowel 'य'. Pali words like *आयो*, *धाञ्ज*, *सञ्जो*, *हिरञ्ज*, *हरञ्ज* bear testimony to this palatal change.

From all the facts stated above it would not be unreasonable to suppose that, along with the cerebral and dental influences, a distinct palatalising influence also must have been at work. This influence, though dating from the time of Pali, seems to have attained its height subsequently—even after the origin of Bengali. Though this tendency has left its mark more or less in almost every Sanskritic Vernacular, yet Eastern India—Magadh, Bengal, and Assam—seems to be its special home. This supposition independently arrived at is strengthened into almost a certainty by the evidence of Vararuci who ordains that ‘the palatals should be kept distinct and unchanged in the pronunciation of Māgadhi Prākṛta’. Of the Eastern provinces again, Bengal and perhaps Assam also seem to be the stronghold of this palatal influence. The questions, therefore, arise what was the source of this influence? Was it due to climatic or to linguistic environments? Had the Mongolian languages anything to do with this palatal influence? We refrain from answering these interesting questions and leave them to be settled by experts interested in these problems. The facts stated above might be of some help to the solution of those problems. We are contented, for the present, just to draw the attention of the students of philology to the existence of an unmistakable palatal tendency and influence which played a great part in the growth and development of the Sanskritic Vernaculars, especially of the eastern provinces. Incidentally we also point out the two sound-shiftings that took place in the history of the development of the sibilants and also, partly, of the nasals.

MUNDĀ AFFINITIES OF BENGALI

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I. Phonology.

As distinguished from Sanskrit, Bengali is characterized by a large number of diphthongs, e.g. *ai, au, ae, ao, āi, āu, āe, āo, i, u, m, ei, eu, ee, eo, [æ], [æo], oe, oo*. This is also the characteristic of the Mundā languages.

In Bengali any vowel can be nasalized. This is also the case with Mundā.

There is the Harmonic sequence of vowels in Bengali, though it is not always apparent in the current orthography, e.g.

- u : ɪ *churi* ছুরি 'Knife,' *tumi* তুমি 'you ;'
- but u : ā > o. ā *chorā* ছোরা 'dagger', *tomār* তোমার 'your.'
- o. ā *golā* গোলা 'ball'
- but o : i > u. i *guli* গুলি 'bullet ;'
- e. i *dekhi* দেখি 'I see ;'
- but e : ā > [æ]. ā *dekḥā* [dækhā] দেখা 'to see ;'
- i : i *likhi* লিখি 'I write ;'
- but ɪ ā > e. ā *lekḥā* লেখা 'writing, to write.'
- u : ā > u. o *buro* বুড়ো 'old' (colloquial from *burā*) ;
- i : ā > i. e *mithe* মিঠে 'sweet' (colloquial from *miṭṭhā*) ;
- u : e > u. i *dui* দুই 'two' (from Pkt. *duve*) ;
- etc., etc. *tumi* তুমি 'you' (from Pkt. *tumhe*).

Thus we find that in the Harmonic sequence either (1) the preceding vowel or (2) the following vowel is modified. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has already observed that 'in this respect there is remarkable agreement between Santali and Bengali.' (*Calcutta Review*, 1923, p. 470.) Further on he says 'Harmonic sequence is found in the distant Kūrkū and is present in all Kōl (Mundā) dialects.' This is also found to a small extent in the Dravidian family. But I quite agree with Sir G. A. Grierson in holding that in this respect the Dravidian has been influenced by the Mundā family. (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, p. 287 ff).

No Bengali word can begin with more than one consonant. This is also the rule with the Mundā languages. (*L.S.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 22).

Genuine Bengali words cannot begin with *Y* or *V*, as they are changed to *j* and *b* respectively in Bengali words derived from Sanskrit (Old Indo-Aryan). Mundā also cannot have *Y* or *V* as initial letters.

Standard Bengali is known literally by its *shibboleth*. All the three sibilants of Sanskrit are pronounced alike like English *sh* in Bengali. This is also the case with Mundā, as I should infer from the description of *s* in Mundāri, Santālī, and Kūrkū.

Initially *l* and *n* are interchangeable in Bengali in many words, not only in dialects and in the speech of women and children, but also in the standard language. Even foreign words in Bengali, sometimes, show this phonetic change.

- l* > *n*: *nun* নুন 'salt,' Skt. *lavāṇa*, লবণ;
norā নোড়া 'round stone,' Skt. *lostra*, লোষ্ট্র;
nāl নাল 'saliva,' Skt. *lālā*, লাল;
noṅgar নোঙ্গর 'anchor,' Pers. *langar*, لنگر;
nilām নিলাম 'auction,' Port. *leilão*.
n > *l*: *lāṅgā* লাঙ্গা (Old Beng.) 'naked,' Skt. *nagna*, नग;
lācār লাচার 'helpless,' Pers. *nācār*, ناچار;
loksān লোকসান 'loss,' Ar. *nugsān*, نقصان.

This change from *n* to *l* is generally vulgar or dialectic. Interchange between *l* and *n* is also met with in Mundā (*L.S.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 71, 75, 84, 230).

Bengali words cannot begin with *ṇ*, *r*, *ṛh*. This is also the case with Mundā.

Bengali and Mundā both agree in having the same sounds including the surd and sonant aspirates. (Of the Mundā family Savara has a peculiar phonology owing to its contact with the Dravidian family.)

As regards the quantity of vowels there is also a striking similarity. I may quote here the remarks of Dr. S. K. Chatterji: 'Here it is interesting to note some points of similarity with Bengali, e.g. monosyllabic base words are always long in Bengali, and so in Santali. Something of the dimetristic habit of Bengali seems to

obtain in Santāl also: i.e. preference for words of two *morae*, made up of a long syllable, or of two short ones, or one very short ($=\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ *mora*) and the other slightly long ($1\frac{1}{2}$ or $1\frac{1}{4}$ *mora*). Also, as in Bengali, a monosyllabic base word loses its length when a suffix is added to it, making it a word of two short syllables.' (*Calcutta Review*, 1923, p. 472.)

II. Morphology.

In genuine (*tadbhava* and *deśī*) Bengali words, the adjective does not follow the Number, Gender, and Case of the noun; e.g.

<i>choṭa chele</i>	'a small boy,'
<i>choṭa meye</i>	'a small girl,'
<i>choṭa gāch</i>	'a small tree.'

Munḍā agrees with Bengali in this respect. The agreement between the adjective and the noun in gender in literary Bengali is a Sanskritism.

Like Munḍā, Bengali sometimes forms masculine and feminine genders from words of common gender by prefixing a word denoting a male or a female; e.g.

<i>beṭā chele</i>	'a boy' (lit. a male child),
<i>meṭe chele</i>	'a girl' (lit. a female child).

So deep-rooted is this tendency that even in words borrowed from Sanskrit or Persian, we find the same usage; e.g.

<i>puruṣ mānuṣ</i>	'a man,'
<i>meṭe mānuṣ</i>	'a woman,'
<i>strī lok</i>	'a woman,'
<i>nar kabutar</i>	'a male pigeon,'
<i>māṭī kabutar</i>	'a female pigeon.'

This usage is quite different from that of the Dravidian family, where words denoting a male or a female come after the Common gender.

In Bengali case-endings are added directly to the base, and not to the oblique form. This is also the characteristic of Munḍā, and is different from Dravidian, where the post-positions are added to the oblique base. Some of the Case-endings are also remarkably similar; e.g.

Bengali	Mundā
Nominative. No ending	No ending
Accusative. No ending	No ending
Dative—Acc. -ke	-kē (Māhlē, Mundāri, Tūri, Kūrkū, Nahali).
	-ko (Kūrkū)
	-ku (Savara)
Instr. -te	-te (Santāli, Mundāri)
Abl. -ta, -te (Old and Middle Bengali)	-ate, -ete (Mundāri)
	-tan, -te, -ten (Kūrkū)
	-te (Kharis)
	-tai, -ta (Juang)
	-te (Savara)
Genitive -r, -er	-ren (Santāli, Mundāri, Korā, Asuri)
	-rā (Asuri)
	-ra, -r (Juang)
	-ak' (Santāli, Mundāri)
	-kā (Kūrkū)
Loc -te	-te (Kharis)
-re (Oriya)	-re (Santāli, Māhlē, Mundāri, Korwā, Juang)
	-ra (Juang)

These post-positions are added not only to the singular, but also to the plural. This is also the case with Mundā. Bengali post-positions may be ultimately derived from Old Indo-Aryan, but the way in which they are used to denote cases is certainly non-Aryan.

That an Indo-Aryan language is not averse to borrow non-Aryan suffixes is clearly demonstrated by Assamese, where the plural suffix *bilāk* is borrowed from Garo *bilak* 'all.' The Assamese forms like *bopāi* 'my father,' *bāper* 'their father,' *bāperā* 'your father,' *bāpek* 'his father' with pronominal suffixes also show a borrowing from a non-Aryan language with a pronominal suffix like Mundā (unlike Bara or Bodo with the pronominal prefix).

Bengali conjugation shows in some cases unmistakable agglutination of the pronoun of the Nominative Case with the verb; e.g. Old Bengali *to pucchatu* (*Bauddha Gān O Dohā*, p. 63) 'ask thou,' where *-tu* in *pucchatu* is the 2nd person Sing. *tu* 'thou'; similarly *bāhatu* (*Ibid.*, pp. 16, 25), *bujhatu* (*Ibid.*, p. 49); Old Beng. *tunhe jāibē* (*Ibid.*, p. 40) 'you will go,' where *-ē < ahē* 'by you' (= *ahaī* in Maithili); early Middle Beng. uses both *-ē* and *ehē* with 2nd pers. plural, past and future. Mod. Beng. *-āmi* (as in *karāṃ*, etc.) *< āmi* 'I'.

Similarly in Mundā the person of the subject is indicated by means of pronominal suffixes.

Standard Bengali uses the suffix *-k* with 3rd pers. sing., Imperative mood. In Middle Beng. *-ka* was the optional suffix with other moods and tenses and persons. The suffix is also found dialectally. Now in Santālī *-ok* is used to denote the passive voice; it is also common in transitive verbs, where it is optional as *sān*, *sānāk*, 'go'; *hach*, *hijuk*, 'come' and so on. Other Mundā languages have possibly similar usage. Bengali *-ka* with verbs is quite different from the pleonastic *-ka* suffix of the Old Indo-Aryan, where it is infixed before the final vowel; e.g. *pacati*, *pacataki* 'he cooks.'

Bengali uses the particles *-tā*, *-ti* with nouns and numerals to define them; e.g. *ek-tā* একটা, *ek-ti* একটি, 'one, the one,' *chele-tā* ছেলেটা, *chele-ti* ছেলটি 'the boy'; etc. Mundā has similar particles for the same purpose, e.g. Santālī *mit'-tan*, *mit'-tāch*, *mit'-tan* 'one, the one'; *hāpān-dā*, *hāpān-tut* 'the boy', Mundārī: *korā-do*, 'the son,' Bhumij: *hon-tak*, *hon-te*, 'the child,' Kūrkū: *ba-te*, 'the father,' Khārīa *kun-ḍu* 'the son,' Juang: *iti-de*, 'the belly.'

In Bengali the adjective is sometimes denoted by the possessive case; e.g. *sonār kalam* সোনার কলম 'a golden pen' (lit. a pen of gold). We find the similar use in Mundā.

III. Syntax.

The usual order of words in Bengali is (1) Vocative, (2) Genitive, (3) Nominative, (4) Accusative, (5) Verb. This is also the case with Mundā.

Like Mundā Bengali has no indirect narration. Bengali sometimes introduces the narration with *baliyā* বলিয়া 'saying,' e.g. *se bhāla chele baliyā sakale tāhāke bhālabāse* সে ভাল ছেলে বলিয়া সকলে তাহাকে ভালবাসে। Mundā languages also use a word denoting 'seeing' in this way.

Bengali is fond of using word jingles; e.g. *ali gali* অলি গলি 'nook and corner,' *ābal tābal* 'incoherent speech,' *āburā khaburā* 'uneven,' *āse pāse* 'near about,' *gol gāl* 'round,' *dhūm dhām* 'grandeur,' *rakam sakam*, 'manners,' *hai cai* 'hue and cry.' In Old Bengali also such word jingles are found; e.g. *ālā jālā* 'trifling,' *uñcala pāñcala* 'restless,' *eku bāku* 'zigzag.' Similar word jingles are frequent in Santālī and other Mundā languages; e.g. Santālī:

acel pacel 'wealth,' *acir pacir* 'a large homestead surrounded by a wall,' *adai badai* 'to be arrogant,' *adha padha* 'unfinished,' *agar digar* 'to violate,' *ahi bahi* 'busy,' *aka baka* 'distressed,' *ampa ompo* 'hurriedly,' *andhe mandhe* 'at random,' etc.

In Bengali the verbal forms may be used as adjectives, e.g. *cenā lok* (চেনা লোক 'a known man,' *āsche kāl* (আসছে কাল 'to-morrow,' (colloquial); such use is also found in Old and Middle Bengali; e.g. Old Bengali *beḍhila* (text *beṭila*) *hāka* 'call coming from all sides,' *caḍili mātangi* 'the caṇḍāl woman who has embarked,' Middle Bengali *kāḥila kadali* 'a cut down banana tree,' *bhukhila kaka* 'a hungry crow,' etc. In Santali and Mundāri, words with a verbal suffix may function as adjectives. This is probably the case with other Mundā languages.

IV. Vocabulary.

As regards vocabulary we should take here those words only which are not found in Sanskrit. Hence we should exclude for our present purpose such words as *kadalī*, *mayūra*, *kambala*, *tambūla*, etc. and their derivatives in Bengali. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has already traced the following words to Mundā: *kārā* কাড়া 'buffalo' (Ho. *kera*), *menī* মেনী 'cat' (Kürkū *mīni*). (*merā* is to be derived from *meṣa* through Dravidian). (*Calcutta Review*, 1923, p. 453.) We shall give below some more words. But to be sure that they are of Mundā origin, it is necessary to compare them with the words in different Mundā languages and even in such languages as Khasi, Mon-Khmer, and others belonging to the same Austric family as Mundā. As suitable books are not available for this purpose, my list will be purely tentative.

Bengali	Mundā	Bengali	Mundā
ākāl 'famine'	(Santali)	bhērā 'ram'	bheḍa (S.)
ākhrā 'the meeting place of wrestlers or religious people.'	(S.)	bokā 'foolish'	(S.)
baṣi 'fish hook'	bārsi (S.)	cāl 'rice'	cāuli (Mundāri)
baṭ 'banyan tree'	baṭe (S.)	culā 'hearth'	(M.)
bayār 'a male buffalo.'	(S.)	culḥa (S.)	
bēte 'short'	baṇḍa, baṇḍi (S.)	ḍelā 'elod'	ḍelkā (M.)
bēre 'with docked tail.'	baṇḍa (S.)	ḍhāl 'shield'	(M.) (S.)
		doṅgā 'canoe'	(M.)
		hā 'yes'	(M.) hā (S.)
		hār 'bone'	had (S.)
		hurkā 'bar for a door.'	(M.) (S.)

Bengali	Mundā	Bengali	Mundā
kālā 'deaf'	(S.)	rār 'widow, pros- titute.'	rāndi (M.) (S.) 'widow.'
khaccara 'mule'	khacur (M.) (S.)		
khūti 'post'	khūtu (M.) khunti (S.)	thongā 'a recept- acle made of leaves, etc.'	tongā (M.) 'qui- ver;' tonge (S.) 'to join end to end.'
larāi 'fight'	(M.) larhai (S.)		
mota 'bundle'	mota (M.), mot, motra (S.)		
motā 'stout'	(M.) (S.)		
nengā 'the left'	lengā (M.) (S.)	totlā 'stuttering'	totrā (M.) (S.)

This list of words can be enlarged. But we should mention one very important word. Bengali *kuri* 'twenty' has been shown by J. Przyluski to be of Mundā origin. In fact common people in Bengal count by twenties. They will say *du kuri sāt* দু কুড়ি সাত lit. two twenties and seven for *sāt-callis* সাতচল্লিশ 'forty-seven'.

V. Conclusion.

The affinities that exist between Bengali and Mundā show a deeper influence than a mere borrowing. We find the Mundā languages on the western border of Bengal and far beyond. To the east there is Khasi, which is also related to Mundā; and towards farther east beyond the borders of India there are Mon, Khmer, Palaung, Semang, Sakai and Nicobarese belonging to the same Austric family as Mundā and Khasi. It is only natural to suppose that Bengal is linguistically a submerged area which was once an Austric-speaking country. As in Burma and in the farther India, the Austric-speaking people were supplanted or dominated by Tibeto-, Burman- and Tai-speaking peoples, so in Bengal and possibly in other places in Northern India, the Austric-speaking people were supplanted by the Aryan-speakers. But the Austric-speakers of Bengal have left not only the traces of their speech habit in Bengali, but have also contributed some everyday words to its vocabulary. Before concluding I cannot but express the difficulty in a truly scientific treatment of the subject for want of accurate grammars and dictionaries of the different languages belonging to the Austric family. So I hope my article may be regarded more as suggestive than strictly scientific.

THE HOME OF THE ĀRYAS.

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1. The unity of accent of the hypothetical Indo-European mother-tongue with that of the Vedic language whose first speakers seem to have lived round the Himalayas and their footlands.

2. The growth and development of the Vedic literature in India prior to the growth and development of an Aryan literature in outerlands inhabited by the Aryan-speaking nations.

3. Exuberance of names and grammatical forms in the Vedic language and literature as compared with those of the different Aryan languages and literature that flourished outside India all over the world.

4. The archaic character of the Vedic language and literature of the Indo-Aryans who never lived in 'isolation amid strange people' in India. The conformity of the Vedic language with the standard Indo-European mother-tongue together with its continuous historical growth from its archaic form into the modern languages in the same geographical continuum, as contrasted with the disruptive character of the Aryan languages in different lands outside India.

5. Lack of traces of any foreign journey behind the Vedic language and literature.

6. Common vocables in various languages of the 'Indo-European' mother-tongue, both in the east and the west denote objects that fit in best with the conditions of life of the ancient Āryas and their language, in the Himalayas and their footlands.

7. Absence of any tradition or suggestion in the Veda which is supposed to be an immediate record of the admission of the Āryas into India, regarding their home in outer-lands.

8. The home of the Āryas must be sought for in the neighbourhood of Asiatic Turkistan, the land of bifurcation of the Aryan mother-tongue into the Centum and the Satem groups, and that may on the support of other important evidences be located round the Himalayas and not round the table-land of Central Asia—the Himalayas (however a distant neighbour of the Asiatic Turkistan) being historically connected with it. In other words, the Himalayas

occupying a prominent central place immediately looking over the plains of the Satem-speaking Punjab, and those of the Centum-speaking Tukharistan at some distance, may be the home of the original speakers of the Aryan or 'Indo-European' mother-tongue using that parent form of sound which on the one hand gave birth to the Centum and on the other hand to the Satem group of languages.

9. The archæological evidence supplied by different countries points to the Vedic India as the radiating centre of the languages of ancient Āryas, their culture and civilization into different lands.

10. The narrations of the deluge by the Semitic, the Iranian, and the Indians can best be reconciled by referring to a historical deluge of the Kashmir-lake which may synchronise in date with the dispersion of the Āryas in distant lands, and point to the home of the Āryas in the Himalayas.

11. The Indian tradition supports the theory of the home of Āryas in the Himalayas and the migration of the ancient Āryas to distant lands.

APPENDIX¹.

The Section of Indian Philosophy.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

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In an age of Aeroplanes, Radios, and Talkies, when what even the most daring flights of human imagination could not have once as much as dimly conceived or envisaged has become a *fait accompli* familiar even to farmers and schoolboys, and when the energies of the scientists—ever seeking newer and more daring outlets—are directed towards achieving the journey to the Mars or the Moon, or releasing for the benefit of humanity the almost exhaustless energy believed to be locked up in the atom : at such a time the diversion of any portion of the thought-activity of the youths of the land into recondite and non-utilitarian themes such as Philosophy would appear as an almost unpardonable sin—particularly if the study were to be confined not to Philosophy as it is preached and cultivated by the man of to-day, but to Philosophy as it is believed to have been formulated and pursued by a set of old-world thinkers such as the sages and system-builders of Ancient India, who lived a score of centuries ago and in a world so utterly different from the present. As long, however, as the vaunted advances of Modern Science do not succeed in giving a quietus to the several sociological problems grounded upon inequality of wealth distribution—nay, are even ushering newer and more baffling problems of their own masquerading under the names of Socialism, Bolshevism, and what not, so long at any rate the urge for philosophising—for examining the foundations of human society and the postulates underlying the relations between man and man, and even for speculations as to the end of human existence and the goal of human aspirations cannot be entirely dispensed with—man being what he is, and likely in essentials to

¹ The manuscript. reached us too late to be printed at the proper place.—
Editor.

remain so, for as distant a future as we can visualise. For, even though Philosophy does not make one's bread it can at least teach him how best to enjoy the bread after he has got it, and nobody can say that the latter is always of less importance as compared with the former. And it is for this very reason that the solutions to the various ethical and metaphysical problems arrived at by the thinkers of Ancient India who took to Philosophy not in an academic or superficial spirit but as an issue of practical moment involving both the temporal happiness and the spiritual salvation of man and therefore demanding and receiving unstinted devotion and highest sacrifice, may legitimately claim a hearing for themselves even in an age of Science like the present. Only, we must see to it that the specific problems of Philosophy that we select for investigation and study are not divorced from life and treated in the abstract like some problems of chess-play or theorems in Higher Mathematics.

2. Unhappily not a few amateur as well as professed students of Indian Philosophy have pursued their studies of the subject with quite a different attitude. There have been amongst us, first, the Textualists who imagine that they are studying Philosophy when they give out a critical edition of a philosophical text—if till then unpublished, all the more merit in the performance—identifying the quotations and settling all the usual questions of chronology and text-tradition, including amongst the latter the scholarly pastime (shall I call it?) of discovering interpolations and chronological strata in a text till then handed down as a unitary composition. Far be it from me to deny the importance of this basic and highly taxing scholarly work, to which I myself have devoted not a little of my time. Thus, for instance, our estimate of Śaṅkara the man and the philosopher would be far less nebulous than what it is at present if we had had a reliable edition of all his *genuine* works. As a matter of fact several works now accepted as genuine works of the Ācārya could not possibly have emanated from his pen,¹ and there is at least one work of his of which only two or three MSS. alone are known to exist—and these in libraries of Europe—which in my opinion is undoubtedly from the pen of Śaṅkara but, which has not been so

¹ They speak of Śaṅkara as an aged man with a family, sons, and estates of his own!

far published : I mean Śaṅkara's Commentary on the Aitareya Āraṇyaka II, adhyāyas 1-3, and on Ait. Āraṇ. III.¹

As another case in point I may refer to the current estimate about the Philosophy of the Mahābhārata, which, in the absence of a reliable edition of the text, has been the object of some very far-reaching divergence of opinion. Admitting therefore the supreme importance of a critical and textual study of the several works bearing on Indian Philosophy, one has nevertheless to bear in mind that the study of the Philosophy contained in a given text reaches much beyond the merely textual study of the same.

3. Then we have amongst us a class of students who are mere translators of philosophical texts. Ignoring the somewhat ungenerous equation : Translator=Traitor, and putting the most flattering interpretation upon translation as a sort of a secondary creative work, wherein the translator first possesses his soul fully with the spirit of the original and then re-creates it in his own words for the benefit of a class of readers unable to follow the original in the language in which it may have been first created—we still have to point out that even the author of the original work cannot himself always prove a satisfactory interpreter of the Philosophy contained in his own work, which has always to be studied in relation to the time when, the circumstances under which, and the purpose for which it was produced. And here too the rule obtains that the standers-by are *ipso facto* in a position to understand and appreciate the game far better than those actually engaged in playing it. Many of you, I presume, must have come across several passages in standard texts professing to be Histories of Philosophy where what is intended to be offered as the exposition of certain philosophical view-point turns out to be a mere wooden translation of late commentarial work, which exhibits such a hopeless jumble of the older and the newer view-points developed in the Dārśanic School as to make it of no special significance in understanding the original and exact purport of the author. To seek to clarify the position of Śaṅkara by quoting words from Madhusūdanasarasvatī, who probably is dealing in his own way against an attack levelled by the follower

¹ See the Journal of BBRAS, New Series, Vol. VI, 1930, pp. 241 ff. The *Aitareya Upaniṣad*, as is well known, constitutes adhyāyas 4-7 of Āraṇyaka II.

of the opposite school against the Ācārya's original position, is certainly an unhistorical procedure, and is often likely to prove unfair to both the disputants. All the same, the craze for translations shows no sign of abating. In several educational institutions the student—and the professor for the matter of that—is doing very little beyond translating. Even admitting the value of translation in securing an ever-widening circle of readers for the author of the original, the fact must remain that the philosophical study of a work has to go deeper and higher than a mere shift in the drapery used to express the thought of the original.

4. While the text critics and the text translators may at least claim to have furnished, or rendered more readily accessible, the foundations upon which the superstructure of a truly philosophic History of Philosophy—of Indian Philosophy—can be reared up, there is another class of writers on Indian Philosophy who seem to think that the only method of expounding Indian Philosophy is by clothing the ideas and technicalities of Indian Philosophy in terms of Greek or European Philosophy; and this craze is sometimes carried so far as to postulate equations and invent parallelisms between authors and even between 'periods' of Philosophy belonging to two different peoples and nations. It is of course true that a judicious marshalling out of the points of comparison and contrast between two authors or two systems of philosophy serves to render our knowledge of each more exact and penetrating; but the procedure is open to the danger of our surreptitiously and unconsciously introducing into a new and till then unfamiliar system the ideas and postulates that we may be in the habit of associating with systems more familiar to us. And it will never do to forget—taking by way of illustration an idealistic system of India such as the Buddhistic Vijñānavāda or the Upaniṣadic Ātmavāda along with the 'Idealism' of a Plato or a Mill or a Berkeley or a Hegel—that the true point of absorbing interest in each of these systems is not the exact definition and the limitations of 'Idealism' as conceived by each and the arguments by which it is sought to be maintained—important as this no doubt is—but rather to ascertain the causes, intellectual and social, that turned the propounders of these systems away from the world of sense. There are minds that see sameness and that see difference, and such minds are often prone to be influenced by auto-suggestions; so that once they are in a mood to see parallelisms they can people

the Indian philosophical world with authors and systems corresponding—even in their chronological sequence (1)—to every one of the noted names, say, in Greek Philosophy from Thales to Plato, as has been in fact actually attempted ‘Nothing new under the Sun’ is a proposition that has to be qualified by the sister proposition ‘No two things in the world are exactly alike’

5. The above dangers and drawbacks that hinder and not rarely lead astray the earnest student of Philosophy are well illustrated by the case of that well-known and well-threshed out Indian Philosophical Poem, the *Bhagavadgītā*. In spite of the recent attempt of Professor Schrader to establish a pre-Śaṅkara Kashmirian recension of the *Bhagavadgītā* on the basis of Abhinavagupta’s commentary on the same (which I do not think has been very successful), the textual problems connected with the Poem are not very formidable. If we ignore, as it deserves to be, the extravaganza of the Śuddhadharma-maṇḍala edition, Madras, 1917, of 26 adhyāyas and 745 stanzas, the text-tradition of the Poem is fairly unitary, and none of the *variae lectiones* offered by the MSS. are really doctrinally crucial. But this deficiency is more than made good by the attempts from the days of Schlegel to Garbe to discover (or invent) an original nucleus of the Poem and separate that from its later additions. This has led to a riotous difference of views mostly inspired by subjective bias and rarely (with the possible exception of Garbe¹) dictated by an objective or philological text-criticism. So too, merely to enumerate the instances of divergent uses of technical terms in the *Gītā* can prove either too little or too much. The Poem will either have to be classed as an unsystematic philosophical anthology from which it must be absolutely futile to eke out any consistent system of metaphysics or ethics—such is frankly the view of not a few scholars—or else we must learn to put down the fluid technicalities of the Poem to the credit of the transitional or formative age of its composition when a deliberate synthesis of originally discordant schools of thought or practice was being hastily patched up to meet a specific emergency. The sober student of the *Gītā* has long perceived the need of discarding the vagueries of a stratificatory study of the Poem and has agreed to consider its 700 stanzas as a unified—if not unitary—philosophic

¹ I have examined Garbe’s objective proofs in my Thrd Basu Mallik Lecture, pp. 91–100, Poona, 1929.

piece which, for the nonce, we have to interpret as the characteristic product of its age. Its teaching, in so far as it has one, is *sui generis*, and no attempt to equate the terms of its teaching with Aristotelian or Hegelian dialectic will carry us much nearer to the heart of the Poem. At most we would be building a new and logically self-consistent system of our own based upon *part* of the teaching of the Gītā, but precisely that part of it which refuses to come under the ægis of this self-consistency is likely to throw important light upon its peculiar composition. It is only a *part* of the truth to aver that the central teaching of the Bhagavadgītā is activism. It is activism no doubt, but an activism which admits non-activism as a conceivable and equally logical way to salvation, and which is in part even based upon it. It is monism *cum* dualism synthesised in theism; and it is theism *cum* pantheism described oddly enough as transcendental pantheism. An attitude of compromise—a straining to comprehend under one banner views and practices that in spite of their admitted divergencies were not actually inspired by the desire to entirely subvert the foundations of the then existing Society—would seem to stand forth clearly in every section of the Poem. And if this is once admitted, no exposition of its central doctrine that fails to fully account for this deliberate and persistent feature of its composition will really be found satisfactory. The Poem could not conceivably have been, like an abstract mathematical theorem, the creation of any age or any country. The Poem could have been produced only in India and, as I understand it, it could fall chronologically only in that period of post-Upaniṣadic thought-ferment belonging to the century or two immediately preceding the rise of Buddhism. When the Poem shows no indisputable influence of Buddhism, it is impossible to acquiesce in the date 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. which, like Max Müller's date for the Rgveda, appears to be gaining a hold upon the unwary student just by dint of ceaseless repetition. The question of the date of the Poem cannot be said to be of no consequence to the interpretation.¹ Although the words be the same, the Gītā, if indisputably assigned

¹ The problem has been fully discussed by me elsewhere. It is satisfactory to find that Dr. Dasgupta who, in Vol. I of his *History of Indian Philosophy* (p. 421), had assigned the Bhagavadgītā to 'the first half of the first century B.C. or the last part of the second century B.C.' writes in Vol. II of the same History (p. 551): 'I venture to suggest that it (the Gītā) is pre-Buddhistic, however unfashionable such a view may appear.'

to some pre-Buddhistic age, is bound to possess an altogether different value and emphasis than if it were to indisputably belong to the post-Buddhistic age, and it is not only a question of just the interpretation of the individual poem, but our whole perspective of the social and cultural movements preceding and following this philosophical masterpiece will have to be considerably modified according to the relative chronological position that we choose to assign to the Poem. To deny this would be to argue that a Kant or a Socrates could just as well have preceded as followed a Hume or a Protagoras.

6. I accordingly intend to take advantage of the position to which I have been elected as President of this Section by earnestly pleading for a historical interpretation of Philosophy. Philosophy, no less than Poetry, is a criticism of Life and cannot be divorced from it. To say this of course is not to assert that the course of philosophical movement, as Hegel argued, must follow a pre-determined course of evolution obeying certain categories of thought. If, as has been universally admitted, a certain 'divine' discontent is the mother of Philosophy, its ultimate meaning must naturally depend upon just at what point that breach in the harmony of man's intellectual life occurs. It may be brought about by Politics as in Ancient Greece, by Religion as in Protestant Europe, or by Economics as in Modern Russia. It may be inspired and dominated by social inequality as in Buddhist India, by discoveries of Science as in the French Revolution and After, or by a fortuitous contact of different cultures as in Modern India. And no less varied than the origin of Philosophy can be the solution offered by it of the problem or problems which it was called upon to answer, and more important than even this, the *method* of its procedure. Because the metaphysical postulates of two systems of Philosophy belonging to different ages and countries happen to agree in certain essential points, it does not necessarily follow that the two must be identical in their interest and outlook. The monism of a Pythagoras, a Śaṅkara, or a Spinoza may agree in its essential central doctrine, but what a world of difference in its detailed working out! Spinoza's attempt to apply mathematical method of solution to philosophical problems failed as it was destined to fail, because Philosophy must for ever refuse to be approached that way. The historical method is the only right method of approach here, and even where (as in the case of the Indian

Philosophy) the chronology of the different philosophical works and authors is in an extremely nebulous condition, the historian of Philosophy must fix his own *relative* chronology and form a more or less definite conception of the course followed by the entire philosophical age or country before he can presume to attempt a trustworthy picture of any of its parts. This course, naturally, may not always show a rectilinear advance, or even a persistent forward motion in the midst of a wave-like alternation of action and reaction. It may at any stage appear to be stagnant, or be whirling round to the same position, or, having suddenly reached the goal, may continue in what appears to be a retrograde or recessive direction. That a 'divine purpose' works through all these forward and backward and circuitous movements leading us slowly but inevitably to that

...one far-off divine event,

To which the whole creation moves

can be at best hardly much more than a convenient article of faith.

7. Such a historical study presupposes that every important philosophical work arises in consequence of the specific social, political, or religious conditions of its age, the author attempting by its means to furnish his own solution of the besetting problems of his day. Such a treatment, I think, ought to be practicable at any rate in the case of the more important philosophical works that have left their mark on the times, even if one were to concede the difficulty of the application of this method to a few solitary works that altogether defy their being chronologically located anywhere, as also to some of the third-rate commentorial works. Chronology, we know, is the weakest spot in Indian literature, philosophical and non-philosophical, but it is not in every case necessary that this chronology be absolutely fixed. The several works dealing with the subject it ought not to be impossible to arrange in at least a *relative* chronological sequence: in any case the professed historian of Philosophy must have his own theory in the matter, which cannot then be altered at will without vitiating his whole treatment. After this is accomplished it ought to be normally possible to review each important work against its own social or religious background by a philosophical evaluation of the forces known to be at work throughout the period. Such a procedure alone will save the study of Philosophy from being absolutely lifeless and wooden. The Upaniṣads propound the Brahman theory, which is again dealt with in the Bhagavadgītā, the

Brahmasūtras, the Bhāṣyas of Śaṅkara and others and in still later works down to the Pañcadaśī and the Vedāntaparibhāṣā. The orthodox Indian way holds that these works contain the same identical solutions of the philosophical problems. The Schools may differ in their interpretations, but each School endeavours to show that its own theory is given consistently by all the recognised texts or 'Prasthānas'. Hence the orthodox writer does not mind importing the words of a later commentator into the original; and he is innocent of any theory as to the evolution of Philosophy. Truth being one, it ought to have been, according to him, revealed in all its fulness each time the revelation was believed to have occurred. The historical treatment of Philosophy for which I plead only maintains that that 'revealed' truth an author belonging to a given age can see only from his own specific angle of vision, and so he would be led to emphasise such aspects of it as had attained special significance for him and his age. Such a view would lend a sort of a human interest to the study so that the philosophical concepts of Brahman, Māyā, Nirvāṇa, or Parināma would cease to appear to us any more as mere unreal abstractions—some algebraical symbols—unrelated to the living and burning problems of the day. Otherwise the study of Philosophy can be reduced to a mere getting by heart of certain Kārikās and certain longer or shorter lists of categories and properties, and to the training of oneself in the mental gymnastics of the *avacchedaka* and the *avacchedaka*.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE SIXTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, PATNA.

Receipts and Payments from 21st May, 1930 to 3rd September, 1933.

RECEIPTS

	Rs.	A	P.
Grants and Donations	11,546	0	0
Membership fees	1,468	2	0
Interest received	401	1	6
Miscellaneous	7	0	0
	<hr/>		
GRAND TOTAL	13,422	3	6

PAYMENTS.

	Rs	A.	P.
Establishment	406	1	9
Postage	227	7	0
Stationery	114	14	9
Printing	7,886	14	6
Excursion	387	8	0
Meetings	118	10	3
Entertainment	2,478	2	3
Drama	506	6	0
Miscellaneous	847	15	3
	<hr/>		
Total	13,033	15	9
Balance in hand	388	3	9
	<hr/>		
GRAND TOTAL	13,422	3	6

September 3rd, 1933.

D. N. SEN,
Hon. Treasurer,
The Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna.

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